

THE
SLAVONIC
(AND EAST EUROPEAN)
REVIEW

A Survey of the Slavonic Peoples,
Their History, Economics, Philology and Literature

VOLUME THIRTEEN

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POETRY REMEMBRANCE

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by MAURICE BARING

When the loud day for men who sow and reap
Grows still, and on the silence of the town
The unsubstantial veils of night and sleep,
The meed of the day's labour, settle down,
Then for me in the stillness of the night
The wasting watchful hours drag on their course :
And in the idle darkness comes the bite
Of all the burning serpents of remorse ;
Dreams seethe ; and fretful infelicities
Are swarming in my overburdened soul,
And Memory before my wakeful eyes
With noiseless hand unwinds her lengthy scroll.
Then as with loathing I peruse the years,
I tremble, and I curse my natal day,
Wail bitterly, and bitterly shed tears,
But cannot wash the woeful script away.

I LOVED YOU . . .¹

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by MAURICE BARING

I loved you ; and perhaps my love today
Has not yet died away.
Howbeit, that shall no more trouble you ;
I would not have you rue.
I loved you utterly remote and dumb,
Jealous : o'ercome ;
I loved you with so true a tenderness—
God grant another may not love you less.

¹ Other versions of this short poem have been printed in this *Review*, (Vol. VI, No. 18, pp. 659 and 660), by Maud F. Jerrold, Reginald Hewitt, and Bernard Pares.

THE BRONZE HORSEMAN

(A TALE OF PETERSBURG)

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by OLIVER ELTON

The occurrence related in this tale is based on fact. The details of the flood are taken from the journals of the day. The curious may consult the information collected by V. I. Berkh (*Pushkin's note*).

There, by the billows desolate,
He stood, with mighty thoughts elate,
And gazed; but in the distance only
A sorry skiff on the broad spate
Of Neva drifted seaward, lonely.
The moss-grown miry banks with rare
Hovels were dotted here and there
Where wretched Finns for shelter crowded;
The murmuring woodlands had no share
Of sunshine, all in mist beshrouded.

And thus He mused: "From here, indeed
Shall we strike terror in the Swede;
And here a city by our labour
Founded, shall gall our haughty neighbour;
'Here cut'—so Nature gives command—
'Your window¹ through on Europe; stand
Firm-footed by the sea, unchanging!'—
Ay, ships of every flag shall come
By waters they had never swum,
And we shall revel, freely ranging."

A century—and that city young,
Gem of the Northern world, amazing,
From gloomy wood and swamp upsprung,
Had risen, in pride and splendour blazing.
Where once, by that low-lying shore,
In waters never known before
The Finnish fisherman, sole creature,
And left forlorn by stepdame Nature,
Cast ragged nets,—today, along
Those shores, astir with life and motion,
Vast shapely palaces in throng

¹ "Algarotti has somewhere said: 'Petersbourg est la fenêtre, par laquelle la Russie regarde en Europe'" (*Pushkin's note*).

And towers are seen : from every ocean,
 From the world's end, the ships come fast,
 To reach the loaded quays at last.
 The Neva now is clad in granite
 With many a bridge to overspan it ;
 The islands lie beneath a screen
 Of gardens deep in dusky green.
 To that young capital is drooping
 The crest of Moscow on the ground,
 A dowager in purple, stooping
 Before an empress newly crowned.

I love thee, city of Peter's making ;
 I love thy harmonies austere,
 And Neva's sovran waters breaking
 Along her banks of granite sheer ;
 Thy traceried iron gates ; thy sparkling,
 Yet moonless, meditative gloom
 And thy transparent twilight darkling ;
 And when I write within my room
 Or, lampless, read,—then, sunk in slumber,
 The empty thoroughfares, past number,
 Are piled, stand clear upon the night ;
 The Admiralty spire is bright ;
 Nor may the darkness mount, to smother
 The golden cloudland of the light,
 For soon one dawn succeeds another
 With barely half-an-hour of night.
 I love thy ruthless winter, lowering
 With bitter frost and windless air ;
 The sledges along Neva scouring ;
 Girls' cheeks—no rose so bright and fair !
 The flash and noise of balls, the chatter ;
 The bachelor's hour of feasting, too ;
 The cups that foam and hiss and spatter,
 The punch that in the bowl burns blue.
 I love the warlike animation
 On playing-fields of Mars ; to see
 The troops of foot and horse in station,
 And their superb monotony ;
 Their ordered, undulating muster ;
 Flags, tattered on the glorious day ;
 Those brazen helmets in their lustre

Shot through and riddled in the fray.
 I love thee, city of soldiers, blowing
 Smoke from thy forts : thy booming gun ;
 —A Northern empress is bestowing
 Upon the royal house a son !
 Or when, another battle won,
 Proud Russia holds her celebration ;
 Or when the Neva breaking free
 Her dark blue ice bears out to sea
 And scents the spring, in exultation.

Now, city of Peter, stand thou fast,
 Foursquare, like Russia ; vaunt thy splendour
 The very element shall surrender
 And make her peace with thee at last.
 Their ancient bondage and their rancours
 The Finnish waves shall bury deep
 Nor vex with idle spite that cankers
 Our Peter's everlasting sleep !

There was a dreadful time, we keep
 Still freshly on our memories painted ;
 And you, my friends, shall be acquainted
 By me, with all that history :
 A grievous record it will be.

PART I²

O'er darkened Petrograd there rolled
 November's breath of autumn cold ;
 And Neva with her boisterous billow
 Splashed on her shapely bounding wall
 And tossed in restless rise and fall
 Like a sick man upon his pillow.
 'Twas late, and dark had fallen ; the rain

² " Mickiewicz, in one of his best poems, *Oleszkiewicz*, has in most beautiful lines described the day preceding the Petersburg flood. It is only a pity that his description is inaccurate. There was no snow—the Neva was not covered with ice. Our description is correct, although it has none of the brilliant colours of the Polish poet " (*Pushkin's note*).—Oleszkiewicz, the painter, mystic, and friend of Mickiewicz, in this poem appears at night in a boat on the Neva, hears the storm rising, and forebodes the flood that is coming on the morrow. He also, under the palace walls, apostrophises the sleepless Tsar, Alexander I ; not, like Pushkin, as a benevolent and sorrowing monarch, but from the Polish standpoint, as one in whose soul the evil principle has prevailed. " God will shake the steps of the Assyrian throne " (*Translator's note*).

Beat fiercely on the window-pane ;
A wind that howled and wailed was blowing.

'Twas then that young Evgeny came
Home from a party—I am going
To call our hero by that name,
For it sounds pleasing, and moreover
My pen once liked it ;—why discover
The needless surname ?—True, it may
Have been illustrious in past ages,
—Rung, through tradition, in the pages
Of Karamzin ; and yet, today
That name is never recollected,
By Rumour and the World rejected.
Our hero—somewhere—served the State ;
He shunned the presence of the great ;
Lived in Kolomna, for the fate
Cared not of forbears dead and rotten,
Or antique matters long forgotten.

So, home Evgeny came, and tossed
His cloak aside ; undressed ; and sinking
Sleepless upon his bed, was lost
In sundry meditations—thinking
Of what ?—How poor he was, how pain
And toil might some day hope to gain
An honoured, free, assured position ;
How God, it might be, in addition
Would grant him better brains and pay.
Such idle folk there were, and they,
Lucky and lazy, not too brightly
Gifted, lived easily and lightly ;
And he—was only in his second
Year at the desk.

He further reckoned
That still the ugly weather held ;
That still the river swelled and swelled ;
That almost now from Neva's eddy
The bridges had been moved already ;
That from Parasha he must be
Parted for some two days, or three.
And all that night he lay, so dreaming,
And wishing sadly that the gale
Would bate its melancholy screaming

And that the rain would not assail
The glass so fiercely. . . . But sleep closes
His eyes at last, and he reposes.

But see, the mists of that rough night
Thin out, and the pale day grows bright;
That dreadful day!—For Neva, leaping
Seaward all night against the blast
Was beaten in the strife at last,
Against the frantic tempest sweeping;
And on her banks at break of day
The people swarmed and crowded, curious,
And revelled in the towering spray
That splattered where the waves were furious.
But the wind driving from the bay
Dammed Neva back, and she receding
Came up, in wrath and riot speeding;
And soon the islands flooded lay.
Madder the weather grew, and ever
Higher upswelled the roaring river
And bubbled like a kettle, and whirled
And like a maddened beast was hurled
Swift on the city. All things routed
Fled from its path, and all about it
A sudden space was cleared; the flow
Dashed in the cellars down below;
Canals above their borders spouted.
Behold Petropol floating lie
Like Triton in the deep, waist-high!

A siege! the wicked waves, attacking
Climb thief-like through the windows; backing,
The boats stern-foremost smite the glass;
Trays with their soaking wrappage pass;
And timbers, roofs, and huts all shattered,
The wares of thrifty traders scattered,
And the pale beggar's chattels small,
Bridges swept off beneath the squall,
Coffins from sodden graveyards—all
Swim in the streets!

. . . . And contemplating
God's wrath, the folk their doom are waiting.
All will be lost; ah, where shall they
Find food and shelter for today?

The glorious emperor, now departed,
In that grim year was sovereign
Of Russia still. He came, sick-hearted,
Out on his balcony, and in pain
He said : " No Tsar, with God, is master
Over God's elements ! " In thought
He sat, and gazed on the disaster
Sad-eyed, and on the evil wrought ;
For now the squares with lakes were studded,
Their torrents broad the streets had flooded,
And now forlorn and islanded
The palace seemed. The emperor said
One word :—and see, along the highways
His generals³ hurrying, through the byways !
From city's end to end they sped
Through storm and peril, bent on saving
The people, now in panic raving
And drowning in their houses there.

New-built, high up in Peter's Square
A corner mansion then ascended ;
And where its lofty perron ended
Two sentry lions stood at guard
Like living things, and kept their ward
With paw uplifted. Here, bare-headed,
Pale, rigid, arms across his breast,
Upon the creature's marble crest
Sat poor Evgeny. But he dreaded
Nought for himself ; he did not hear
The hungry rollers rising near
And on his very footsoles plashing,
Feel on his face the rainstorm lashing,
Or how the riotous, moaning blast
Had snatcht his hat. His eyes were fast
Fixt on one spot in desperation
Where from the deeps in agitation
The wicked waves like mountains rose,
Where the storm howled, and round were driven
Fragments of wreck. . . . There, God in Heaven !
Hard by the bay should stand, and close,
Alas, too close to the wild water,

³ " Count Miloradovich and Adjutant-General Benckendorff " (*Pushkin's note*).

A paintless fence, a willow-tree,
 And there a frail old house should be
 Where dwelt a widow, with a daughter
 Parasha—and his dream was she !
 His dream—or was it but a vision,
 All that he saw ? was life also
 An idle dream which in derision
 Fate sends to mock us here below ?

And he, as though a man enchanted
 And on the marble pinned and planted,
 Cannot descend, and round him lie
 Only the waters. There, on high,
 With Neva still beneath him churning,
 Unshaken, on Evgeny turning
 His back, and with an arm flung wide,
 Behold the Image sit, and ride
 Upon his brazen horse astride !

PART II

But now, with rack and ruin sated
 And weary of her insolence
 And uproar, Neva, still elated
 With her rebellious turbulence,
 Stole back, and left her booty stranded
 And unregarded. So a bandit
 Bursts with his horde upon a village
 To smash and slay, destroy and pillage ;
 Whence yells, and violence, and alarms,
 Gritting of teeth, and grievous harms
 And wailings ; then the evildoers
 Rush home ; but dreading the pursuers
 And sagging with the stolen load
 They drop their plunder on the road.

Meanwhile the water had abated
 And pavements now uncovered lay ;
 And our Evgeny, by dismay
 And hope and longing agitated,
 Sore-hearted to the river sped.
 But still it lay disquieted
 And still the wicked waves were seething
 In pride of victory, as though
 A flame were smouldering below ;

And heavily was Neva breathing
Like to a horse besprent with foam
Who gallops from the battle home.

Evgeny watches, and descrying
By happy chance a boat, goes flying
To hail the ferryman ; and he,
Unhired and idle, willingly
Convoys him for a threepence, plying
Through that intimidating sea.
The old tried oarsman long contended
With the wild waters ; hour by hour,
Sunk in the trough, the skiff descended
Mid rollers, ready to devour
Rash crew and all—at last contriving
To make the farther shore.

Arriving,

Evgeny—evil is his lot !—
Runs to the old familiar spot
Down the old street,—and knows it not.
All, to his horror, is demolished,
Levelled or ruined or abolished.
Houses are twisted all awry,
And some are altogether shattered,
Some shifted by the seas ; and scattered
Are bodies, flung as bodies lie
On battlefields. Unthinkingly,
Half-fainting, and excruciated,
Evgeny rushes on, awaited
By destiny with unrevealed
Tidings, as in a letter sealed.

He scours the suburb ; and discerning
The bay, he knows the house is near ;
And then stops short ; ah, what is here ?
Retreating, and again returning,
He looks—advances—looks again.
'Tis there they dwelt, the marks are plain ;
There is the willow. Surely yonder
The gate was standing, in the past ;
Now, washt away ! No house !—O'ercast
With care, behold Evgeny wander
For ever round and round the place,
And talk aloud, and strike his face

With his bare hand. A moment after,
He breaks into a roar of laughter.

The vapours of the night came down
Upon the terror-stricken town,
But all the people long debated
The doings of the day, and waited
And could not sleep. The morning light
From pale and weary clouds gleamed bright
On the still capital; no traces
Now of the woes of yesternight !
With royal purple it effaces
The mischief; all things are proceeding
In form and order as of old;
The people are already treading,
Impassive, in their fashion, cold,
Through the cleared thoroughfares, unheeding;
And now official folk forsake
Their last night's refuge, as they make
Their way to duty. Greatly daring,
The huckster now takes heart, unbarring
His cellar, late the prey and sack
Of Neva,—hoping to get back
His heavy loss and wasted labour
Out of the pockets of his neighbour.
The drifted boats from each courtyard
Are carried.

To a certain bard,
A count, a favourite of heaven
To one Khvostov, the theme was given
To chant in his immortal song
How Neva's shores had suffered wrong.

But my Evgeny, poor, sick fellow ! .
Alas, the tumult in his brain
Had left him powerless to sustain
Those shocks of terror. For the bellow
Of riotous winds and Neva near
Resounded always in his ear;
A host of hideous thoughts attacked him,
A kind of nightmare rent and racked him,
And on he wandered silently;
And as the week, the month, went by,
Never came home. His habitation,

As time ran out, the landlord took,
And leased the now deserted nook
For a poor poet's occupation.

Nor ever came Evgeny home
For his belongings; he would roam,
A stranger to the world; his ration
A morsel tendered in compassion
Out of a window; he would tramp
All day, and on the quay would camp
To sleep; his garments, old and fraying,
Were all in tatters and decaying.
And the malicious boys would pelt
The man with stones; and oft he felt
The cabman's whiplash on him flicking;
For he had lost the skill of picking
His footsteps,—deafened, it may be,
By fears that clamoured inwardly.
So, dragging out his days, ill-fated,
He seemed like something miscreated,
No beast, nor yet of human birth,
Neither a denizen of earth
Nor phantom of the dead.

Belated

One night, on Neva wharf he slept.
Now summer days toward autumn crept;
A wet and stormy wind was blowing,
And Neva's sullen waters flowing
Plashed on the wharf and muttered there
Complaining—beat the slippery stair
As suitors beat in supplication
Unheeded at a judge's door.
In gloom and rain, amid the roar
Of winds,—a sound of desolation
With cries of watchmen interchanged
Afar, who through the darkness ranged,—
Our poor Evgeny woke; and daunted,
By well-remembered terrors haunted,
He started sharply, rose in haste,
And forth upon his wanderings paced;
—And halted on a sudden, staring
About him silently, and wearing
A look of wild alarm and awe.

Where had he come? for now he saw
 The pillars of that lofty dwelling
 Where, on the perron sentinelling,
 Two lion-figures stand at guard
 Like living things, keep watch and ward
 With lifted paw. Upright and glooming,
 Above the stony barrier looming,
 The Image, with an arm flung wide,
 Sat on his brazen horse astride.⁴

And now Evgeny, with a shiver
 Of terror, felt his reason clear.
 He knew the place, for it was here
 The flood had gambolled, here the river
 Had surged; here, rioting in their wrath,
 The wicked waves had swept a path
 And with their tumult had surrounded
 Evgeny, lions, square,—and Him
 Who, moveless and aloft and dim,
 Our city by the sea had founded,
 Whose will was Fate. Appalling there
 He sat, begirt with mist and air.
 What thoughts engrave his brow! what hidden
 Power and authority he claims!
 What fire in yonder charger flames!
 Proud charger, whither art thou ridden,
 Where leapest thou? and where, on whom,
 Wilt plant thy hoof?—Ah, lord of doom
 And potentate, 'twas thus, appearing
 Above the void, and in thy hold
 A curb of iron, thou sat'st of old
 O'er Russia, on her haunches rearing!

About the Image, at its base,
 Poor mad Evgeny circled, straining
 His wild gaze upward at the face
 That once o'er half the world was reigning.
 His eye was dimmed, cramped was his breast,
 His brow on the cold grill was pressed,
 While through his heart a flame was creeping
 And in his veins the blood was leaping.
 He halted sullenly beneath

⁴ " See description of the monument in Mickiewicz. It is borrowed from Ruban, as Mickiewicz himself observes " (*Pushkin's note*).

The haughty Image, clenched his teeth
And clasped his hands, as though some devil
Possessed him, some dark power of evil,
And shuddered, whispering angrily,
“ Ay, architect, with thy creation
Of marvels. . . . Ah, beware of me ! ”
And then, in wild precipitation
He fled.

For now he seemed to see
The awful Emperor, quietly,
With momentary anger burning,
His visage to Evgeny turning !
And rushing through the empty square,
He hears behind him as it were
Thunders that rattle in a chorus,
A gallop ponderous, sonorous,
That shakes the pavement. At full height,
Illumined by the pale moonlight,
With arm outflung, behind him riding
See, the bronze horseman comes, bestriding
The charger, clanging in his flight.
All night the madman flees ; no matter
Where he may wander at his will,
Hard on his track with heavy clatter
There the bronze horseman gallops still.

Thereafter, whensoever straying
Across that square Evgeny went
By chance, his face was still betraying
Disturbance and bewilderment.
As though to ease a heart tormented
His hand upon it he would clap
In haste, put off his shabby cap,
And never raise his eyes demented,
And seek some byway unfrequented.

A little island lies in view
Along the shore ; and here, belated,
Sometimes with nets a fisher-crew
Will moor and cook their long-awaited
And meagre supper. Hither too
Some civil servant, idly floating,
Will come upon a Sunday, boating.
That isle is desolate and bare ;

No blade of grass springs anywhere.
 Once the great flood had sported, driving
 The frail hut thither. Long surviving,
 It floated on the water there
 Like some black bush. A vessel plying
 Bore it, last spring, upon her deck.
 They found it empty, all a wreck;
 And also, cold and dead and lying
 Upon the threshold, they had found
 My poor crazed hero. In the ground
 His poor cold body there they hurried,
 And left it to God's mercy, buried.

THE BALLAD OF TSAR LAZAR AND TSARITSA MILITSA.

(*Translated from the Serbo-Croat by F. S. COPELAND.*)

(*Note.*—The translator has retained the Serbian declined forms of proper names, as it certainly sounds better and is in many places essential to the rhythm. An effort has also been made to render the effect of the Serbian decasyllabic verse, the classical *desetoritsa*, with the cæsure after the fourth syllable.

The chief characteristics of the Serbian ten-syllabic classical verse are as follows: The cæsure must follow the fourth syllable, and the first four syllables must be two trochees. The remaining six allow of some latitude in the rhythm. Usually they form two dactyls, in which case we have lines like:—

And beside him || Tsaritsa Militsa

Sometimes there is a dactyl and an amphibrach; but the final syllable must be an unaccented one. The Serbian language goes naturally into this verse, and there is no reason why it should not be imitated in English, except that perhaps it is not worth the trouble. I am not at all sure that my experiment is successful, but in a translation one is always hampered by having one's matter arranged beforehand.—F. S. C.)

As Tsar Lazar sate upon an ev'ning,
 And beside him Tsaritsa Militsa;¹
 Thus addressed him Tsaritsa Militsa :

¹ The Croat orthography is everywhere followed: but an exception is made for "Tsar" and "Tsaritsa."—Ed.

" O Tsar Lazar, thou thy country's glory !
 " Thou art leading princes hence and commons,
 " So that none be left within the castle.
 " O Tsar Lazar, from thy Royal headship,
 " From before thee send an urgent message
 " Hence and swiftly back from Fair Kòsovo.
 " Thou art taking hence my nine dear brothers,
 " My nine brothers, nine brave Jugovići.
 " Let one brother yet remain beside me—
 " For the sister—spare one single brother."
 —Then made answer Serbia's Prince Lazar ;
 " O my Lady, Tsaritsa Militsa,
 " Of thy brothers, say whom thou preferrest
 " In thy castle to remain beside thee ? "—
 " Grant the youngest, Boško Yugovića."
 —Then again spake Serbia's Prince Lazar :
 " O my Lady, Tsaritsa Militsa,
 " When the paling skies herald the morrow,
 " Day awakens and the sun rekindles,
 " And the city throws her portals open,
 " On the footpath stand beside the postern,
 " On their chargers there the knights must pass thee,
 " Mailed captains 'neath their spears of battle.
 " First among them rides thy youngest brother,
 " For he beareth forth the Christian banner.
 " Give this message to him, with my blessing :
 " ' To some other he may give the banner,
 " ' And turn homeward with thee to the castle.' "
 —When the dayspring brought again the morning,
 And the city threw her portals open,
 Forth she sallied, Tsaritsa Militsa,
 Stood and waited, hard beside the postern.
 Rode the captains past her on their chargers,
 Mailed warriors 'neath their spears of battle.
 First among them rode her youngest brother.
 Golden armour deck'd both knight and charger,
 For he carried forth the Christian banner—
 —O my brothers—on his gallant charger !
 O'er the banner shone an orb of pure gold,
 And surmounted by the Cross all golden.
 Waving streamers from the Cross down-flutter'd
 Flutter'd downward on young Boško's shoulders.

Then approached him Tsaritsa Militsa,
 By the bridle checked the prancing charger,
 Threw her white arms round her brother's shoulders,
 That more softly she might whisper to him :
 " O my brother, Boško Jugovića,
 " See, the Tsár hath spared thee for my comfort,
 " Not to battle with him at Kòsovo ;
 " And his blessing thus he freely sends thee :
 " ' To some other thou may'st give the banner,
 " ' And beside me turn thee to Kruševac,'
 " That one brother may be left beside me."
 —Thus made answer Boško Jugovića :
 " Go thou, sister, home to thy white tower ;
 " But I never shall with thee turn backward,
 " From my keeping never yield this banner,
 " Though the Tsar all Kruševac would give me,
 " That my comrades henceforth should upbraid me :
 " ' See the dastard, Boško Jugovića,
 " ' For the Holy Cross he feared to perish,
 " ' For his faith he would not shed his life-blood.' "
 —And his steed went forward through the portal.
 Close behind him rode the old Jug Bogdan,
 And about him sev'n sons all in order ;
 Vainly would she check each of the seven :
 None would even turn to look toward her,
 For the time was growing short before them.
 Last of all came Jugović Voina.
 In his keeping were the Tsar's own chargers
 In the splendour of their golden harness.
 By the bridle then she caught his charger,
 Clapsed her white arms round her brother's shoulders :
 —" O my brother, Jugović Voina,
 " See, the Tsar hath spared thee for my comfort,
 " And his blessing thus he also sends thee :
 " To some other thou may'st leave the chargers,
 " And beside me turn thee to Kruševac,
 " That one brother may be left beside me ! "
 —Thus to her spake Jugović Voina :
 " Go thou, sister, home to thy white tower,
 " But no hero e'en for thee turns backward,
 " The entrusted charge basely forsaking.
 " Though I know that death will be my portion,

" I, sweet sister, ride forth to Kòsovo,
 " For the Holy Cross to shed my life-blood,
 " With my brothers for the faith to perish."
 —And his steed went forward through the portal.
 This beholding, Tsaritsa Militsa,
 Sway'd, and tott'ring fell upon the cold stone,
 Lay there swooning on the stone for sorrow.
 Then did pass her the far-famèd Lazar,
 Saw his lady lying thus before him;
 Then from one hand glanc'd he to the other,
 Called unto him Golubān, his esquire:
 " Golubānè, true and faithful servant,
 " Straight dismount thee from thy snow-white charger,
 " Take thy lady, on thy white arm take her,
 " Bear her gently to the slender tower;
 " God's forgiveness be from me thy portion;
 " Thou may'st not ride with me to Kòsovo.
 " With thy lady bide thou in Kruševac——"
 —When Golubān thus heard Lazar's order,
 O'er his pallid face the tears fell rarely;
 But, dismounting from his snow-white charger,
 In his white arms he took up his lady,
 Bore her homeward to her slender tower.
 But, heart-broken, he could not endure it
 Not to battle yonder on Kòsovo.
 Swift he hastens back to his white charger,
 Mounts and gallops hot-foot to Kòsovo.

* * * *

When the day-spring brought the morrow's morning,
 There came flying, ebon-wing'd, two ravens,
 And alighted on the slender tower.
 Croak'd one raven, and replied her fellow:
 " Is this truly far-fam'd Lazar's tower? "
 " Keepeth none then watch within the tower? "
 —For within seem'd silence and emptiness.
 Yet there hearken'd Tsaritsa Militsa
 Through her lattice in the shining tower.
 Then she ask'd them, those ebon-wing'd ravens:
 —" God be wi' you, ye ebon-wing'd ravens!
 " Say, whence flew ye so early this morning?
 " Came ye hither, flying from Kòsovo?

" Saw ye yonder two armies embattled ?
 " Did the armies meet in stark encounter ?
 " Say which army claimeth the victory ? "
 —Then made answer those ebon-wing'd ravens :
 —" God be wi' you, Tsaritsa Militsa !
 " This aye morning hied we from Kòsovo.
 " Yonder saw we two armies embattled,
 " And this morning saw the fierce encounter.
 " Tsar and Sultan, both alike are fallen.
 " Of the Turks left barely a moiety ;
 " But whatever is left of the Serbians
 " Is all wounded and with gore bedabbled."
 —Further tidings they did not discover.
 Then came riding Milutin the henchman,
 His good right hand in his left hand bearing,
 On his body seventeen great gashes,
 Horse and rider all with blood bedabbled.
 Thus addressed him Tsaritsa Militsa :
 —" Wretched caitiff, thou henchman Milutin,
 " Hast forsaken thy liege at Kòsovo ? "
 Then made answer Milutin the henchman :
 " Help me, Lady, to dismount, I pray thee ;
 " Lave my gashes with the cold well-water,
 " And with red wine rouse my failing heart-beat,
 " For my hurts weigh heavily upon me."
 —From his charger did Militsa lift him,
 With cold water laved his gaping gashes,
 And with red wine roused his failing heart-beat.
 When he somewhat had regained his powers,
 Then the Lady Militsa demanded :—
 —" What befel, man, yonder on Kòsovo ?—
 " Where has fallen the far-famèd Lazar ?
 " Where has fallen Jug Bogdan, my father ?
 " Where have fallen the nine Jugovići ?
 " Where has fallen Vuk the son of Branko ?
 " Where has fallen the most gallant Miloš ?
 " Where has fallen Banović Strahinja ? "
 —And the henchman softly spake in answer :
 " All have perished, Lady, at Kòsovo.
 " There has perished the far-famèd Lazar ;
 " Many lances in that fight were shivered,
 " Many Turkish, and of ours 'a many,

“ Yet some few more Serbian than Turkish,
“ For their liege lord, Lady, to defend him ;
“ And thy father, Lady, old Jug Bogdan,
“ Fell right early, in the first encounter ;
“ Of his scions, eight have likewise fallen :
“ Not a brother there would fail his brother !
“ Yet surviveth Boško the young gallant ;
“ Still his banner flasheth o’er Kòsovo,
“ Still he chaseth droves of the enemy,
“ As a falcon would a flock of pigeons.
“ Where we waded in blood to the fetlocks
“ Fell the noble Banović Strahinja.—
“ Miloš also, great Lady, is fallen
“ By the waters of ice-cold Sitànica.
“ Many Turks, too, there did likewise perish.
“ Miloš slew him, slew Murad the Sultan,
“ And beside him of his Turks twelve thousand !
“ God assoil him, whosoe’er begot him !
“ Nevermore will Serbia forget him,
“ While a story or a song remaineth,
“ Man abideth, Kòsovo endureth !
“ But why ask me of Vuk the accursèd ?
“ Cursèd be he, and he who begot him !
“ Cursèd be they, his clan and his kinship !
“ He betrayed him, the Tsar, at Kòsovo,—
“ And deserted with twelve thousand horsemen,—
“ Royal Lady !—of our mailèd warriors !——”

LAMPRET, THE WARLOCK MARKSMAN

*An old Slovene folk tale retold in English by F. S. COPELAND from
the version given by W. KOCBEK and J. KELEMINA.*

Hunters, you know, are queer folk. They roam the mountains and the great woods for days together, and who knows what they learn there and with whom they consort?

Once, very long ago, there was a hunter, called Lampret, who lived with his wife on a tidy little farm of his own near an old town called Kamnik, at the foot of some very rugged mountains. In the valleys and near the town the land has been cultivated for many hundreds of years. But when you come to the mountain slopes, you get into dense, ancient forests, which grow all the way up until it is too cold and too windy for trees to thrive. Above the forests are mountain meadows, with grass like the finest turf, and bright Alpine flowers and scented herbs. And after that you come to rocks and scree, and then more rocks above them, so wild and precipitous that only the best of climbers can hope to scale them in safety.

Goodman Lampret took very little interest in his farm. He much preferred to shoulder his gun and go off hunting into the mountains. There he would stalk the deer and wild goat¹, which was better sport than toiling in the fields or about the farm. And so it was no wonder that his farm did not prosper as it ought to have done.

But Lampret was not an ordinary hunter. He was a *Warlock Marksman*. He would load his gun with magic bullets, so that he had only to point it in the direction of what he wanted to shoot—and pull the trigger. And the bullet would surely find the aim he had in mind, no matter how far away it might be. Moreover, he knew spells whereby he could charm the game, so that it would come into his very farmyard for him to shoot at his leisure.

Now Lampret had a brother called Perko—and these two never got on well together as brothers should. Even Perko's farm-servants disliked Lampret. There was one of them, in particular, a ploughman who meddled a bit with magic himself. This man just hated Lampret and used to boast that he was by far the better wizard of the two. One day, when Lampret happened to visit the brother, this ploughman said to his face :

¹ Chamois.

"What do I care about your tricks? I am a far greater warlock than you!"

Lampret laughed.

"Are you indeed?" he said, "By all means let us have a trial of our skill. I will put a spell upon you—and do you remove it—if you can. You know more about magic than I, don't you?"

Then Lampret went out into the yard, drew his hunting-knife and stuck it in the ground. And immediately the ploughman began to bleed at the nose and mouth, so that he was almost choked.

"Now stop the bleeding," Lampret mocked him, "since you are so much cleverer than I am."

The ploughman tried one spell after another, but they were no good. The bleeding would not stop—he felt himself growing weaker and weaker, until he was afraid he would bleed to death.

"You've beaten me," he said at last, to Lampret. "I give it up. Stop the bleeding, or I shall die."

Lampret stepped to the door, picked up his hunting-knife and sheathed it again. And upon the instant the ploughman's nose and mouth stopped bleeding, and he was all right, and none the worse except for the fright.

After this feat, Lampret's fame as a warlock increased greatly, and men began to be afraid of him. The end of it was that even the Mayor and Corporation of Kamnik determined that they must get the better of him somehow, or he would become a terror to the whole country-side.

So the men of Kamnik chose a clever lad from among their scholars and sent him abroad to study magic. The scholar remained abroad for several years, till he had finished his studies, and when he came home, Lampret was invited to a match in magic with him.

Lampret accepted the invitation, but said he could not spare the time to come to town. So he asked the men of Kamnik to come with their young man to him at Roban's Corrie² instead, and there they two would try their skill in marksmanship, one against the other.

Roban's Corrie is a deep valley in the Kamnik Mountains. Right and left are great crags, many thousands of feet in height, and between them a fair meadow runs up like a broad green tongue to the edge of the woods at the foot of a great mountain at the head of the Corrie. This mountain is called Oystritsa, which means Pointed Horn (or something very like it), and if you should ever come to see it, you will say at once that it is rightly named.

² Robanov Kot.

When the young scholar from Kamnik came to Roban's Corrie, Lampret received him courteously and said :

" We will set up an axe at the far end of the meadow, and each of us fire at it. The one whose bullet goes through the eye of the axe shall be accounted the winner in our test."

Lampret fired first. His bullet pierced the wood of the axe and threaded the eye as neatly as could be. Then the scholar fired, and behold, his bullet never rose, but spun round and round the barrel of his gun till it was spent and fell harmlessly at his feet !

" Do you see that ? " asked Lampret. " The difference between your skill and mine is as great as the difference between iron and steel."

But when the men of Kamnik saw what had happened, they hated Lampret more than ever, because he had worsted their champion, and when they got home, they decided that nothing would serve but that they must make an end of Lampret.

" Let us ask him to come out with us to stalk wild goat," said they. " Then, when we are up in the mountains together, and he is all alone among so many of us, it will go hard if we cannot manage to fasten a quarrel upon him, and get rid of him somehow, for all his magic. His insolence is past bearing, and besides, neither buck nor man is safe from his gun."

So they invited Lampret to come and hunt wild goat with them on Kamnik Saddle. Kamnik Saddle looks like a lofty pass over the mountains. You go up to it gradually through beautiful woods, and then up steep grassy slopes, like fairy lawns, and gay with meadow flowers and wild rhododendron. Right and left of the Saddle are rugged peaks. But beyond it there is nothing but the deep precipice above a valley far below. The grassland on the Saddle and the peaks on either hand are favourite haunts of the wild goat to this day, and if *you* were to visit Kamnik Saddle, you would find a tidy little Hostel at the top, for you and me to stay at if we want to go mountaineering.

But in Lampret's day that was all a mountain wilderness. There was no shelter but a little herdsman's hut at the edge of the forest like the one that stands there now, and others that had stood there before, for nobody knows how long.

To this hut below the Saddle went the men of Kamnik and waited for Lampret to meet them there before they went off hunting together. And Lampret came, and he brought his magic gun with him, as was his habit. But he glamourised the men of Kamnik, so that they could not see the gun—because he wanted to know what they really intended to do.

As he entered the cabin, they greeted him pleasantly enough and thanked him for coming. But when they saw him all unarmed, as it seemed to them, the friendly look on their faces changed.

"He has come without his gun," they thought, all of them together "Now is our time for getting rid of him once and for all."

"And they rose from their seats and made ready to attack him.

But Lampret slipped his gun from his shoulder and laughed in their faces;

"Not so fast, my friends!" he mocked them. "Did you really think I was so simple as to trust myself in your hands unarmed? My gun is in my hand, and I have powder and shot, too—enough to go round the lot of you!"

And as he spoke, he took the glamour from the eyes of the men of Kamnik, so that they could see the terrible gun in Lampret's hand—the gun that could not miss. So they were frightened, and made all manner of excuses till they were fairly out of the hut, and then they took to their heels and never stopped running till they had run all the way down the mountain and back into Kamnik!

But Lampret had a worse enemy, a more dangerous one and a more skilful than the Mayor of Kamnik and the whole of the Corporation put together. This was the Count of Liubliana³, which is the chief city in all those parts and lies in the broad plain below Kamnik. This Count was really a warlock, and almost as clever at magic as Lampret himself. He, too, had magic bullets, with which he could shoot Lampret, no matter how far off he might be, as long as he knew in which direction to fire. He had no mean opinion of Lampret's cunning, so he was very careful. He found out where Lampret was likely to be at one time and another, and decided that the wisest thing would be to shoot him all the way from Liubliana, and on a Sunday, just as the procession was about to pass the house on its way to church. It was not nice of him to choose a Sunday for such a deed, but he thought: "If anything should go wrong with my shot, Lampret will certainly fire at me in return. So I will quickly join the church procession. Then I shall be on a righteous errand, and his bullets can't touch me, and I shall be safe."

That Sunday, Lampret felt ill at ease. Something was not as it should be, and yet he was not sure what it was. So he went out and up into the hills, and looked up a kindly shepherd who lived there all the summer through with his flocks, and asked the shepherd to keep him company all that day, while he went out hunting.

³ Ljubljana.

The shepherd was not pleased at this request. He was just getting ready to go down to the village to church, as all good folk should do of a Sunday, if they can manage it at all. But Lampret was not to be put off.

"You know the whole of the service by heart," he said, "and you can say prayers all the time as we go along. There is nothing in them that I have cause to fear today and no harm shall come to you, body or soul."

So the shepherd was persuaded, and the two of them climbed the mountain till they came to a very lovely meadow⁴, warm, and sheltered and rich in rare flowers, and set about on three sides by terrible and lofty crags. There Lampret and the shepherd sat down. And there, in the peace and stillness of that meadow, Lampret began to tell the shepherd of all manner of things that were doing outside in the world at that moment. For he had the gift of second sight.

Suddenly Lampret turned to the shepherd and cried:—

"At this very moment and instant, the Count of Liubliana is getting ready to shoot me, and without your help I am a dead man."

With that, Lampret took off his hat, and went on: "Cut your finger ever so lightly, and let three drops of your blood fall into my hat."

The good-natured shepherd never hesitated, and it was a good thing that he was quick to do as Lampret asked him. Because scarcely were the words out of Lampret's mouth, than the Count pulled the trigger of his gun in far-away Liubliana . . .

The magic bullet sped away, across the sixteen miles from Liubliana to Kamnik, and ten miles farther on from Kamnik to the mountains, and then up and up, over the stony Saddle, and then down again to the meadow where Lampret was sitting beside the shepherd with his hat in his lap. But instead of piercing Lampret through the head, the bullet went into Lampret's hat; because the blood of a good shepherd of the hills had drawn it there, and Lampret was saved.

The Count, by his magic arts, at once perceived that his shot had gone amiss. Now he was himself in immediate danger of his life. In hot haste he ran out of his house to join the church procession that was just passing, so as to be safe from Lampret's magic marksmanship.

On the meadow, twenty-six miles over moor and mountain from Liubliana town, Lampret picked the Count's bullet out of his hat,

⁴ Okrešelj.

loaded his own gun with it and fired. And just as the Count stepped off the pavement and was getting into line to join the procession, the bullet came whistling through the air and pierced him through the heart, so that he fell dead on the spot.

So, for a while, Lampret was left in peace.

But Perko, Lampret's own brother, was as unfriendly with him as ever. There were two things which he could not forgive. One was that Lampret owned that nice farm and did not even trouble to look after it properly, and the other, that Lampret was always lucky whenever they went out hunting together, whereas Perko never shot a thing. So he never looked at Lampret's farm but he noticed how it was being neglected, and thought of the fine things he would do with it and the profits he would reap, if only that farm were his!

One day, Perko came to visit his brother, and, as usual, looked sourly about him at the barns and fields.

"I marvel at you, brother," said Perko at last, "that you cannot make your wonderful gifts as a hunter pay for your farm. You are so skilful and lucky with your gun, that we never go out together but you bring home a fine head or two of game, while I never can shoot a thing."

"Would you like to shoot something now?" asked Lampret.

"Indeed I would," replied Perko.

"Then you shall," said his brother. "You shall have your choice of all the game in our woods, and without any trouble to yourself either."

Then Lampret made spells and magic, and behold, in no time the farmyard was crowded with all sorts of game. There were deer, and wild goat, and hares, blackcock, and all. And all of them weeping so bitterly, that it might have been blood instead of tears that was dropping from their eyes.

"Now fire away from the doorstep," said Lampret to his brother. "Surely you can't fail to hit something at this range."

So Perko fired, and he shot a fine stag, and you would think that ought to have put him in better humour.

Some time after that, the two brothers went out again into the mountains to hunt. This time their luck was as usual. Lampret shot a buck and started off to carry it home into the valley. Perko stayed out a little longer, but it was no good. He shot nothing, and presently went home, too, angry and disappointed. On the way he thought he might as well look in at Lampret's and see how his brother had fared.

Lampret was just busy skinning his buck, and his wife happened

to look out of the window as Perko came up the road with a face as black as a thundercloud. Now Lampret's wife helped her husband in everything, and she knew how bitterly Perko hated him. So she called out :—

“ Here is Perko coming up the road to see us. If he finds you skinning that buck, he will be sulkier than ever, because you have been lucky again, and he has shot nothing. I shouldn't wonder, if he were to end by killing you one of these days ! ”

Lampret took his gun from the wall, and fired out of the window.

No one can say how it happened—it was all so long ago—but the bullet hit his brother Perko, and killed him on the spot.

When Lampret saw what he had done, he said good-bye to his wife, and left her, and left his farm, and everything. He wandered away into the woods, and no man ever saw him again.

.

Yet there is a tale, that one day, as a young hunter was out for the first time to stalk wild goat in the mountains, Lampret suddenly stood before him. He was dressed like a hunter, in leather shorts, green hose, red vest, with a green hat on his head. The young hunter was startled, but Lampret spoke kindly to him, and assured him he had nothing to fear.

“ Don't be alarmed,” said Lampret, “ I shall do you no harm. I only wanted to ask whether you would like a really good gun ? ”

“ Why, of course I should,” replied the hunter.

“ Then go to my old farm. You will get in without any trouble. There you will see three guns hanging on the wall. Take the middle one. There is no better weapon in the world.” And with that Lampret was gone, vanished as if the forest had swallowed him up.

The huntsman went to the farm that had been Lampret's, and really found the three guns hanging there, exactly as its old master had told him. But as he looked at them, they all three began to swing, back and fore, back and fore, like the pendulum of a clock. That seemed so queer to the huntsman that he took fright. He left the guns where they were, and ran out of the house as fast as his feet would carry him.

Since then, Lampret has never appeared to anybody. And for a long time after, no one cared to live in the farm that had once belonged to the Warlock Huntsman of the Kamnik Mountains.

VICAR MATHIAS'S LAST GUEST

Adapted from the Slovene of IVAN PREGELJ by BARONESS ZMAJČ.

A PRESBYTERY on the main road in a valley. Sunshine the whole day long—early morning on the left, at noon in front, in the evening on the right. And the view! Superb! The house stood on the slope of the hill, ten feet or so higher than the orchard which fringed the street. Through the fruit trees could be seen the road, where every Thursday a number of small carts coming down from the mountains stopped, and turned into the yard of the inn opposite to the presbytery for fresh relays of horses. Here also the drivers would drink and dance to the music of an accordion. Vicar Mathias, as he looked at them, would mutter: "I really must give that good-for-nothing innkeeper a talking to for allowing them to behave in this silly way."

Standing there he could see beyond the yard; green fields, and mulberry trees for feeding silkworms, and in the far distance the misty background of the neighbouring presbytery with the hill which led to the peaceful chapel of "Our Lady of the Snows."

This was the country where the first Slovenian poet was born, and the most beautiful song he ever sang was an ode in praise of wine.

Vicar Mathias was certainly no poet, but just as certainly he was the most sociable, kindhearted priest in the whole diocese.

The chief charm of his friendliness and sociability was the constant humour—classical humour it could be called—which he brought to bear on life, an attitude which came partly from his natural lightheartedness, and as he admitted, was also due to his constant study of *Frater in diabolus*, of Lucian of Samosata.

It was this *Frater in diabolus* which was responsible for bringing to the presbytery three times as many guests as his parson neighbours entertained. Perhaps also the fact that his house was on the main road, that it had a pleasing exterior, a delightful host given to hospitality, and an exquisite taste in all questions concerning wine, was another reason.

The presbytery at this time housed a permanent guest, young Mr. Alois the Ordinand, who, with his eyes glued to his books the whole day long, was preparing for his final examination.

The Vicar had made his acquaintance one day in the town, and finding him so ill and weak, had, after a little argument, persuaded him that "it would not be the least inconvenient, nor must he for a moment think he was being asked out of charity," but would lie

join him at the mail coach, and accompany him to the mountains, where the salubrious air, the company of the Vicar, and the society of *Frater in diabolo* would help him to regain his strength.

The young man's studious habits, and the quiet modesty with which he tolerated the Vicar's peculiarities, made the latter soon become very fond of him, and, without realising it, Mr. Alois was fast becoming his intelligent confidant. . . . "Oh," he would say, "Mathias dear, you really do not understand this"; though really he understood perfectly that the Vicar, where he needed understanding, could make no confidences himself.

It was not long—indeed, only a few hours after becoming acquainted—before the visitor suspected that the gay-hearted old gentleman was continually oppressed and troubled by some secret worry which he tried to conceal from those around him, and it was only three weeks later that he saw clearly that his kind host's financial position was in a very bad way.

Considering it his duty, Mr. Alois went to him at once and said : "Do not take it badly, your Reverence, if I speak to you quite frankly, but I really cannot abuse your hospitality any longer."

"What. . . . How" returned Mathias with faltering voice. "Abuse? . . . What is the name of the devil that obsesses you? "

"Your Lucian," answered the guest with smiling earnestness. "I know that you understand me."

The Vicar's gaze was troubled, as he vainly sought for words with which to reply, and finding none he burst out heatedly : "I suppose this is a joke of yours. I expect my sister has been putting some ideas into your head. She must always be making use of her tongue. But you do not yet know that all women are the same. Yes, all of them. As miserly as Judas Iscariot, and with no regard for the feelings of others. Understand me, now, she does not grudge a stranger who happens to enter this house a drop of wine or a piece of bread. But she has no tact. You understand me? She's thoughtless, she hasn't a way with her. As if we *could* shut the door to visitors ! Or sit at table and offer them nothing but potatoes in their skins ! Not even a spoonful of soup and whatever else went with it ! "

The young priest assented to all this, and nodding his head he replied with a quiet smile :

"I well understand you, reverend sir, but it is painful for me to have to reproach myself too——"

Here the Vicar interrupted excitedly : "Yes, of course, you, you, first, you are the one to bring me to the verge of poverty and

reduce me to beggary ! You have got a brain in your head, haven't you ?

" Just think a moment ! Am I a child who does not know what he is doing ? You can believe me, I am in no trouble of that kind, and I hope I never shall be. I hope you do not expect me to take my oath on it ? "

" Reverend—— "

" Now not another word, if you please, Mr. Alois, and I beg of you to put these ideas out of your head at once, so that not even in your dreams it may occur to you that you are under any obligation to me and my sister. You understand ? Not in the very least " ; and, after a short pause he added : " May the Lord grant you the same health and happiness that he has given to me. "

His voice was gentle and loving, and seemed to the young priest so full of tears that the only reply he could make was to offer him his hand in silence. The Vicar took it in both his, and shaking it vigorously, said : " So that is all right, Mr. Alois, " then added feelingly, " and you are nearer to my heart than ever, and will remain so even were you to become one day our Bishop. "

At this moment there was a knock at the door, and, flinging it wide open, the Vicar found three guests waiting to enter. Only one of them was known to him personally, but this one evidently knew the Vicar's hospitality sufficiently well to bring with him two uninvited guests. Two hours later saw them all sitting at table chatting gaily and enjoying the jokes of *Frater in diabolo*—all, that is, except Mr. Alois, who, lost in thought, remained silent, and did not join in the laughter.

" Our future Bishop, " as the Vicar now called him, having regained his health in the good mountain air, went up for his examinations, after taking leave of his friends with a heart full of gratitude.

During that winter the Vicar missed him greatly, but when he received a communication written in witty Latin informing him that his young friend had done brilliantly, and was proposing to become a theological lecturer, his delight knew no bounds, and he said to his sister with pride : " Now, my dear, you see I was not mistaken, and you may be sure that he will one day be a Bishop. I have an eye for these kind of people. And let me tell you, my dear, the stuff of which he is made is such that whatever he may achieve in the future, nothing can ever make him proud or arrogant, and he will never forget the country vicar who was once privileged to be his friend. "

* * * * *

No change was apparent in the Vicar's mode of life, and he was always the same cheerful, jovial companion. Sometimes, in society, he would be even excessive in his bursts of humour, but when alone he was often very, very quiet and sad. By-and-by there entered into his jokes and those from *Frater in diabolus* a tinge of bitterness which greatly tormented his kind soul, and made him try all the more to conceal the true state of his affairs.

His hospitality, always generous, became positively ostentatious, so afraid was he that outsiders might penetrate the almost transparent veil which hid the truth crying out so loudly to his sister and him when alone: the truth, which she would whisper to him: "He needed a new coat, for his was so thin and worn—new boots, for these would not bear any more patching—new underclothing, for through much washing his present ones were no protection against the cold. Then the house needed plates, and dishes—with so many guests."

The brother made no reply. He counted his meagre income, and deducted the presumed expenses, then began not to open the letters which arrived, putting them on one side, "I know quite well what they contain, they will have to wait."

His mind was confused. He had some idea that one day he would come in for a large sum of money, which he had never expected, and there would then be an end to all the troubles which were now weighing so heavily on his mind, worries that he would not wish even to the *Frater in diabolus*.

And it did happen that one day he unexpectedly inherited a few hundred florins! The neglected letters were immediately opened; bills for wine, oil, books, and various small articles were paid at once. Courage returned, generosity and lavish hospitality resumed their despotic sway; and during the time of Confirmation the Vicar's extravagance knew no bounds. A poor young priest was assisted, so that the feast on the day of his first Mass should be worthy of the occasion. Finally, a neighbouring colleague asked for the loan of fifty florins, and the Vicar was only relieved that the sum was not sixty, which he could not have given. . . . Nothing for himself!

One day there came an end to this tragical comedy, and he stood penniless. It happened on the very day when the wine dealer "just called to pay the Vicar a visit."

Mathias knew well what this meant, but with an appearance of easy hospitality he invited the man to dinner, listened to his empty speeches, looked with disgust at his soiled clothes,

decided that never more would he drink his wine, but *pay him he must*.

• He hated doing it, but he must borrow from the innkeeper in order to get rid of the dealer. And while he tried to look interested in the conversation he was saying to himself, "This is a grim joke, for here is *Frater in diabolio* having to be in debt to the innkeeper; you will have to keep your mouth shut; you will have to look on while he seduces people with the music of his accordion, and never be able to reprove the old sinner," and rising from his seat he went to his little office to write his begging letter.

When he opened the door to give his sister the letter to take over the way, he saw standing in the hall a little old woman who was a pensioner and lived as a permanent guest—nobody knew for what reason—in the house of the Melans.

She whispered to the Vicar that she wished him to take charge of some money she had brought with her, for there was no place in her house where she could hide it because the people were always searching her rooms. He took her to his office, counted and re-counted her savings, and having told his sister to give her a plate of soup and a glass of wine, sent her home happy. Then, to save time, he took part of her money and paid off the dealer.

Only a short time elapsed before the old woman was back again, and, with tears in her eyes, had begun to explain in faltering tones, when the Vicar interrupted her, "I know, I know, those harpies in your house have found out about the money, and want it back, isn't that it?" "Yes," she replied, weeping, "they give me no peace, they want to borrow it. What must I do? I shall certainly lose my bit of money."

"You certainly will," agreed Mathias grimly, as he tried to persuade her to let him deal with the Melans. But this she would not do, for "Without the money they refuse to let me enter the house," she said.

The poor Vicar, in desperation, cried out: "You and your money, you shall have it back in a moment," and, pushing her into the kitchen, he burst out of the house without hat or coat and strode over to the inn.

He never forgot that short and terrible walk, and could never remember how he went nor how he returned. In after years the very thought of it sent the blood rushing to his head.

The day following he went to the bank, arranged for a loan, and paid the innkeeper. And now, looking carefully into his money affairs, he came to a solemn decision. He would have to be absolutely

discourteous to any future guests. "I'll do it. Yes, I'll do it," he kept repeating to himself with emphasis. Three hours later five travelling students called at the presbytery, and were given only bread and wine. The Vicar dared not look at them, he felt so ashamed and pained that his sister had not given them at least cheese and ham.

He seemed to hear them say: "Not even a piece of meat! What a niggard you are!" He showed them out through the garden where they admired the peaches, and the Vicar, going up to the tree, shook it so vigorously that the ripe fruit fell in dozens on to the vegetable beds.

The students filled their pockets with the fruit, gathered up all that were on the ground, said good-bye to the Vicar, and left as if to continue their journey. Their host watched them through the bushes, and saw that they turned round by the stables and stealthily made their way back to the inn.

"Cowards," said he to himself bitterly, he, who had all the time been suffering at the thought of not being able to give each of them a florin to help them on their way, as was his custom.

Three years later Vicar Mathias went up to the Bishop's palace to present in person his petition to be given a remote mountain living which had fallen vacant. The official in the office looked at him wonderingly, but at that moment a hand was placed affectionately on his shoulder and a kind, quiet voice which he at once knew said: "Reverend Sir, let us go together to his Lordship, and whatever be your request I hope it will be granted."

"Mr. Alois," stammered Mathias in great embarrassment, "is it really you? I—I could not act otherwise. Do please believe me, and say a word in my favour."

With the utmost courtesy the young dignitary asked the Vicar to follow him, and in a short time, the pleasant presbytery with its fruitful orchard on the main road was exchanged for the lonely mountain parsonage far from the haunts of man. It was the only way in which the hospitable big-hearted Vicar was able to retire from a world that henceforth remembered him only as an historical figure given to making jokes. In fact, even his request for an exchange was said to have been the result of a mistaken joke. It was twenty years since he had moved to his forlorn parsonage, and his Mr. Alois was now "our Bishop" and his honoured and much loved guest on a certain important occasion. Toasts were being proposed, and one of the priests present rose to drink the health of "Vicar Mathias, the renowned joker," adding for the benefit of the

younger men the well-known story of how one day the Vicar had come to the late Bishop to proffer a request for a less important living than the one he then held. To embarrass them he had tendered his petition personally, and the Bishop had unexpectedly granted the petition, much to the Vicar's chagrin, thus capping his joke with a far more drastic one.

Mathias's worn old face flushed on hearing this tale, and with appealing eyes he turned to look at the Bishop, his dear Mr. Alois, who said to the company: "We must not wrong anyone. Our dear host did not intend a joke that day, but the tale is not a bad one, so let us stick to it. Never mind, your Reverence."

"Your Lordship will not be angry with me for calling you by the old name for the last time, Mr Alois, but you are the only one who knows how it was with me at that time. It was a fearful, fearful time, but it is over now. You said the tale was not a bad one and we should stick to it. Those are wise words, like those you spoke to me when you were my guest for the first time. Mr. Alois! Your Lordship! Might the truth we both know remain just between us two until my death?" The Bishop nodded understandingly, and then said: "But what about the *Frater in diabolus*? Is he still as dear a friend as he was in former days?"

"Oh, the devil took him," the Vicar cheerfully replied. "I put him in the oven, the best place for him. He tormented me in my sleep, and was a most troublesome guest. He drank my wine, and yet scolded me! Of course, only in my dreams, you understand. Once he even spoke evil of our dear Lord, and of other holy things. Of course, only in my dreams, you understand. But perhaps, I thought, these dreams have been sent by our Lord Himself, as a warning. So I tore the book out of my heart and burnt it. It was quite a pleasure to watch it burn."

"Poor Lucian," said the Bishop, with a smile. "But, my dear Vicar, do you not know that the writer of that book was a very good business man, and made a big fortune with his books?"

The Vicar looked down for a moment, then gaily retorted:

"But I made no fortune, your Lordship."

"No," said the Bishop solemnly, "being a Catholic priest, you could not."

"But," replied the Vicar, warming to his subject, "even a Catholic priest feels it hard when he wishes to offer his guest hospitality and finds that he has not the means to do so."

"And now that you have burnt Lucian, what do you read?" asked the Bishop.

"The Epistles of St. Paul; and sometimes I read sermons to my sister and to the peasants who are too much given to drink."

"Do not judge them too severely," warned his Lordship, and addressing the whole assembly, he added: "I was told by a very clever doctor that most of these poor peasants drink because they have not enough bread to eat."

* * * * *

It is twenty years later. The Vicar, a whiteheaded feeble old man sits near the stove, nursed by his sister. He lives in the past. When he is given merely a drop of wine he staggers, and reproaches her. "You have driven away all my guests; all women are disagreeable, but you are the worst. I am not joking. Were the Apostle Paul or St. Peter, or even our Lord Jesus Christ to come to the door, you would count every morsel they would eat, so you would." He would repeat such things to himself as he sat drowsy and alone in the quiet hours of the fading day, and his sister would watch him unnoticed, and listen to him as he became more and more childish. She knew his speeches by heart.

When he thought he was alone he would go to the sideboard, take a bottle of the best wine, lay the table as if for guests, put out the wine glasses, and from the lowest place would speak confidentially to the emptiness in the seats of honour.

The first time that his sister saw him do this she was overcome with horror, but as she became accustomed to his ways she smiled indulgently. "Let him have his childish pleasure," she would say, and she even made him a surprise birthday treat.

She laid the table beautifully, put out three polished glasses, wine, white bread, and nice fresh ham, then waited for him to come out of the little room where he had fallen asleep.

He had been so serene and lively all day, so kind and affectionate. He had liked his breakfast, and she had read to him the letters of congratulation his many friends had written him. He had spoken to her about the journeys of St. Paul to Damascus, Athens and Rome, saying: "What a preacher! Just think of him. What are we poor priests of the mountains compared with him? He could put to shame even the greatest scholars of pagan times! And how he writes of wine! Use a little wine, Timothy, for thou art old and infirm—just as if he had been writing to Vicar Mathias. I think he would call on me, and drink a glass of wine with me if he were not afraid of you!"

The sister could not keep back her tears, thinking of his

quaint tenderness as she stood waiting there, hidden by the kitchen door.

• The door of his room opened, and the old man seemed to be leading two invisible persons, one on his right and another on his left.

• Addressing the one on the right, he said : " You are higher and greater than all of us, so you must have the best place," and, turning to the other, " I do not know you, but as you are with him, you must sit above me." Thus speaking he led them to the table, filled the glasses, and said gaily : " May God bless it to you." The sister trembled with awe, for she heard a distinct sound of clinking glasses. The old man continued, " Now, Apostle Paul, so this is what you are like ! I always fancied you like a giant, and you turn out to be just like one of those dumpy little men from Tolmin, but never mind. Old Mathias is not a good hand at paying compliments. But to tell the truth, I was never so happy as today, no not even when Mr. Alois, my gracious superior, visited me ; for you, who are three times as great, have condescended to visit the poor country priest. And on my birthday, too ! Salve, salve ! "

The sister had difficulty in keeping silence as he continued, " I am old, you see, and hard of hearing, and my sight is not of the best. You did introduce your companion to me, I know. But you understand we old people are . . . tell me once more who he is, so that I may give him due honour, too."

In her hiding place the sister pressed her hand to her mouth so as not to scream aloud, for she saw through the chink in the door her brother bend forward as if trying to catch the words, and then heard him call out.

" And is it only now that you tell me, now that I have put you in the place of honour ? Yield place to Him, oh, Apostle of the Lord."

She saw him fall to his knees before the invisible Guest, saw him stretch out his arms, fold his hands, and with an infinite glad devotion say in faltering tones : " Lord Jesus, my kind Master, I did it in my confusion. The place of honour at my table belongs to You before all others. There is nothing in my poor house that is not Yours. You are the Lord. Take. Order. Take, my sweet beloved Guest."

Her heart seemed to stop as she heard in the room a voice saying in sweet clear tones : " Mathias, my faithful servant," and from the seat of the apostle came a whispered Amen.

She rushed into the room. Her brother knelt with arms outstretched, his face calm and peaceful. Dead.

HOLIDAY

*Translated from the Bulgarian of FANNY POPOVA-MUTAFOVA by
MARGOT HADJI-MISHEV.*

ON that day everything is different—the people, the houses, the sky, as if some magic transformed the slightest things, the most ordinary events. On that day you can see those who are only able to be idle one day a week walking in a long and endless stream, numb fatigue in their expressionless faces which clearly show the mark of suffering and care. On that day young ladies who cannot afford a trip to Cham-Koriya or at least to the monastery of Dragalevci, try to stifle their unbearable boredom at home with a jangly piano on which they strum “The White Acacia,” or at the most a part of “Peer Gynt.” But on no other day does a person feel so keenly and so mercilessly as on a holiday the great delusion of life. That is the day on which no man can flee from the ever-wakeful and sharp eye of his conscience, which at last pounces on him with its implacable questions. For, lost in our daily little cares, we slyly close our ears to the thousand contradictions and shams of life, avidly swallowing the hours from one sunset to another, with the fear of a thief fleeing light and noise, so as to forget that the road which we are following may end at the next turning, may be barred by torrents or precipices, by the poison of deceit and the hiss of slander; so as to forget that it is more often the sons of Cain who gather the fruits of the earth and that our every joy, our every sorrow and our every wish are as empty and vain as the moment which passes and is lost in the endless abyss of time.

On that day we laugh loudly and smile meaningly. We do not know where to hide the grim horror of a conversation with ourselves, and we flee, hiding our heads. Some flee to the hills, some to the forgetfulness of sleep, others follow the crowd, still others find a sorry consolation in a sought-after and imagined festivity. On that day even the walks of loving couples are sad and forced. Because official happiness is always hollow and artificial.

Such a day is called a holiday.

On such a day the little dressmaker Cveta woke up in a very bad humour and decided to revenge herself on her fiancé. She did not know herself what for. But she felt an unreasonable anger and discontent with the poor young man. All the same, she called to mind how two years ago, when they were still only acquaintances, he had walked arm in arm with her friend Slavka one evening, then

again she remembered that some months ago he had turned to have a good look at a beautiful woman in the street, then . . . but these two reasons were enough for a woman (for all women are vindictive, and suddenly become very angry over things that happened twenty years ago).

So she decided to accept the invitation of some people whom her fiancé disliked, and to let him take his walk by himself that day. Because it was quite certain that Vasil would not come when he heard that the unbearable man with the dyed moustache was going to be with them. Whether his moustache was dyed or not nobody really knew, but one thing was quite certain: the man was forty-nine years old and owned two three-storied houses. The first fact was in favour of Vasil, the second—in favour of Cveta.

The girl went into the kitchen, breakfasted, and sitting down in a corner started to sew energetically at some green material.

"You should not sew on a Holy Day, my dear," scolded her mother, who was making pastry.

"You know I promised the dress for today, mother. The lady is coming for it presently."

The mother shook her head, muttered something about the ungodliness of present-day youth, and continued her argument with her husband on a subject which had come up regularly every holiday for the last twenty-three years. They quarrelled over a meadow which the old man had sold at half price, for almost nothing, without consulting his wife. And she never forgot to nag him about it.

"If you had only asked me . . ." she always began, "this or that would not have happened."

The old man would hold his tongue, fidget, and finally explode. This time in his rage he straightened up suddenly (he had been stooping to clean his shoes) and struck his head against the open window. The blow was so hard that the window broke and cut his cheek. There was a terrible hubbub. The two women ran about the kitchen not knowing what to do. At that unfortunate moment Vasil knocked at the door. Nobody answered him. He knocked a second time, then once more. He could hear sounds within, someone was walking about and talking, and someone else answered. Why didn't they open the door to him? Surely Cveta had seen him from the window and wanted to show him that on that day she preferred to be far from him. Anger seized him. He turned and walked away. Someone opened the door behind him and called him by name. But he did not turn round once. The door slammed behind him.

So they quarrelled. Without cause. Just from obstinacy and lack of confidence.

Then the girl decided definitely to revenge herself that day for all the discontent and irritation boiling within her. Whose fault was it? Perhaps just the unusualness of the holiday which turned her habits topsy-turvy; the quarrels at home, the unaccustomed idleness, too much food, sleeping too late, the excitement of the coming walk. The strange, nervous sounds of the town filled her with painful restlessness and a dim longing for something new and unusual.

After lunch Cveta slowly began dressing and decking herself out. The holiday afternoon melted away in the summer heat. The town seemed dead. The streets were so still and empty. But that would only last a few hours. In a short time the second part of the holiday comedy would begin. The same setting, but with other characters. In the morning from his bronze horse the Tsar Liberator gazed down calmly on a parade of mannequins, showing off the latest creations of Patou, Agnes, Worth and Poiret, but after noon some unwritten law wiped out all traces of the pretty mannequins, making room for the waves of people coming from all parts of the town, flooding the wide boulevard with the perfume of cheap powder.

The little seamstress, dressed at last, went for the last time into the room which was her bedroom and the parlour. For the last time she stood on tiptoe to look at herself in the big mirror, which sent back her distorted reflection in a greenish light. On the iron bed, covered with a spread of fine homespun silk, fat pillows stood in a stiff row. An old guitar, tied with a pink ribbon, leant against them. White curtains filtered the light, throwing cold shadows in the neat room. . . . The girl stretched out her arm for the guitar. Then dropped it again and sighed. Her quarrel with her fiancé weighed on her mind. In the garden she heard sounds. Two girls in light dresses ran to her window calling her. Cveta jumped up. Her heart was beating unevenly. Should she go? Should she stay? She remembered the spark in her fiancé's eyes, the angry quiver of his lips when he had seen her once with this same set, and she shivered. Should she go? A wave of furious excitement swept over her. She would go, she would go. The desire to torment her beloved filled her with feverish joy. What foolish happiness to see the angry sparkle of his eyes, his voice changed by worry, the torment in his face. . . . And all for her. To make certain for the thousandth time how much he loved her. To torment him to death and then make up for it by love and sweetness. Cveta was still young, a

common little dressmaker, but she was a daughter of Eve and her ancestress had tasted the serpent's fruit.

They went towards the boulevard. But on the way she heard hurrying, frightened footsteps behind her. Without turning she knew that it was he. Vasil caught up with her and seized her hand.

"You are not to walk with them," he whispered between clenched teeth, gripping her arm. "If you do, I've finished with you."

Then Cveta opened her mouth, and through it spoke not her voice but that of the serpent.

Her voice was saying: "Very well, I will leave them. They are really great bores, particularly the one with the dyed. . . ." But the serpent said slyly: "Leave me. I'm sick of you. If you want it, here is your ring."

And she took off her ring to give to him. The youth looked at her darkly, pushed her aside and vanished.

Carriages full of people dressed in their best clattered through the empty streets. Here and there appeared family groups, going to call on friends or relations, the husband walking ahead carrying the baby, the wife a little behind them surrounded by children of various ages. In front of the houses old people were sunning themselves, indifferently watching the ribbon of life unfolding itself before them. Small children, gaily bedecked and self-confident, walked past sedately, holding their father's hand in one of theirs and a sweet or balloon in the other. The whole world's attention was focussed on a new suit or a new hat. Others played around, as light and lovely as butterflies. At the street corners girls stood arm in arm. Their bead necklaces jangled with every giggle, at each new joke.

The whole town was alive this unusual day. Many dozed all day waiting impatiently for dusk. Then they would go to an inn, a cabaret, the opera, a cinema or the theatre. Others spent the day in the mountains and returned tanned by the sun, drunk with the air and the greenness, with sparkling eyes and healthy faces.

Cveta and her friends crossed the wooden bridge behind the Zoological Gardens and entered the park. Little by little the Boris Gardens filled with people. Not one nook, not a single place was unoccupied. The whole town had transported itself to the gardens for a few hours. Somewhere far in the wood a soprano was singing. From time to time groups of young girls wandered by, clerks, apprentices, workmen in their newest clothes humming the latest hit in chorus. Families were picnicking under the trees, leaving behind them a dismal trail of papers, crusts and remains of food.

Cveta was sad. It was a pleasant, soothing sadness. She was repeating to herself the loving words she would say to Vasil when he came again that evening to quarrel with her. Her friends sat down on the grass, the unpleasant man approached and leant against the tree she was sitting under. But Cveta turned her head away and gazed into the distance. Suddenly she gasped aloud. There behind those pine-trees she caught sight of Vasil's lowering face. She ran towards the spot, but there was no one. Perhaps she had been mistaken. She sighed deeply and, seized with indescribable misgiving, begged to be taken home. But her friends would not hear of it and continued their exchange of pleasantries with some passers-by.

Little by little darkness fell. Cool forest breezes brought them the fresh smell of pines. Everyone started homewards. The dark waters of the lake mirrored the many-coloured garlands of electric lights. Along the main road returning motor-cars raised clouds of dust. In the town people thronged the streets, making them almost impassable. The crowd, tired and happy, like a satiated many-headed monster, slowly crawled towards its lair. The smell of cheap powder blended with the tempting fumes of grilled meat; in the artificial light all faces seemed beautiful, the cinema posters flaunted their crude colours, calling to the mob. There it stopped, tired and thirsty, to seek wonder and forgetfulness in the dark halls. Cveta and her companions went to the "Bulgaria." There they spent several hours on the wide American prairies, they cried together with Mary Astor's beautiful eyes and shivered deliciously at the young lover's exploits. For a moment they saw unfolded before them the kaleidoscope of life, everywhere different, yet everywhere alike. The people of that unknown transatlantic country loved and suffered like themselves. An hour ago they had laughed, and now down their cheeks rolled the tears which a great producer had succeeded in wringing from the most hidden corners of their souls. Their hearts were touched by beauty, innocence and misfortune. For a moment they felt that they stood face to face with life's secrets. What marvellous force had suddenly wrenched them away from all that was petty and inevitable, meaningless, unpleasant and yet necessary—our everyday life—to thrust them suddenly into this far-away dream, this fairy-tale world?

The magic was over. The lights came on for the last time and they awoke. They left the cinema changed, purified, subdued. A professor surreptitiously wiped his glasses, a clerk made no attempt to hide his reddened eyes, women openly brushed the tears from

their lashes. And still stronger in Cveta's soul grow her longing for Vasil. • She remembered his helpless smile, the hidden fierceness of his look, his voice husky with emotion. She wanted to flee, to scatter the noisy, pushing crowd, to find him, to beg him to forgive her and forget. . . .

The holiday was drawing to a close. From the mountain came all those who had spent their day on its slopes; they mingled with the overdressed crowd, throwing a gay note of colour with their tanned faces and hands full of flowers amid so much artificiality and vanity. The long-drawn and plaintive songs of drinkers were heard outside the taverns, and out of the darkness the first stars of night appeared, pale, with scarlet lips. Suddenly from a street corner wild piercing screams were heard. A crowd collected. Policemen came. Presently the civil authorities followed them. Everyone pushed and stood on tiptoe to see, to hear, to understand. And a little later everyone returned home agog with the news: "If you only knew what happened. . . . What occurred. . . . I saw it with my own eyes. . . ." And to many it seemed a new event, the latest novelty with which the holiday had ended.

The next day greedy hands opened the newspapers, searching them with hungry eyes. Yes. There it was in big headlines: "The latest murder. . . . Last night . . . a young seamstress . . . her fiancé . . . unfaithfulness. . . ."

And the news is avidly swallowed together with the steaming soup or roast chicken.

"Is that all?"

"That is absolutely all. The newspaper really has nothing in it today."

The holiday definitely gave place to everyday.

A VILLAGE TSADDIK¹

*Translated from the Yiddish of SHELOM ASH by SHIFRA NATANSON
and N. B. JOPSON.*

HE lies hidden in a dew-covered sea of green grass and is pasturing the sheep his father has given him. Yashek is what they call him—he does not know himself what his Jewish name is. He has not been called up yet to the Thora reading.

¹ Adapted from a Jewish folk story.

Everybody knows that he is a yokel, a lout. His father, Isaac the dairyman, is at his wits' ends about him. The lad won't even be able to say Kaddish! Only because it is his duty has he brought a teacher for him up from the town. The teacher struggles hard with him. He goes over each word hundreds and hundreds of times, but it is all labour lost on Yashek: "cat" and "rat" are all the same to him.

"Tut-tut, it's a proper numbskull I have to deal with," says the teacher shaking his head, and the mother looks at her son and sighs. He is not even told to take up a prayer book. What? Yashek pray! Why should he? What can he have to do with God? He would only bring disgrace on God's name if he were to say the "Hear, O Israel."

But Yashek does understand God after his own understanding and feels Him in his heart. He sees God everywhere; wherever he looks, on whatever his eyes fall he sees Him; he sees Him where the brook flows silently and tells its secret to the still, quiet grass-grown bank; and when from afar there comes a cloud and spreads over the sky with gloomy darkness, then he feels something, he wants something, he yearns for something. When a heavy cloud gathers, when there is a thunderclap or a lightning flash and the rain pours down, or when the village is gripped and its heart oppressed, as it was when they picked up old Machek from under the mowing machine with the blood running from his severed foot . . . and the village grieves . . . then, the feeling of God comes upon him.

God does not dwell in the sky, and there is no need to lift your head up to the sky to see Him. No, he thinks that God dwells somewhere far off, far off in a big town where the big village squire lives, where all the big squires and big people live, and all these big squires and big people are nothing more than God's farm hands just as Stah and Voytek are the local magnate's farm hands. What can he have to do with God? He could not even be His shepherd! One of God's shepherds, he says to himself, would have to be a high gentleman, a big squire. Who knows if the squire of their village is even one of God's coachmen? So, will he, Yashek, have any chance?

Only now and then, when the sky is bright and clear, dreamily resting in a blue, flowing veil and the grass is peacefully growing, and a haulm is rooted in the earth and quietly looks up into the sky, and the old rampart stands opposite, the green village grand-sire, and farther off, where the path winds through the grass, a cart

drives by, and a man is walking somewhere far, far away . . . and above, the firmament stretches somewhere far away, getting lower and lower until it comes down, right down to the earth, and Yashek is sitting on the threshold of the barn, and looks . . . then it seems to him that God has slipped away for a bit from the squires and the magnates and has come down all alone into the field and is lying there at full length, waiting. And Yashek wants to give praise and thanks for all and everything round about him. And now and then he would like to go walking, walking till he should come to the big town where God dwells, where His palace is.

"I'll go up to God and kiss His hand," he says to himself, but quickly adds with a sigh: "But shall I be let in? I can get," he thinks, "to God's palace, but there will be porters standing there, great tall fellows with blue ribbons, yellow top boots and red coats." They will be like the footmen he has seen attending on the gentry who have come to a ball at the squire's in his village, and they will chase him away.

But then he quickly bethinks himself that there is no need to go, because God is in the open field and the porters are guarding an empty palace, a palace without God.

"God the faithful King" the Rabbi is teaching him out of the prayer book. And this God-the-faithful-King seems to him a kind of charm which, if he recites it, will make the porters let him into God's palace. But his is a different prayer to God, a prayer without words, a prayer that wells up in his heart, fills it to the brim, overflows and bursts out in a whistle. When he wishes to pray he puts two fingers into his mouth, pouts his lips and blows, and his prayer echoes throughout the whole forest. And God understands him and understands his prayer very well; and he whistles only when he must whistle to God, when he feels that he needs to whistle. And God, he thinks, is lying somewhere far off, far off in the open sweet-smelling field and is listening to him whistling and is having His pleasure in his whistling, and is rejoicing thereat. He is not the only one who whistles. Everybody whistles, he knows it. When Nosey, the village dog, bursts out barking or wags his tail or gazes into the sky and barks, he says that Nosey is praying; when Whitey goes home from the field at dusk, sticks out her beslavered tongue and utters a sad, drawn-out moo-oo-oo, "Whitey is praying," he says. Goatey prays differently; he bucks and rears right up and thrusts his head out stiffly with a br-r-r. They all pray, even the frogs in the water, with their whispering qua-quas to each other.

Yashek is now thirteen years old and has not yet learnt to say the Hear, O Israel, and New Year is coming on. The teacher is working with Yashek, trying to get him to say at least the Hear, O Israel for this year, so that he can be taken into the town. And in honour of the festival Yashek has had a new linen suit bought for him, and a pair of boots and a new cap. If only he can manage the Hear, O Israel.

The synagogue is crammed full; old and young they are all dressed in white, and wrapped in their praying shawls. All are standing, swaying and shouting and calling out loud, ever louder and louder. At the pulpit where the seven tall wax candles are burning, the cantor stands with his choir. Long wailing melodies and an accompaniment of cut-off short, choking noises can be heard.

"Who shall live, who shall die."

Suddenly a choking cry bursts out from the women's gallery, and Yashek is there, dressed in his linen suit, and his fair hair tumbling out from under his back-tilted cap. Suddenly he moves away from where he is standing, pushes up to the front to a place at the side opposite the cantor, and the prayer book his father has given him to make the people think he is praying slips from his hand, and he stands there with wide-open eyes, and stares.

A few young scamps notice him. They nudge each other, giggle and point at him, and then one of them goes up to him and tweaks his nose for him. But he neither hears nor feels. He stands and gapes, now at the cantor and now at the wailing men. And then he sees the white curtain in front of the ark with its big golden letters: Holy to the Lord.

God must be there now, there, behind the curtain, he says to himself.

And his mother looks down from the gallery and sees that lad of hers standing there gaping, the prayer book fallen out of his hand, and the good woman sighs, and she thinks: Ay, a yokel, a proper bumpkin. And his father throws him a look from under his praying shawl and, with a deep moan, says: "Almighty God, remember him also." And Yashek stands there, gaping. As they all pray and weep and call upon God, the desire comes over him, too. He also wishes to pray to God. He does not want to weep or to shout, but only to give praise and thanks to God, to thank Him for everything, everything.

He snatches up his prayer book, finds the Hear, O Israel passage which has been marked for him and begins:

"G-o-d, the fai-th-ful K-ing." But this prayer does not mean anything to him, he does not understand it. It is only a form of words, a mere form. He wishes to give thanks and praise God honestly, loyally, from the depths of his heart. But he is afraid of the crowd, the big crowd that is praying so differently. But the desire is stronger than himself, and God is higher than all. He must, he must, and he brings his fingers up to his mouth, and a shrill whistle cuts through the wailing synogogne.

The congregation is aghast. Who is it, what is it? Who whistles in the Holy place? His father tries to grasp him by the shoulder, and outside the crowd is there to beat him. But suddenly the holy Tsaddik turns from the wall on the East side and asks: "Where is the Tsaddik who hath torn up the judgment decree, who hath pierced the Heavens and through the leaden clouds hath shown forth our prayers"?

But the Tsaddik was no longer there. He has slipped out of the synagogue and, with his boots thrown over his shoulder, is already striding back to the village.

THE THIEF

A FOLK TALE, *translated from the Russian by* ELIZABETH HILL *and*
DORIS MUDIE

I

THERE were two friends. They decided to live in their own way and one said to the other:

"You be the thief and I shall be the soothsayer. When you steal anything, be sure to tell me."

One day the thief stole nine bales of homespun from an old woman and hid them in a certain place. But the old woman knew what to do; she went to the soothsayer.

"You can see things, can't you?" she asked.

"I can for you," he said.

"Then please do. I would sell my best skirt to hear you."

So he began to tell her: "Go down such and such a path. Do this. . . . Do that. . . ."

They went to look for the homespun and found it in the very place. The old woman gave him three roubles.

"Thank you, my dear," said the soothsayer. "Now go home!"

Later the thief and the soothsayer talked together: "There's a chance for us! There's good wages! We could not ask for better. We have earned three roubles in an hour and a half. Go and steal something else, or we shall have to work!"

II

The thief ran off and stole a horse. He took it and then went to the peasant who owned it, and said: "I can tell you of a man who can see where your horse is. Go to the soothsayer; he is a clever fellow."

And falling on his knees in front of the soothsayer, the peasant said: "Please do your best. . . ."

"Yes," said the soothsayer, "I can for you."

And he began to tell him things: "Down such and such a path . . . taken by such and such a man . . . and standing near to such and such a tree."

They went to look for the horse and found it just where he had said. The peasant gave him fifteen roubles and rode away feeling happy.

III

Soon after this, there were two recruits in the village where that clever fellow, the soothsayer, lived. They set out for military service, and it happened that they had to go to the Tsar's court in Saint Petersburg.

It was at the time when the Tsar had lost a golden ring, and he was looking for a man who could find out by magic where it was. The recruits told him of the soothsayer: "There is a man in our village who knows of these things."

"How can he be brought here?"

"We do not know, your Majesty."

The Tsar sent out an order that the soothsayer be brought at once to the Court, but the soothsayer took no notice. The Tsar sent out a second order, but the man did not obey. Then he was made to go by force. He went to the Tsar's palace and was too frightened to think. They gave him a place to sleep in until the morning. He woke up very early, but he did not know what time it was. He thought it was the morning; but when he looked at the clock, it was eleven o'clock at night.

Now the ring had been stolen by one of the Tsar's stablemen, and one of these men stood under the soothsayer's window to listen

if he should say anything. The soothsayer was sitting in the dark, making up his mind : " I shall sit here until I hear three cocks crow, and when the three have crowed, I shall jump out of the window and run home." No sooner had he said this to himself than a cock crowed. The groom was listening under the window, and heard the soothsayer say : " Thank God, that is one of them." The groom thought that he was talking about him, so he ran back to his friends : " Boys," he said, " the soothsayer knows very well who it is." But they would not believe him. " Then come and listen. Come on ! " And two grooms stood under the soothsayer's window.

The second cock crowed. " Thank God ! " said the soothsayer, " that is two of them." The grooms were terrified and ran back to the third groom.

" Come on ! " they said. " Let us take the ring to him." So the three grooms ran to their room, took the ring, a bottle of vodka, ten roubles in money, and returned to the window.

The third cock crowed. The soothsayer jumped out of the window and ran as fast as his legs could carry him. The grooms caught him. " Here is money for you ! Drink our vodka ! Here, take the ring ! Only mind you say nothing about us ! "

He took the ring and the money, drank the vodka, climbed through the window back into the room and lay down again. The grooms fixed the window.

The soothsayer hid the ring in the Tsar's sofa.

IV

The Tsar came.

" When will you tell me where the ring is ? "

" I cannot," said the soothsayer, " I have too much drink in me. I swear I cannot. . . . "

" Come now," said the Tsar, " what drink ? " And then he threatened him : " I shall have you beaten with rods ! "

So the soothsayer began : " Near such and such a bed and on such and such a sofa, under such and such a dressing-gown. . . . " They went to look for the ring, and they found it just where he had said. The Tsar rewarded him with three hundred roubles and gave him a medal to commemorate the find.

V

The soothsayer set out for home. He felt tired and sat down by a ditch. A Tartar came riding along the road. He stopped and

said to the soothsayer : " Where are you going ? " " I am dragging myself wearily home. Will you exchange boots with me ? " The Tartar jumped down from the horse, took off his own boots and tried on the soothsayer's. The soothsayer was holding the Tartar's horse, and no sooner had he put on the Tartar's boots than he leapt on to the horse and galloped away.

" Hi, stop you Russian ! " yelled the Tartar.

VI

The soothsayer came to a wayside inn and said to the innkeeper : " What am I to do ? I have stolen a horse."

" Whose horse ? " " A Tartar's." " Let us hide it." So they put the horse in the cellar and hid it.

All night they sat at the window, and the innkeeper said to the soothsayer : " They will be chasing you soon. Six Tartar riders are after you." Fifteen minutes had not gone by when the riders came knocking at the window : " Has a man on horseback passed here ? " " No," said the innkeeper, " he has not been here." Then when the Tartars had ridden away, the innkeeper let the soothsayer out.

" Ride away," he said, " as fast as you can, and go back to your village."

The peasant came to his village and spoke to the priest : " Buy my mare ? " " What do you want for her ? " " I gave ninety roubles for her." " Then for how much will you sell her to me ? " " I will let you have her without any profit."

The priest brought the money and led the mare away to his stable.

VII

The peasant took the ninety roubles and went home.

" I shall have to go and earn some money now," he thought.

He went to a town and stayed at a large inn. There were many peasants there, and among them he saw the Tartar. One of the peasants was saying : " I have drunk away so many roubles." And another was saying : " Yes, and I have lost so much "; while the Tartar was telling them : " A Russian went off with my mare. I am not sorry about the mare, but I am sorry about the saddle. I had seven hundred roubles hidden in that saddle. . . ."

As soon as the peasant heard this, he hurried home, ran to the priest and asked : " Have you still got my saddle ? " " It is lying about somewhere on the stack of wood. Go and take it."

VIII

The peasant took the saddle and went home. "What shall I do now?" he asked himself. "I shall play cards." He sat down, joined in a game and won half a rouble. He put the coin into his mouth and, by mistake, he swallowed it. He lay on the floor like a corpse. They called the priest and showed him that the peasant was dead. The priest said he would bury him.

Next day he was laid out in a coffin, then they drove him to the village church and left him there. There were three other corpses in the church. In driving him along, they had rattled him so that the coin moved in his throat. He turned over and as he turned, the coin rolled out. When he came to himself again, he could not think how to get out. He searched his pockets but there was nothing there, only a pack of cards. Then he began to think. He dragged the three corpses from the coffins, set them up against the wall, put a coffin lid in front of them, some cards on the lid and the half rouble. Then he unclasped their hands and placed a few playing-cards between their fingers.

"Here you are," says he. "Play!"

The watchmen heard this. "There's something wrong in the church," they said, and went in to look. And there was a corpse banging his fist on the coffin lid!

"Here, you——! I'll win on the black," the corpse was saying.

The watchmen ran out of the church and went to the priest.

"The corpses are playing cards!" they shouted.

"What are you talking about? Please do not tell me such lies."

"But it is true, it is true, father."

So the priest followed them with a lantern. (Meanwhile the peasant had escaped from the church.) He looked at the corpses and saw that it was true. There they were, sitting up playing cards. They laid the corpses back in their coffins. The next day they said prayers over them and buried them, the empty coffin with the other three.

But no one knows where that other corpse went to.

ON DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIPS

Without necessarily accepting Mr. Kerensky's whole line of argument, the Editors commend his article as deserving the close attention of all students of contemporary politics.—ED.

JUST twenty years ago saw the beginning of the "last" war, which was "forever" to destroy the source of wars—absolutism in all its forms. The triumph of democracy throughout the world was the political, or, rather, the moral aim of the greatest bloodshed in history.

And, indeed, a crushing victory went to that coalition which included the three oldest and greatest democracies—England, America and France. The three dynasties of Emperors, which had been called the "fortress of European reactionary absolutism," disappeared—the Russian during the War, the German and Austrian at the moment of peace making. All of these vanished with an almost miraculous haste. In the place of these empires sprang up republics. Yet out of all this abundance of democratic republics, by 1934 there has remained only one—Czechoslovakia. Russia, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Jugoslavia, Italy, Turkey, Bulgaria, an enormous part of the territory of continental Europe has become the scene of action for a whole pleiad of dictators. Squashed in between Stalin, Hitler and Pilsudski, the little Baltic republics are hurriedly breaking up their constitutions as too democratic for these times, and even in France, as was said in an unpublished manifesto of the Premier, Daladier, on 6 February, 1934, under cover of peaceful street demonstrations, conspirators were "preparing a revolution to establish in France a dictatorial regime." (*Le Temps*, 18 May.)

Whether there were really deliberate conspirators in Paris on 6 February may well be debated, and, of course, the democratic regime existing in France is not threatened by any danger in the style of Dollfuss or Hitler. Still, the warlike march of the "patriot youths" in France or of Mosley's Black Shirts in England is a characteristic illustration of a very serious and alarming phenomenon; the democratic regime, which seemed to be the highest achievement of political culture in Europe, has now passed from its pre-war advance to a prolonged defence, strongly entrenching itself only in England, France, Belgium, Holland and the three small Scandinavian kingdoms.

Thus the Great War has ended with two paradoxes. The

"last" war has turned Europe into an armed camp. The war "in the name of democracy" has brought democracy to its greatest crisis and has challenged its very existence.

I think that this second political consequence of the war is the most threatening; for the sharply militant and keenly nationalist temper which has turned Europe into a powder magazine cannot disappear in the conditions of an almost universal dictatorial destruction of all rights.

To Russia belongs a lamentable priority; dictatorship, towards the end of the war, first enthroned itself on our soil. However, "Pugachev in student uniform," to quote the prophecy of De Maistre, in all its barbarism has proved to be the real forerunner of the post-war political "Renaissance" of Europe. Only now, when the methods of Lenin are employed by the rulers of very many civilised states of the West, only now can "the Russian experiment" be properly explained and justly estimated by the European onlooker.

Very often the judgment on some event, formed on the basis of first, incomplete and often accidental data, still holds, thanks to inertia, in the public mind, even when the phenomenon under examination has disclosed itself in all its fulness and calls for a complete re-estimate of the original opinion formed about it. It was so, for instance, with the Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia. In 1917-19 the radical effects of the war were still hidden from public opinion in Western Europe. Political and social life still went on here, at least externally, along the old well-worn pre-war paths of parliamentary democracy and classic capitalism. As a matter of fact, the Treaty of Versailles itself, the programme for "setting up a new Europe," at the very moment of its signature was only a historical monument, a document which witnessed to the complete want of preparation of the old pre-war psychology to assimilate those new economic, social, national and political conditions and relations which had been born in the menace and storm of the war years.

With the appearance of Bolshevism in Russia began the only process of transformation—or, it may be—of deformation, of the social system of a European or even world-wide character. If the process of political and social reaction which flared up in the form of Bolshevism, first of all in Russia, had begun, perhaps in another form but with just the same vigour, in any of the great countries of Western Europe, then the sense of their own cultural and political similarity would have compelled Western politicians and

thinkers to take up a more serious attitude to the catastrophe of others and to look for deeper causes of it.

But the catastrophe of Russia did not demand for its explanation any profound thinking or any close attention. A hack phrase was ready to hand, an explanation into which it was easy and convenient for the European to put all the incommunicable horror of the Lenin experiment:—Russia is a barbarous country; the people there have never lived in freedom, they do not know it, and they have always even liked to be miserable under the knout of “Asiatic despots” just as an eel likes to be fried in sour cream. Bolshevism is a strictly Russian national phenomenon which has no relation to Western civilisation, for Russia, as we know, is *not* Europe. And the frontier of Europe passes not at all along the crest of the Urals as Russian Westernisers have pretended, but along the river Vistula. Poland is a forepost defending Europe from Asia. Among the defenders of Latin civilisation against Tartar barbarism was soon enrolled Roumania also, by its friendship with Poland. And, finally, like a tragic anecdote, there appeared in the West, in Berlin, London and Paris, bearers of an ancient, independent Ukrainian civilisation, destroyed and stamped out by just those same barbarians of Moscow.

The ease with which any Russophobe legend was accepted in official and political circles of Western Europe has shown us Russians, with cruel clearness, that a whole gulf of naive ignorance, arrogant contempt and hard egoism separates the Western world from Russia, from Russian civilisation and the Russian people. And in this attitude to Russia all Europe was practically at one, whether bourgeois capitalist or proletarian socialist. Representatives of bourgeois democracy simply repudiated the possibility of a repetition in Europe of Russian “barbarism.” They were firmly convinced that nothing could shake Western political civilisation, founded, as it was, on the consciousness of rights that could not be taken away, on the freedom of the individual citizen.

Socialist democracy, at the same time, took up another dual and double-minded position. It praised the “socialistic achievements” of Lenin, Stalin and their fellow workers and disclaimed the application of their methods of social construction at home in the West. With a naive shamelessness—which denied the very foundation of socialism, namely the equality of all the toilers—the leaders of the workers’ democracy in Europe, almost all without exception, maintained that only barbarism, savagery, the distaste of the Russian national masses for freedom had compelled the

Bolshevist dictators to establish socialism by shootings and tortures, by the destruction of all the most elementary civil and political rights, which had all the same, one way or another, been sufficiently grounded in the last period of the monarchy.

All the strategy and tactics of the leaders of the so-called Second International were based on the very simple contrast: Europe and Russia. In civilised Europe, democracy and parliament; in savage Russia, dictatorship and terror. If in his blind pride the European socialist had not contrasted his own worker, with all his civic virtues, with the Russian muzhik, who only understood the language of the knout, European democracy would not now have suffered such ruin.

Let us take Austria as an example. Here one saw a model democratic constitution, a most highly organised social democratic party and the capital in the hands of the workers' municipal self-government. As we know, the leaders of the Austrian socialist party played a very prominent part in the Second International and were regarded as guardians of the Marxist ideology. Among themselves at home the Austrian Marxists were democrats, and, as it seemed, they very successfully preserved the Austrian worker from the communist heresy. Yet for all their political activity the leaders of Austrian socialism made a radical difference between Europe and Russia, between communism in Europe and Bolshevism in Russia. For Europe, and in particular for Austria, they rejected all methods of dictatorship and firmly defended the principles of democracy. But in Russia—and each year more boldly—they justified all the horrors of the Bolshevik terror, and the Bolshevik dictatorship itself they regarded as fitting in Russia as “a backward country.”

And what have been the psycho-political consequences of this extremely opportunist, double-minded attitude towards the most fundamental value of a democratic system—freedom of the individual and the inviolability of his personal life? Tragic indeed. Not discriminating the sophistical refinements of the views of their chiefs, the mass of workers were practically becoming admirers of “socialist” violence to the individual not only in Russia. The justification of terror and dictatorships which day by day was poured out on the pages of the socialist press of Vienna freed the hands of the supporters of “anti-Marxist” violence. For out of all the syllogisms of Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer their opponents had made the most proper and logical conclusion: that in pursuance of purely state aims, the rulers of a country need not stop short of violence to the freedom of the individual. What is allowed

to the followers of the class idea cannot be forbidden to the followers of the international idea. And the Western defenders of 'Stalin's dictatorship in Russia stand morally disarmed at home before the founders of various kinds of international dictatorships. For if one may destroy human lives by millions in the name of the triumph of only one class, even if it is "the workers," then how are people to be stopped short of measures of violence when the whole state, with all the classes in it, is to be defended from the manoeuvres of an anti-national minority?

Anyhow, since the striking victories of dictatorships in the most civilised states of Central Europe, a limit has had to be set to judgments of the Bolshevik dictatorship as a special form of Russian barbarism in no way connected with the tradition of European culture. On the contrary, the post-war history of Europe bears witness to us of an extremely close connection in ideas and psychology between Russia and Western Europe. One may even in this matter express oneself in a paradox: Europe is at present living in terms of Moscow.

In this, as it seems to me, incontestable fact there is yet nothing to flatter our Russian national consciousness or our national pride. The only reason why Lenin became the forerunner of the European dictators, the first to extinguish human freedom, is that he was the most extreme Westerniser in the whole of the Russian revolutionary and socialist movement. One may say outright that the conception of the Lenin violence is poles apart from the whole tradition of our national liberation movement. Lenin's collaboration with the German Government during the War, his seizure of power with its support, is of course only a historical accident without which, by the bye, even the October revolution itself would not have happened. But this accident all the more sharply emphasises the anti-national, un-Russian Western origin of the Lenin ideology in general and of the conception of dictatorship in particular.

This is not the place to discuss the history of the development of liberal democratic socialist ideas in Russia. Indeed, we know that from the end of the eighteenth century up to the actual revolution of March, 1917, from the times of Novikov and Radishchev through the first Westernisers and Slavophiles of the middle of the nineteenth century, the tradition of freedom, the tradition of government by the people, of the absolute recognition of the inviolable value of human personality was the essence and guiding principle of the whole struggle for liberation—whether by opposition or revolution—of the Russian public against the autocratic monarchy.

By some of the "Left" Decembrists, by the chief workers

of the "People's Will," in the latest programme of the revolutionary Narodniks (the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries) it was always maintained that a revolutionary dictatorship was possible, and under certain conditions inevitable, in the transition period from the old régime to the new. But this dictatorship "in the name of the common good" had as its sole object the defence of the new government of the people against the attacks on it by the followers of the old absolutism, overthrown or in course of overthrow. One may criticise very severely the activities of the Russian Narodniks and particularly of their revolutionary wing. But one historical fact remains unquestionable: the Narodniks, who represented an original Russian socialist movement leaning on the peasantry and did not accept the dogma of Marx, always put at the foundation of their work the idea of government by the people and of freedom of the human personality.

In 1917-18 the Narodniks remained firm and uncompromising defenders of the rights of the people in its struggle with dictatorship, more consistently than any other Russian political party; and while in highly civilised Germany Hitler's programme of violence was able to collect by free vote nearly half the German people, in Russia the "ignorant" peasantry firmly opposed dictatorship, and in its only secret and free vote under the Bolsheviks, the elections to the Constituent Assembly, they declared by an overwhelming majority *against* Lenin.

The forces which were to dissolve democracy, the opportunist attitude to freedom of the individual and to the idea of government by the people appeared and developed in the Russian socialist and revolutionary movement together with the appearance and growth of the influence of Marxism in the eighties and nineties among the Left wing of the Intelligentsia. Freedom and democracy, according to the most orthodox and fanatical adherents of Marx, are only a means for the liberation of the proletarian classes and a stage on the road to the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat over all other classes, before the full eradication of class distinctions in the socialist community. All the same, in practice this transitional period from a class community to a classless one was concerned with so distant a future that the Russian Marxists themselves—"for the specific period of history" as they liked to put it—declared themselves strong and consistent democrats. As is known, Lenin himself, both in 1905 and for all the subsequent period up to the beginning of the War, always "in general and as a whole" remained in all his propaganda work a democrat.

Lenin after November, 1917, as a dictator implanting his socialism by the physical extermination of millions of intelligentsia, peasants, priests, officers and workers themselves, is like a strange relic out of the distant or, one might say, the infantile period of the Russian revolutionary socialist movement. Then, in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, there were at work the only two forerunners of the Bolshevik dictatorship and the OGPU terrorism in the whole of the Russian liberation movement of a century and a half. I am speaking of the first Russian Marxist Tkachev and of Nechayev, a follower of the French Louis Blanc. Tkachev, who like Lenin ended his life in insanity, demanded outright, in the name of the "triumph of the Social Revolution," the destruction in Russia of the whole male population over twenty-five years of age; and Nechayev, whose story made it possible for the genius of Dostoyevsky to foresee in his *Possessed* the whole story of Bolshevism, said in the best manner of Lenin that in love for the people one must lead them out to be shot. Killing, intimidation, deception, delation—all these "revolutionary means of struggle" introduced into the party work and later the government work of Lenin were most literally prescribed in the programme of Nechayev; and in practice he tried to carry out his doctrine, which brought him to an end in the fortress of Peter and Paul. Tkachev and Nechayev remained isolated examples in the Russian revolutionary movement; our generation regarded them as historical curiosities. Only after nearly fifty years, in an atmosphere poisoned by the hatred and bloodshed of the War, there reappeared in a small town in Switzerland the alarming spectre of the abnormal Nechayev.

Out of no desire for controversy and with no wish to rehabilitate our national civilisation, but simply in the name of historical justice, I once more emphasise that his whole doctrine of dictatorship and all his barbarous means to realise it were brought by Lenin in 1917 *from the West*, and that he carried out his experiment on Russia in no way thinking of her and, more than that, knowing how completely unprepared she was for the reception of socialism.

Read all Lenin's writings during the War and especially in the winter of 1916-17 up to his arrival in Russia after the amnesty. In all these writings Lenin does not once estimate events as a Russian from the point of view of the interests of any, even the most proletarian, Russians. Even of the Russian workers, his own Bolsheviks, he writes with a certain condescending contempt. His real business is in the West, especially in Germany, where the industrial proletariat was already sufficiently developed for a social

revolution. Germany, France, England, the struggle there between imperialists and socialists, the need of forcing the growth of antagonism of class contrasts for the future collapse, it is here that we find all the revolutionary interests of Lenin. There, in the most industrial countries, was to take place the "last decisive battle" between capitalists and workers. Unnaturally coupling the Marxist theory of a war of classes with the war teaching of a typical representative of Prussian militarism, General Clausewitz,¹ Lenin started for work in Russia—now liberated without him from Tsarism²—with what object? To co-operate, as he himself more than once wrote, in her defeat as early as possible.

How could the victory of the Prussian militarists over a free Russian democracy lead to a victory of the social revolution in Germany itself? That was a secret of the diseased mind of Lenin.

Anyhow, for the Western internationalist, Lenin, Russia as an international State was only a *place d'armes* where he would have to hold out till the social revolution took place in Western Europe. For this revolution short time limits were prescribed. After the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, Lenin and Zinoviev maintained that this revolution would take place in six months; only after sixteen years did at last come the long awaited German social revolution for which Russia had been torn to pieces, namely, Hitlerism.

Yes, Hitlerism, even in a higher degree than Fascism, is the most lawful son and heir of Bolshevism. Is it not striking that an iron consistence in the carrying out of Lenin's theory of dictatorship in "a one and only" party is now forming in Germany too a new party religion and is turning the priests of this reborn paganism into savage persecutors of Christianity.

But when I say, "Leninism = Hitlerism," I cannot fail here to recall that Lenin and Hitler came to power by different roads which were even opposite, and that these contrasts reveal two different national psychologies in Russia and in Germany or the West generally. For here, in the West, the anti-democratic dictatorial

¹ Lenin quoted with approval from Clausewitz in several of his writings. For instance:—"War is a continuation of politics by other means," (*precisely by means of violence*). This famous saying belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Marxists have always rightly regarded this principle as the theoretical foundation of their views on the significance of any given war:—"Socialism and War," 1915, published in the collection of the Works of Lenin, 3rd edition, vol. xviii, p. 197. The italics, which in the original are in capitals, are Lenin's.—ED.

² The March Revolution was completed with the abdication of Nicholas II on 15 March, 1917. Lenin, coming from Switzerland through Germany, reached St. Petersburg on 16 April.—ED.

régime is established in the various countries rather on the lines of Hitler than on those of Lenin.

What then is the fundamental difference between the ways of Lenin and those of Hitler or Mussolini? Lenin, while quite definitely aiming at a dictatorship, not only did not venture to attack democracy and freedom; on the contrary, taking account of the national psychology and the whole tradition of the Russian revolutionary movement, he had to pose as the most devoted democrat, the most vigorous advocate of the transfer of all power to the people themselves. In my book, *The Crucifixion of Liberty*, in a series of extracts from newspaper articles and secret letters to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party which I will not reproduce here, I have shown in detail how Lenin, while openly calling the soldiers and workmen to the defence of "the liberties that have been conquered" against *my* attacks on them, secretly wrote to his closest fellow-workers of how they must hurry on with an armed rising, as "an enormous majority of the Constituent Assembly will be against us." And not only up to the revolution of 7 November (25 October), but in the first years after their seizure of power, the Bolsheviks preserved the democratic phraseology and covered themselves with the democratic formula—"all power to the soviets"—a formula which had a particularly strong influence on the popularity of the Bolsheviks in Labour circles abroad. An immediate, live participation of workers and peasants in the government of the country instead of all the boring old parliaments which existed there might well be a fascinating picture for naive and simple minds, untrained in demagogic mystification.

Lenin seized power by violence, established a dictatorship against the will of an overwhelming majority of the country, and waged a merciless war on the population of Russia, taking no account of the psychology of his disarmed opponents. He remembered the Prussian teaching that in war one must aim at the complete extermination of one's adversary, crushing him by superiority of arms. The terrorism which up to this time has not yet weakened in Russia is only a proof of the extreme opposition of the country to the dictatorship and the complete disgust of the population with such barbarous methods of government.

Hitler came to power in quite another way. The number of his supporters grew fast from election to election in the conditions of a quite free and democratic country, until Hindenburg offered him the Chancellorship. Hitler had not to make a military conspiracy, because in the last election of the Reichstag a very large section of

the people declared for him, that is, against a democratic constitution, against their own freedom.

After what has happened in Germany, one can hardly explain the features of the Bolshevik dictatorship by Russian barbarism so easily as before to Western Europe. Hardly can the West in future plume itself before us on the depth and strength of its political culture. With Europe in its present state I think we must once for all recognise that, in consequence of the far-reaching economic, social and psychological convulsions that have been called forth there by the catastrophe of the War, *all* Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic is in a profound crisis, which is in turn joined up with a world crisis "Fondness for the whip," which used not long ago to be regarded as an especial mark of the State life of the Slavonic peoples, has now passed into the family of the German people, and has found itself followers among the Latin peoples, and perhaps tomorrow will show itself somewhere in the Scandinavian countries.

In text books of financial law we used to read that bad money always drives out good—paper drives out gold. Before the War, in the established conditions of economic and political life, on the contrary, good forms of government were everywhere driving out bad; parliamentarism was driving out absolutism. Now, since the War, the laws of currency have become the laws of State life; bad forms of government are everywhere expelling the good. As an English politician of late rightly said: "We live at a time when a determined and unscrupulous minority can cause the greatest harm to a country, and it is very hard to throw off dictators if only they succeed in capturing the power and smashing all opposition in the country."

The impossibility of throwing off a minority dictatorship that has captured the power is, moreover, in no way due to the national qualities of this people or the other. In the nineteenth century France lived through a whole number of revolutions; different régimes succeeded each other after small skirmishes behind barricades which now seem to us like child's play. The power of resistance in a present-day dictatorship is not even, as is commonly said, that the conquering minority always eradicates all opposition in the country, that is, destroys all parties except the one and only governing party, stops all the newspapers that are not favourable to it, and forbids any kind of public meetings not organised by the government. The whole democratic order is built up on a certain "fair-play," like a kind of agreement between the government and the public, by which both sides are obliged in their political struggle

to observe certain rules of the game common to both. No kind of fair play is admitted by dictators. No legal, constitutional, peaceful means of struggle are left to the people. This, of itself, terribly complicates the political life of a country; but this is not at all the trump card of dictatorships. Driven underground, deprived of all legal rights, public opinion can all the same live on in a country ineradicably, just as human life is itself ineradicable. And finally, as we know from the experience of pre-revolutionary Russia, the temper of the public breaks through all the barriers of censorship and police and makes its way out. Why then is not such an explosion now repeated either in Russia, in Italy or in Germany? For a reason which often escapes the attention of onlookers. Present-day dictatorship possesses a technical apparatus of terrorism such as was never in the hands of Napoleon III or of Nicholas II. And if it had existed, still, before the world war even Abdul Hamid could not in his fight with his own people have utilised with such calm cynicism all the technical achievements of modern warfare—poison gases, bombs and aeroplanes. The impossible contrast between the present-day technique of government terrorism and the haphazard possibilities of counteraction left to the unarmed population now makes a struggle of ideas and revolution against dictatorship impossible for the latter.

At the present time the permanent population of Bolshevik prisons, forced labour and exile, in which are pining every kind of counter-revolutionaries, must be reckoned by data coming from Russia as two millions. Of this population not less than a quarter perish every year, while according to Mme. Chernavin, who has lately escaped from Russia, it is as much as 40 per cent.³ But this decrease of the prison population is constantly more than made good, so that in the struggle, passive as it may be, with the Bolshevik dictatorship Russia is every year losing no fewer than 500,000 of her most energetic and outstanding lives. And all the same, the perfect machine of terrorism continues without hindrance its work of destroying the live fibres of the national organism. Present-day terrorist dictatorship, armed with all the latest achievements of the technique of human destruction, plays just the same part in the State organism as cancer plays in the human frame.

The people feels by instinct that dictatorship is a mortal threat to the very existence of the country, and thus, losing its strength in

³ Professor Chernavin, with his wife and child, escaped two years ago on foot from the concentration camp of Solovetsk. See *Slavonic Review*, Vol. xii, No. 34, p. 63 and No. 35, p. 387.

tain in an obstinate and hopeless struggle with the dictatorship, it awaits its safety from some external catastrophe to the régime.

Not long ago an Englishman who was somewhat attracted by Fascism declared to me that the formula "dictatorship is war" was quite untrue; that now in Europe all the dictators, Stalin, Hitler, etc., are the most convinced advocates of international peace, if only because the need to defend their dictatorships from internal enemies is absorbing all their forces.

But it is precisely this *compulsory* pacifism of present-day dictators that is breaking the international balance. The example of Russia is, in this respect, more than convincing. For me, as for many Russians, there is no doubt that in spite of all the appearance of brilliant diplomatic successes of Litvinov in Washington and in Paris, the USSR has as a matter of fact lost its freedom of diplomatic manoeuvre and has become an object rather than an agent of international relations. Just the same thing is in front of our eyes happening with Germany, where in the short period of Hitler's dictatorship she has lost nearly everything that she had won back for herself by diplomacy from her conquerors since the War.

The international danger is not the strength of Hitler or of Stalin, but the progressive weakness of their power of defence, which is a quite legitimate and inevitable consequence of their internal policy. One can affirm that the Five Year Plan of Stalin, by dealing a destructive blow to the economy of Russia, has given an impulse to the aggressive movement of Japan in the Far East. And it is very easy to follow out, as I will not do here for want of space, the process by which the destruction of equilibrium on the Western shores of the Pacific has called forth profound and unhealthy changes in the mutual relations of all the Great Powers.

Thus, when one analyses the present state of Europe, one inevitably comes to the following conclusions, which in my opinion are incontrovertible:—

1. The victory of the Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia was in no way the expression of specific characteristics of the national character of the Russian people;
2. The replacement of a democratic régime by an authoritarian is a common consequence in all Europe of the economic, social and political crisis called forth by the World War;
3. The dictatorship of the present totalitarian type by its very nature creates an international situation unfavourable to the preservation of international peace.

I think that now, at the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the late war, the danger of a further spread of dictatorship as a form of government in Europe and in the whole civilised world is already a danger, evident to all, to the existence of democracy. And whatever may be the present-day attraction of shirts of various colours, the development of state civilisation is impossible if the new attack of barbarism is carried to its end, and everywhere the free man is destroyed and his free spiritual initiative is stopped.

Before the last time limits are yet passed, all forces which are true to the fundamental principles of government by the people must everywhere be mobilised to fight every kind of dictatorship of reaction, in whatever form of clothing the dictators may for their demagogic purposes array themselves.

As a healthy man does not feel his health, so a citizen of a free country does not value his freedom. "Only when you have lost your freedom" said Matteotti before he was killed, "can you begin really to love it." And the unfortunate leader of the Italian socialists urged his foreign comrades in happier democratic countries not to be misled by the mirage of a class dictatorship, and to struggle to the end against all who violate freedom, whether they are Rights or Lefts. It is only with difficulty that we can make the wisdom of others our own. And bitterly have the German and Austrian socialists suffered for their double-minded attitude to the Bolshevik experiment in Russia.

To save our European political civilisation from a new, and, perhaps, final catastrophe, we must henceforth live not only in our own national interests but in those of Europe. The single front of violence must be faced by a single front of freedom.

Quite recently the Swedish prime minister, the Social Democrat Albin Hansson, gave an excellent definition of the democratic method of state work, which, to my gratification, is the same as that which was adopted by our Provisional Government:—"I think the natural consequence of democratic principles and tactics is, that we seek the solution of social problems in collaboration with various groups, classes and parties. The collaboration, which is essential for a democratic constitution, demands of all parties the subordination and inclusion of class, group and party interests in the common interest."

This method of collaboration of all democratic parties in the name of the common good of the whole—of the State and of the people—this method of internal policy must also be the method of

international democratic policy. Collaboration of international democracy or international socialism with Stalin is just as unnatural as would be the support of Hitler by international Jewish public opinion. However, in spite of all declamation on the national solidarity of the interests of Labour, this solidarity is incomparably weaker than the national. And while the Jews of England organise a trade boycott of Germany, the British Labour Party is in every way promoting the import of cheap food products from Russia, where the supply for export is expropriated from a starving population.⁴

The history of the attitude of Western Europe to the Bolshevik terror has shown us that in Europe there are still whole sections which do not understand *the absolute value of freedom*. They do not understand that to shoot hundreds and thousands of former "bourgeois" in the cellars of Cheka is as disgusting as to bring machine-guns into play on the workers' quarters in Vienna.

The dissolution of state civilisation in Europe will not stop till by the common exertions of democracy as a whole in all states every citizen will be guaranteed security of life and a minimum of civil and political rights. Abandoning its passivity and kindled with the will to fight for freedom and for the rights of the individual, democracy must itself rise to the demands of our time.

We must realise that the present triumph of dictatorship is only a symptom of a profound malady of the post-war world. The substance of this malady is that parliamentary democracy, which was created in quite different economic and psychological conditions, has not yet been able to adapt itself to the psychology of the post-war man and the laws of post-war economics. A new world is seeking new forms and new ideas; but the democratic parties are living on the old pre-war ideology and regard as dogma the old forms of democratic state life. Democratic parties have not the courage to renovate their ideology, so that their place is taken by new parties which are often without any political tradition. Parliamentarism cannot deal quickly with the new tasks and is replaced by a new will power, which often does not at all understand what is meant by the government of a state. As transformed by the war, the middle classes expect from the state a quick initiative to restore their economic well-being, and

⁴ Mr. Kerensky has omitted to mention that in England, in 1933, all dictatorships, whether of the Right or of the Left, were alike denounced not only by the Conservative leader, Mr. Baldwin, but also by the Trades Union Council, the Trades Union Congress and the British Labour Party.—Ed.

when they are tired of waiting for help, they are attracted by the demagogic anti-capitalism of all kinds of dictators.

There are three radical changes which distinguish the present world from the pre-war.

There cannot now be any national or international economics built on the free play of competition, and consequently there cannot now be any neutrality of a state in the economic struggle.

There cannot now be a system of government built on the free play of the interests of the so-called class parties.

And, finally, the revolution in machinery, having solved the most difficult pre-war problem of production, has now created new inter-relations between labour and capital.

In a word, the war has put an end to the existence of all the old political and economic state system.

We are living in a time of transition, when planning gradually replaces in economics the free play of interests. We are living at a time when out of the two economic systems which before the war were in mortal enmity, capitalism and socialism, new forms of economic life are being born. Up to the war, the fundamental problem of economics was regarded as the organisation of production. Now that task is achieved; but, on the other hand, we are faced in all its difficulty with the problem of distribution. The new technical conditions, the revolution in them called forth by the war, has stopped the growth of the industrial proletariat, and has set up a new estimate of the relative value of physical labour in the industrial hierarchy. We may say that, up to the war, social politicians were faced with the question of the organisation of labour, but now with that of the organisation of rest. From a producer of economic values, the worker is gradually being turned more and more into a consumer of them and a pensioner of the State.

On the other hand, this same technical revolution has transformed the middle class, has many times increased its social utility and, consequently, also its political importance. This new middle class is strongly anti-capitalist, as it lives in the main by labour, but, as has lately been explained by the most influential present-day ideologist of the Belgian socialists, De Man, it has not the psychology of an industrial proletariat. This middle class has everywhere followed dictators, and this has come about because the traditional dogma of proletarian class socialism is entirely foreign to its psychology. This was because traditional Marxism was not able in time to rescue it from its captivity to class formulas which have now become obsolete.

MY CONTACTS AND CONFLICTS WITH LENIN

II ¹

On what ground and why was a co-operation between Lenin and myself possible, in spite of the fundamental difference in the emotional and moral bases of our respective outlooks and conceptions?

There were three points then which brought together those two extreme wings of Russian "Marxism." They can be formulated as follows :—

1. A Socialist revolution, whatever its political forms, is possible *only on the ground of the widest development of capitalism*, which evolves within itself both the objective forms of a collectivist economic régime and the Socialist consciousness of the proletariat; (this was one of the fundamental arguments of my *Critical Observations*, and Lenin emphasised it in his criticism of my book, adhering entirely to my reasoning). (Lenin, l.c., pp. 83-84.)

2. *The proletariat*, rising and struggling for its liberation, is *interested in preserving and developing democratic institutions*, as understood both in the sense of securing civil and political liberties for the individual, and establishing democracy. In general, socialism is indissolubly bound up with democratism so understood, while the proletariat, as a political and social force, is vitally interested in securing freedom and democracy.

3. *In Russia*, in view of her political backwardness, *the task of political liberation absolutely dominates every other consideration*. The proletariat and Social-Democracy, which is called upon to be its mouthpiece, must by no means be carried away by the tasks and successes of economic improvement in the plight of the workers, for those successes, apart from securing civil and political liberties, are ephemeral. Hence arose for us the *absolute primacy of politics and the political struggle over economic tasks and economic struggle*. In this, both my own "revisionist" Marxism and Lenin's orthodox revolutionary Marxism differed sharply at that time from the tendencies of those Populists who were inclined to sympathise and flirt with the idea of "social monarchy" (in the spirit, say, of Lorentz von Stein!), as well as from those purely or primarily

¹ A chapter from Professor Struve's Memoirs now in course of preparation. See also *The Slavonic Review* for January and April, 1934.

*trade-unionist currents in Russian Social-Democracy which soon took shape in the so-called "Economism" and manifested themselves in the writings, "legal" and otherwise, of S. N. Prokopovich and some others.

In order that the points of contact emphasised here should become quite clear to the modern reader who has not lived through or studied the Russian Social-Democratic movement throughout its evolution, I must quote some of Lenin's own utterances.

In 1905, when the break between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks was already a fact, and when I had already definitely broken with Marxism and with Social-Democracy, and was being violently attacked by Lenin, the latter wrote, nevertheless.—

"... setting before the provisional revolutionary government the task of realising the minimum programme, the Revolution will thereby do away with the absurd semi-anarchist ideas about the immediate realisation of the maximum programme, about the seizure of power for a Socialist revolution. The degree of Russian economic development (an objective condition) and the degree of conscious organisation of the large masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition indissolubly bound up with the objective one) render impossible the immediate complete liberation of the working class. Only the most ignorant people can ignore the bourgeois character of the democratic revolution now taking place; only the most naive optimists can forget how little the working masses know about Socialism and the means to achieve it; without a conscious organisation of the masses, without training and educating them through an open class warfare against the whole bourgeoisie there can be no question of a Socialist revolution. And in reply to the anarchist objections accusing us of postponing the Socialist revolution, we shall say: We are not postponing it, but making a first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only possible path, namely the path of a democratic republic. Whoever wants to take another road to Socialism, outside political democratism, is bound to arrive at absurd and reactionary conclusions, both politically and economically. Should some workers ask us at the appropriate moment why they should not realise the maximum programme, we will reply to them by pointing out how the democratically-minded masses of the people are still alien to Socialism, how undeveloped the class contrasts, how badly organised the proletarians. Try to organise hundreds of thousands of workers all over Russia, and spread the sympathy for your programme among the millions. Try to do that, without confining yourselves to high-sounding but empty anarchist phrases, and you will see at once that the realisation of that organisation, the spreading of that Socialist education depends on the quickest possible realisation of democratic changes."²

² Vl. Ilyin (N. Lenin). *For 12 Years*, 1919, pp. 419-20.

In the same article we read :—

“ Marxists are absolutely convinced of the bourgeois character of the Russian Revolution. What does it mean? It means that the democratic changes in the political structure and the social and economic changes which have become a necessity for Russia, do not mean in themselves an undermining of capitalism, an undermining of the rule of the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary they will for the first time properly clear the ground for a wide and quick, European and not Asiatic, development of capitalism, they will for the first time make possible the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class. Socialist-revolutionaries are incapable of understanding this idea, because they ignore the ABC of the laws of development of capitalist production of goods; they do not see that even a complete success of the peasant rising, even a redistribution of all the land in the interests of peasants and according to their wishes (the ‘ black partition ’ or something of the kind) will by no means destroy capitalism, but on the contrary will give a new impulse to its development and accelerate the class disintegration of the peasantry itself. Their failure to understand this truth turns the Socialist-revolutionaries into unconscious ideologists of the small bourgeoisie. For the Social-Democrats to insist on this truth is of enormous, not only theoretical but practical political, importance, for it compels the party of the proletariat to take up an absolutely independent class position in the present ‘ all-democratic ’ movement.”³

“ . . . The idea that the bourgeois revolution does not at all express the interests of the proletariat is utterly absurd. This absurd idea amounts either to the age-long Populist theory to the effect that a bourgeois revolution is contrary to the interests of the proletariat, that we therefore have no use for bourgeois political freedom; or else it amounts to anarchism, which rejects any participation of the proletariat in bourgeois politics, in bourgeois revolution, in bourgeois parliamentarism. Theoretically, *this idea amounts to the oblivion of the elementary principles of Marxism concerning the inevitable development of capitalism on the ground of production of goods.*”⁴ Marxism teaches that a society based on production of goods and having intercourse with civilised capitalist nations, at a certain stage of its development, inevitably enters on the path of capitalism. *Marxism has broken away irrevocably from the senseless dreams of Populists and Anarchists who pretend that Russia can avoid capitalist development, can jump out of capitalism or over it by some other means except class war on the ground and within the framework of capitalism.*⁴

“ All these principles of Marxism have been proved and stated over and over again in all detail, both generally and specifically with regard to Russia. And from these principles it follows that *the idea of seeking the salvation of the working class anywhere except in a further development*

³ Lenin, l.c., p. 433.

⁴ The italics are mine.—P.S.

*of capitalism is reactionary. In countries like Russia the working class is suffering not so much from capitalism as from its insufficient development. The working class is therefore doubtless interested in the widest, freest and quickest possible development of capitalism.*⁴ A complete abolition of all remnants of the past impeding a wide, free and quick development of capitalism, is certainly to the advantage of the working class. Bourgeois revolution is precisely that transformation which sweeps away, in the most decisive way, the remnants of the past, the remnants of serfdom (not only autocracy but monarchy as such belong to those remnants), which secures best the widest, freest and quickest possible development of capitalism."⁵

Even though foreseeing, then, as a certain desirable possibility the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" in Russia, Lenin emphatically denied the possibility for such a dictatorship of a revolutionary establishment of Socialism which would avoid or eliminate the "capitalist" stage of economic development.

"Such a victory will mean precisely a dictatorship, for it will inevitably have to rely on military force, on the armament of the masses, on risings, and not on any 'legal,' 'peacefully' created institutions. It can only be dictatorship, because the carrying out of the reforms, absolutely and immediately needed by the proletariat and peasantry, will call forth a desperate resistance on the part of the landowners, the big bourgeoisie, and the autocracy. Without a dictatorship it will be impossible to crush that resistance, to repel the counter-revolutionary attempts. But *it will be, of course, a democratic, not a Socialist dictatorship.*"⁶ It will be unable to affect (without a whole series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) the foundations of capitalism. At the best, it will be able to effect a radical redistribution of land-ownership in favour of the peasants, to realise full and consistent democratism including the republic, to exterminate all the Asiatic, feudal features in village as well as in factory life, to lay the foundations of a serious improvement of the workers' lot and of their standard of living, and last, but not least, to carry the revolutionary conflagration over to Europe. *Such a victory will by no means turn our bourgeois revolution into a Socialist one; the democratic transformation will not immediately outgrow the limits of bourgeois social and economic relations.*"⁷

In the same year, in a direct and rather rough controversy with me as (to use his own words) "a politically sensitive . . . representative

⁴ The italics are mine.—P.S.

⁵ Lenin, l.c., pp. 434-35.

⁶ The italics are mine.—P.S.

⁷ Lenin, l.c., pp. 439-40. The italics are mine.—P.S.

of the Russian bourgeoisie " (I was then editing *Osvobozhdenie*), Lenin quoted my words :—

" Compared with the revolutionism of Messrs. Lenin and consorts, the revolutionism of the European Social-Democracy of Bebel and even of Kautsky is opportunism, but even the foundations of that mitigated revolutionism have been undermined and swept away by history," and he threw me a challenge :—

" What an angry sally ! Let Mr. Struve not think, however, that he can impute anything to me as if I were dead. It is enough for me to throw him a challenge which he will never be able to accept. When and where did I describe Bebel's and Kautsky's revolutionism as opportunism ? When and where did I pretend to have created a special current in international Social Democracy, *not identical* with Bebel's and Kautsky's current ? When and where did the differences between myself on one hand, and Bebel and Kautsky on the other come to light—differences in the least approaching in seriousness those between Bebel and Kautsky as disclosed, for instance, in the agrarian question in Breslau ? Let Mr. Struve try and answer these three questions.

" And to our readers we shall say the following. The liberal bourgeoisie always and everywhere resorts to the device of assuring its fellow-members in a given country that the Social-Democrats of that country are most unreasonable, and their comrades in the neighbouring country are ' blue-eyed boys.'⁸ The German bourgeoisie has hundreds of times held out for the edification of Bebels and Kautskys the ' blue-eyed ' French Socialists. An old trick, Mr. Struve ! Only children and ignorant people can be taken in by it. The complete solidarity of international revolutionary Social-Democracy in all important questions of programme and tactics is a fact beyond any doubt."⁹

Now, when we have before us the controversy which Lenin and Kautsky carried on after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and in which the former called the latter " a renegade " (the title of Lenin's leaflet is *Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*), all commentaries on Lenin's angry tirade aimed at me are, indeed, superfluous. It shows that I realised well at the time what course Lenin was adopting in his revolutionary maximalism, then as yet chiefly political.

Here is one more quotation from the same book of 1905 :—

" A democratic revolution is bourgeois. The watchword of ' black partition ' or of ' land and liberty '—this widely-spread watchword of the peasant masses, oppressed and ignorant, but passionately seeking

⁸ This is the nearest equivalent we can find to the Russian *paymalchiki*.—ED.

⁹ Lenin, l.c., pp. 446-47.

light and happiness—is bourgeois. But we Marxists must know that there is and can be at present no better means of bringing Socialism nearer than political freedom, than a democratic republic, than a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.”¹⁰

Finally, here is an extremely characteristic statement of Lenin from his historically most instructive correspondence with Maxim Gorky. Three and a half years before the World War (in a letter dated 3 January, 1911) Lenin thus edified Gorky with regard to Marxism :—

*“ It would be Don-Quixotism and sentimentalism if Social-Democrats told the workers that there could be anywhere salvation outside the development of capitalism or otherwise than through such development.”*¹¹ But we do not say so. We say: capital is devouring you, it will devour the Persians, it will devour everybody, and it will go on devouring until you overthrow it. This is true. And we do not forget to add: *the only pledge of a victory over capitalism lies in its growth.*”^{11, 12}

These quotations prove irrefutably that until his very advent to power Lenin held a jump from “ Capitalism ” to “ Socialism ” to be utterly impossible, that he pictured the impending revolution in Russia, for which Social-Democracy had to fight, as an establishment of political freedom and democratic institutions—on the basis of a capitalist regime, for the further development of which everywhere, and most of all in Russia, a democratic political regime was indispensable. These ideas were uttered by Lenin, both in his disputes with moderate Social-Democrats of various shades, in his outright controversy with me, who in the course of six or eight years had turned in his eyes from a “ quasi-Marxist ” into a “ Liberal,”¹³ and finally in his friendly correspondence with men like Gorky.

This position of Lenin explains why a temporary and partial alliance between us was possible, an alliance which lasted practically till the moment when I openly came forth as a mouthpiece of the Russian Liberal-Democratic movement.¹⁴

In the middle of 1896 a big strike of textile workers broke out in St. Petersburg. It acquired an historical significance. In the

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 478.

¹¹ The italics are mine.—P.S.

¹² *Lenin Miscellany*, vol. i. Edited by L. B. Kamenev. 2nd ed., Moscow, 1924, p. 114.

¹³ Lenin, l.c., p. 135. (*Tasks of Russian Social Democrats in 1902 version*).

¹⁴ Professor Struve might be described as the principal ideologist of that movement (1905-17).—ED.

first place it was an important workers' movement—strikes were then forbidden in Russia by criminal law—and it took place in the capital of the Empire, in the principal centre of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Secondly, it was the first time that the illegal social-democratic organisation, the St. Petersburg "Union for Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class," actually took a leading part in the trade-unionist workers' movement. Finally this strike, which made an enormous impression both on the government and on public opinion, was of great practical importance; it led in the following year, 1897, to the promulgation of a general law on the maximum working day, and that law constituted an important stage in the development of Russian factory legislation.

All of us, both those who took a direct part in the movement and those who merely sympathised with it, were all the time running the risk of arrests and reprisals.

As a result of an agreement between the Social-Democrats and in connection with the St. Petersburg strike, Potresov and myself were sent abroad on a special mission. Its object was to inform foreign Social-Democrats, in the first place the German (Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer), of the events in Russia, to establish contact with them, and to secure their moral and material support for the Russian labour movement. This, of course, had to be done in complete accord with the emigrant group of "Liberation of Labour," that is with Axelrod, Zasulich and Plekhanov. In another chapter of my Memoirs I shall speak of this visit abroad, which gave me a number of interesting and edifying encounters.

In the same year (1896) and in connection with the same strike Ulyanov-Lenin was arrested, as well as several other people, including my personal friend Constantine Bauer, whom I have described when speaking of Rodichev.¹⁵

When in the autumn of 1896 I returned from abroad, it became one of my tasks to supply Lenin, who was detained in preliminary confinement, with scientific books. He was then proposing to write a large work on the recent economic development of Russia, and it was I who procured for him all the books which he needed for this work, from my own library, the Library of the Imperial Free Economic Society and other libraries. These were delivered to him in his cell quite legally and openly, mainly, as far as I remember, through his sister, Mme. Elizarov. During his confinement he read a few hundred of such books delivered from outside. It must be said

¹⁵ See "My Contacts with Rodichev" in *The Slavonic Review* for January 1934.

that the conditions in which political prisoners under judicial investigation were detained under the old régime were, as a rule, rather liberal; and far from precluding the possibility of their intellectual work, they rather encouraged it. Lenin's big work *The Evolution of Capitalism in Russia* was prepared, and to a great extent written, in prison with the aid of books which his relatives, friends and fellow Social-Democrats had legally provided for him. For the most part these were books procured by myself. Lenin's detention in preliminary confinement¹⁶ lasted fairly long. During this time the "Populist" review *Novoe Slovo* passed into "Marxist" hands and I became its principal worker and *de facto* editor. From the prison in which Lenin was detained I then began to receive his articles written for our Review—they reached me quite legally, after passing through the censorship of the Public Prosecutor's Office. For my part I began to supply him with books not only for his own work, but also for reviewing in *Novoe Slovo*. All this might seem incredible to those who know the treatment which the Bolshevik Government now applies to its political opponents in prisons and in exile, but these are facts which are, one way or another, mentioned in all the biographies of Lenin.

The articles written by Lenin in prison and published quite legally in *Novoe Slovo* appeared subsequently, when he himself was already in exile, in book form under the nom-de-plume of "V. Ilyin" and under the title of *Economic Studies*. They were published by Mme. Marie Vodovozov, and the same publisher issued his book *The Evolution of Capitalism in Russia*. Just as in the supply of his books, I took a direct part in arranging the publication of his works. It was also during Lenin's exile in Siberia that I arranged for the publication by the firm of Mme. O. Popov—for whom I acted as editor of books on social sciences—of the famous work of Sydney and Beatrice Webb on *Industrial Democracy*, and I entrusted the translation of its first volume to Lenin. I must say that he did this work most excellently and gave me very little to do as editor. This could not be said of the translators of the second volume who did not know the subject as well and lacked Lenin's literary skill, the result being that I had to revise their translation most ruthlessly. Lenin had neither the writing talent nor the literary brilliance of Plekhanov, but he was well able to state his ideas with clearness and precision. As an orthodox Marxist belonging to the extreme wing, he had no

¹⁶ Lenin was detained in the House of Preliminary Confinement and not in the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Bauer was detained in the latter, where the conditions were much more severe.

sympathy with the "Fabianism" of Mr. and Mrs. Webb. Even for myself, thorough Revisionist though I was, their Fabian ideas were at that time much too moderate. As to Lenin, he took them for a bourgeois counterfeit of Socialism. It is the irony of history that "Fabianism," which the Russian orthodox Marxists of that period viewed not only with dislike (as they viewed Bernstein) but with contempt, should have, after many years, so obviously capitulated to Bolshevism, though the latter, both in substance and in its emotional colouring, is the exact opposite of that original and genuine Fabianism which had exercised such an influence on Eduard Bernstein. This is the more remarkable and curious as the founders of orthodox Marxism in the West, Bernstein and Kautsky, who at one time had drifted apart because of their different attitude towards Fabianism, were unanimous in their absolute condemnation of Bolshevism both as a theory and as a practical movement.

While in exile—which by the way was not severe at all—Lenin finished his big book on the evolution of capitalism in Russia and contributed to the Marxist publications of the period: to *Nachalo*, which was started in 1899 under my *de facto* editorship, and was very soon suppressed by the order of four cabinet ministers¹⁷; and to *Zhizn*, edited by Vladimir Posse and bearing a much less pronounced Marxist character (it was also suppressed, much later, in the same way).

It was a period when a process of differentiation was going on in Russian social democracy. One group, to which I belonged, was drifting further and further away from Marxist orthodoxy, among other things not only revising but severely criticising the philosophical foundations of Marxism. To this Marxist revisionism in the spirit of idealism was opposed, abroad and under the spiritual leadership of Plekhanov, a large and influential group of orthodox Marxists, all of them thorough materialists; its most influential representative in Russia was Lenin. Next to these two groups there was a third current—the so-called "Economism." It differed from orthodox Marxism, which laid the stress on political revolution under the leadership of Social-Democracy as the political and ideological mouthpiece of the class of industrial workers, in that it wanted to confine the workers' and social-democratic movement within the boundaries of trade-unionism. On the other hand it differed from Marxist revisionism, often designated as "Struvisism," by its indifference to the general national struggle against absolutism and to the workers' participation in such a political struggle.

¹⁷ Four Cabinet Ministers could jointly suspend a publication.—ED.

Thus, in comparison with 1894-96 and even with 1898, Russian Marxism, by 1900, when Lenin returned from exile, had undergone a considerable change, both ideologically and as a practical social and political movement, and had become much more complex.

In 1898 the "Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party" was formally founded—of course, as a secret illegal organisation. Its manifesto, drafted by me, still expressed the official or orthodox conception—I did my best to avoid putting into it any of my personal views, which would have either seemed heretical or been incomprehensible to an average Social Democrat. Therefore the manifesto which, though written by me in its elementary and drastic statement of Marxism, did not in the least correspond to my personal and more complex views of that period, was fully approved both by the foreign group of "Liberation of Labour" and by Lenin. Only the "Economists" did not like it, because of the stress it laid on the struggle for civic and political liberties—the point in the whole of that manifesto which was most in accord with my own ideas and feelings at that time.

In 1900, Potresov, Lenin and another prominent Social Democrat, Martov-Zederbaum, were able to return to European Russia¹⁸ from their fairly easy administrative exile and were allowed a comparative freedom of movement. In April 1900 meetings took place between them and the representatives of so-called "legal Marxism"—Tugan-Baranovsky, Yakovlev-Bogucharsky and myself. These meetings led to a preliminary agreement as to joint political and literary action of both groups. The "orthodox" group, represented by Lenin, Zederbaum and Potresov, recognised our group as a special variety of Social-Democracy, with whom it was possible and necessary to maintain party and business relations. In that group I represented definite Revisionism, Tugan-Baranovsky then on the whole shared my views, while Yakovlev, who was neither a theoretician nor an "orthodox," was interested solely in the problem of enlarging and deepening the struggle for political freedom in alliance with the orthodox Social-Democrats.

Ulyanov-Lenin, Zederbaum-Martov and Potresov were already then proposing to publish abroad for Russia a social-democratic newspaper and review. An agreement of principle was proposed and even concluded between our group, in which it fell to me to play the main active part, and the group of orthodox Marxists, the future

¹⁸ Potresov was in exile not in Asiatic Russia, but in European Russia, in the town of Orlov in the Province of Vyatka.

editors of the social-democratic *Iskra*. We promised the editors of the future *Iskra* to assist them in getting both financial aid and literary material, and our group was given the right to print in the projected review articles defending, by way of discussion, our own point of view.¹⁹

In adhering to this decision Lenin was apparently prompted by considerations of tactical opportunism: he knew that I then already had important connections in Liberal circles which opened wide possibilities. Potresov had never really been an "orthodox" Marxist in the sense of being intolerant, and our personal relations had always been of the best. By what general or personal motives Martov-Zederbaum was led, I do not know; later on, I think, he declared himself hostile to our agreement.

But it was Plekhanov who opposed it. Generally speaking, Plekhanov was one of the most orthodox Marxists, not only among Russian but among European Social-Democrats. Besides, he was personally a rather intractable and even capricious man. When in the August of the same year 1900 Potresov and Ulyanov, who had gone abroad, began negotiations with Plekhanov and his group for the publication of *Iskra*, Plekhanov challenged the agreement concluded between our two groups. As we now know, Plekhanov opposed with great violence the possibility of co-operation between the orthodox Marxists and myself and my friends, and however strange this may now appear, this dispute on my account nearly led to a rupture between Plekhanov on one hand, and Potresov and Lenin on the other.²⁰ Finally they came to an agreement on the following terms: Struve's group was recognised not as a social-democratic current, forming part of the Social-Democratic party, but as representing the non-party democratic opposition. An agreement with such a group with a view to fighting the autocracy in common was in principle admitted by Plekhanov; from his point of view, such an agreement with an openly non-social-democratic group would not have had the same harmful consequences which he expected for the workers' movement in case Struve's group should be recognised as social-democratic.

But this opposition of Plekhanov to an agreement with myself and my political friends was only an episode in the history of my relations with the orthodox Social-Democrats at that time.

¹⁹ Cf. now vol. II of the *Correspondence of G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod*. Edited by Mme. R. Plekhanov, Moscow, 1925, p. 140.

²⁰ This is now known from the documents published in the first volume of the *Lenin Miscellany*, 2nd edition, Moscow, 1924; and especially from the *Correspondence of G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod*, vol. II, p. 139 & ff.

A much more real opposition to our agreement came later on from Lenin, and his position made such an agreement psychologically impossible for both parties. Towards the end of 1900 I arrived with my wife in Munich; and between us on one hand, and Zasulich, Potresov and Lenin on the other (they were later on joined by Plekhanov and Axelrod), the pourparlers began. I was afterwards joined by V. Y. Yakovlev-Bogucharsky.²¹ During this stage the principal opponent of an agreement and collaboration with me and my group proved to be Lenin. Plekhanov, on the contrary, was then against a breach. The change in his position was due to the fact that his *amour-propre* had been satisfied by the concession made to him in designating our group as standing outside Social Democracy. The change in Lenin's position was also connected, of course, with his personal qualities, his crossness and intolerance; but it was not entirely determined by them or by his antipathy to me. Of even greater importance were Lenin's denial on principle of all compromises unless they were tactically necessary, and his deep-rooted hatred of "Liberalism" and the bourgeoisie, a hatred which he was unable to overcome.

This can be made clear if one reads Axelrod's account of his conversation with Lenin on the attitude towards Liberalism and the Liberals, which took place in 1895 in connection with the article of Lenin directed against my first book.²²

"You have a tendency," said Axelrod to Lenin, "which is the exact opposite of the tendency of the article I was writing for this very miscellany; (this article was not finished and did not appear in the miscellany). You identify our attitude to the Liberals with the Socialists' attitude to the Liberals in the West. And I was just preparing for the miscellany an article entitled *The Requirements of Russian Life*, in which I was out to show that at this historical moment the immediate interests of the proletariat in Russia coincided with the main interests of the other progressive elements of the public. For with us the workers, just as the other progressive elements of the public, are confronted with the same urgent task: to obtain conditions enabling a wide development of their free activity. To be more exact, it is the task of overthrowing the absolute government. This task is dictated to us all by Russian life. Since the conditions of censorship do not permit of

²¹ Vasily Yakovlevich Yakovlev, who wrote under the pseudonyms of "Bogucharsky" and "Basilevsky," a former member of The People's Will, who became a Social Democrat, a journalist and historian of the revolutionary movement, was a personal friend of mine. He was a convinced partisan of a political coalition of all revolutionary and opposition forces.

²² Published in vol. I of the *Correspondence of G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod*, p. 270.

giving it its real name, I have described it as 'the creation of conditions for a wide public activity required by Russian life.'

"Ulyanov smilingly replied: 'You know, Plekhanov said exactly the same thing about my articles. He gave a picturesque turn to his thought: —'You turn your back to the Liberals'—he said—and we turn our faces to them . . .'"

Vera Zasulich and Potresov, on the contrary, for reasons of principle as well as on account of tactical and psychological considerations and because of their personal sympathy for me, were in favour of an agreement. This made the other "Orthodoxalists" jokingly call them the "Struvefreundliche Partei." Vera Zasulich, especially, did not think it right to kindle in the workers a hatred for the liberal bourgeoisie, for she saw no chance—and quite rightly too!—for the working class to conquer political freedom single-handed. Axelrod was also, of course, in favour of the agreement.

The greatest opposition and a real hostility to me was shown by Lenin. Of our first joint meeting at which our points of view clashed he wrote on the same night, under a fresh impression, that it was "a historical meeting in his life . . . summing up the results of a whole period of life and determining for a long time to come one's conduct and path of life."²³ I resolutely refused then to become, together with my political friends, a mere instrument in the hands of the orthodox Social-Democrats, who had just raised their voice against my attitude in the following announcement of the coming publication of *Iskra*:

"In the works of writers whom the reading public has till now, with more or less reason, regarded as prominent representatives of 'legal Marxism,' one perceives more and more a tendency towards views which approach bourgeois apologetics . . . We are in favour of a consistent working out of the ideas of Marx and Engels and resolutely reject the controversy between the comrades in our pages, those half-hearted, hazy and opportunist amendments which, thanks to Messrs. Bernstein, Struve and many others, have now become so fashionable."

But my unwillingness to obey the orders of the orthodox Social-Democrats was due not only to the attitude they took up to my views—in the persons of Lenin and Plekhanov. For I saw quite clearly that my influence among the Liberals and Democrats would dwindle, or even be reduced to nothing and become a negative

²³ This extremely characteristic note has been published in the first volume of the *Lenin Miscellany* edited by L. B. Kamenev, 2nd edition, Moscow, 1924.

quantity, should I submit to the "Orthodoxalists." That is why I was resolute and firm, thus provoking Lenin's indignation and anger, which found expression in the entry quoted above and made on the same night at 4 a.m.

Nevertheless the agreement was concluded. I did not refuse to write for *Iskra* and to supply it with material. But it was agreed to start a purely political publication (its character was not precisely defined) under the neutral title of *The Contemporary Review* (*Sovremennoe Obozrenie*), which was to be jointly edited and distributed as a supplement to the social-democratic review *Zarya*. The announcement of that publication was to contain a declaration of the editorial board of *Zarya* written by Plekhanov, and that of the group of democratic opposition written by myself. That announcement, consisting of two declarations, was, however, not published for unforeseen reasons which, from the point of view of its authors, were purely accidental: the German social-democratic publisher Herr Dietz, who acted as printer for *Zarya*, refused to publish it for fear of police reprisals, for it spoke of the fusion of two political groups, both of which were not legalised in Germany.

The agreement on the joint publication of the *Contemporary Review* was subsequently not realised for two reasons. In the first place it was found that the differences between the two groups were too great. The following episode made this particularly clear. I had brought with me to Munich Witte's famous secret memorandum on "Autocracy and Zemstvo" and offered the editors of *Zarya*, which had just been founded by Plekhanov and his friends outside Russia in conjunction with Lenin and Potresov, to publish that memorandum under the auspices of *Zarya* and with my introduction, on the condition that the latter would not be censored by the editors. This offer was accepted; but when the memorandum was published, there appeared in *Zarya* an article on it, or rather on my introduction to it, written by Lenin in a spirit that was anything but the spirit of coalition. It was an unfair and biased article. Its principal misrepresentation was that Lenin wanted to assure his readers that I, the author of the "Liberal" introduction to Witte's memorandum signed with the initials "R. N. S." (which in Russian stood for "Editor of *Novoe Slovo*"), was in favour of a consultative national assembly. Lenin knew very well from personal intercourse with me that, on the contrary, I was, for reasons both of principle and tactics, all in favour of a parliament endowed with power, and as a student of law Lenin ought to have understood that the concluding motto of my introduction, "the rights of an authoritative

all-Russian zemstvo " (the adjective " authoritative "—" *vlastny* "—has in Russian a very precise meaning) could imply nothing but a demand for the crowning of the edifice of local zemstvo self-government by a national parliament invested with authority. Lenin's article called forth numerous discussions among the editors of *Zarya* and was somewhat toned down, but it could not help producing a most unfavourable impression on me and my allies among the Liberals and Democrats. It was a tactless sally on the part of the Social-Democrats against the Liberals, their allies on the right. Even Plekhanov with all his orthodoxy, though he liked the idea of Lenin giving me a good rating, was rather disturbed by his tone with regard to the Liberals, and thus wrote to Axelrod, his intimate friend, political ally and admirer :—

" The author's opinion on the introduction to the memorandum is quite just and there is nothing to mitigate here, even though V. I. Zasulich would have liked it very much. But his tone towards the Liberals and Liberalism in Russia is much too malevolent. There is a great deal of justice in what he says about our Liberals, but it is no good maltreating them as he does. And one thing more. It is important that you should read carefully the passage dealing with the importance of zemstvo work. You are our most perspicacious tactician, and it is for you to decide whether the author is right. I have an idea that something is wrong here."²⁴

Axelrod himself was still more definite about it in his letter dated 19 July 1901 and addressed to the Munich members of the editorial board of *Zarya* :—

" As far as I understand, what is wanted of me is an emphatic utterance for or against the violent attacks of Ulyanov on the Liberals and Struve . . . On p. 53 the author says that Struve ' represents something new in the chorus of our illicit literature.' That is quite true, but it is not made clear what that ' new ' consists of. Is it really only in his predilection for ' legal ' evolution and his fear of revolution? But in this respect he is merely a second and slightly modified edition of Dragomanov. If his peculiarities that are interesting for us have come to light in his introduction, they consist chiefly in that he, a Liberal, a partisan of peaceful progress, observes and emphasises, first that the legal and zemstvo opposition can play a serious political rôle only thanks to the workers' movement led by Social Democracy; secondly, that the existence of an extreme revolutionary party benefits in the first place and above all . . . the ' moderate ' parties. This is not a slip, as our friend thinks, but a tendentious, well-calculated pointer to the Liberals, very useful both for them and for ourselves. We ought to cling

²⁴ *Correspondence of G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod*, vol. II, p. 154.

with both 'paws' to those two statements, not in order to pay compliments to an intelligent Liberal who has been through the school of Marx and Social Democracy, but for the edification of the Liberals whose help even Ulyanov regards as useful."²⁵

But another fact was of more importance in frustrating the Munich agreement. On my return to Russia from Munich I was soon arrested for participating in the demonstration of 4 March 1901 in Kazansky Square and was sent to Tver by way of administrative exile.²⁶ During my exile I received from one of my friends and political allies a formal and categorical proposal to go abroad and found there an independent organ, under my own editorship, devoted exclusively to the propaganda of the idea of constitutional reform in Russia. This proposal excluded the possibility of any coalition with Social-Democrats or other Socialist elements, which would have tied up my freedom of action as the editor of the new organ responsible to the Russian public. The latter was founded by me in Stuttgart in the second half of 1902 under the name of *Osvobozhdenie* (Liberation).

Thus a coincidence of external and personal circumstances resulted in my parting my way from the Social-Democrats. I must say frankly that the leading orthodox Social-Democrats (I mean Plekhanov and Lenin) did everything to accelerate and facilitate—psychologically, so to speak—my rupture with them. Not only did they not show the consideration which I could claim as a political and intellectual personality, but, what was a much greater blunder on their part—and this applies above all to Lenin—they failed to realise that whatever my personal views may have been, they ought to have regarded me no longer as a Social-Democrat nor even as an ex-Socialist, but as a genuine representative of the views of a social milieu which could neither be ignored nor rebuffed, which was entitled to keep its own character and could only then be a valuable ally in the struggle for the political transformation of the country. In order, however, to understand this and to shape one's conduct accordingly, it was necessary to be deeply imbued with the spirit of public compromise. And the orthodox Social-Democracy in general, but the Russian above all, lacked this sense at that time, and to Lenin it was always quite alien. He always conceived public life as a war, and his attitude to those whose opinions differed from his was not one of loyal compromise with

²⁵ *Materials for the History of the Russian Revolutionary Movement*, vol. I. Letters of P. B. Axelrod and Yu. Martov, 1901-1916, p. 49.

²⁶ I shall speak of my arrest and exile in another chapter of my Memoirs.

them but one of hostility and tactical manoeuvre against them, as political opponents or social enemies. This characteristic of Lenin soon brought about inextricable controversies and chronic dissensions within the social-democratic party itself. Before the war Lenin parted even from Plekhanov with whom, of all the leading Social-Democrats, he had, both ideologically and emotionally, the greatest affinity²⁷

After I became editor of *Osvobozhdenie*, I no longer had anything to do directly either with Lenin or with other orthodox or would-be orthodox Social-Democrats. Our co-operation ceased. The Social-Democrats in *Iskra* and other publications often attacked me, sometimes in a very violent and even insulting way. For my part I avoided all such polemics in *Osvobozhdenie* and did not reply to personal attacks and challenges.

The latest outburst against me in the Social-Democratic party was Plekhanov's resolution proposed to the Brussels-London congress of the Russian Social-Democratic party in August 1903. It was supported by Lenin and opposed by Potresov. According to the charge preferred by the Bolsheviks—quite wrongly, by the way—the so-called Mensheviks, as represented by Potresov, Zederbaum and Axelrod, were preparing the way for a most reprehensible agreement with Liberalism, whereas Plekhanov and Lenin, while pointing out the means of "utilising" Liberal opposition, pushed to the foreground the independent revolutionary tactics of Social-Democracy.²⁸ Plekhanov's resolution recommended to the Social-Democrats to combat the anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian current of the bourgeois opposition "in the person of Peter Struve"²⁹

Thus as early as 1903, when I finally ceased to be a Social-Democrat, various sections of Social-Democracy made use in their internecine strife of my name, which was especially hateful to Lenin. Generally speaking, for Lenin a reference to my name and my writings was always a weapon for attacking hostile fractions of Social-Democracy and bringing disgrace on them. This is a most characteristic feature of Lenin's political writings for the period 1894-1905, collected in the miscellany entitled *For 12 Years* and published in 1919. One may say that Struve and "Struvism" are the central theme of that miscellany, especially in controversies with other social-democratic currents.³⁰

²⁷ See my estimate of both in the *Slavonic Review*, April 1934, p. 591.

²⁸ I use the formula of the Bolshevik V. Nevsky in his *History of the Russian Communist Party* published in 1926, p. 227.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

³⁰ See Lenin's introduction to that miscellany.

• It is also remarkable that already before the War Lenin broke completely with all those Social-Democrats (i.e. Zasulich, Potresov, Axelrod, Zederbaum-Martov and, finally, Plekhanov) who, during my decisive encounters with him in 1900-01, had, if not quite shared his views, at least taken his side against me.

• As I have already said, I made a point of avoiding in *Osvobozhdenie* personal polemics with the Social-Democrats in general and with Lenin in particular. I never broke that rule. But sometimes, without engaging in any personal attacks, I had to point out the differences of principle which had made me radically and finally break away not only from the theoretical ideas, but also from the practical precepts of Social-Democracy. Those ideas and precepts found the most striking expression in the writings of Lenin, coloured by hatred and anger.

Toward the close of the publication of *Osvobozhdenie*, almost on the eve of the promulgation of the constitutional manifesto of 17(30) October 1905 which enabled me to return to Russia, I characterised in an article my differences of principle from Social-Democracy, meaning in the first place Lenin. Discussing, from the point of view of general principles, the question of participation of university students in the political struggle, that of the so-called "university disorders," I wrote :

"*The idea of law* is alien . . . to the conception of Social-Democrats. The latter want to overthrow the reactionary oppression of the autocracy by the revolutionary might of the people. They have in common with their political adversaries the cult of power; they merely want to have another holder of that power and to prescribe different tasks to him. Law, according to their conception, is not the idea of what ought to be, but command by the stronger. We differ from the Social-Democrats (and from the revolutionaries in general) not only in tactics and even not only in programme, but in the very foundations of our ideas. We have different principles."³¹

Thus I had parted with Social-Democracy on points of principle even before that revolutionary crisis which led to the manifesto of 17(30) October—that is, at a time when Social-Democracy was still pursuing an object that seemed to be common to us all—that of conquering political freedom.

Bolshevism, in the person of Lenin, practically rejected not only democracy, not only political freedom, but the most elementary civic liberties—that for which whole generations of Russians had

³¹ *Osvobozhdenie*, No. 78-79, 18 October, 1905. In my notes on current affairs signed "P.S."

been fighting. I do not propose to explain in this chapter of my Memoirs the way in which took place this conversion of Russian Social-Democracy, whose manifesto, written by me in 1898, had been permeated with the passion of political and civil freedom, into a peculiar and cruel despotism, relying on fomenting selfish and wild instincts of the masses which have no respect for anybody's freedom. I will here only say briefly that—according to my deepest conviction—as a man who has not only studied but lived through the history of his country—this conversion was due to the fact that the leaders and ideologists of extreme orthodox Marxist Social-Democracy, with Lenin at their head, consciously gave in to the power of the blind and selfish instincts of the masses, with the object of seizing and retaining political power over those masses and over the whole country. For this they had to pay the price of the very foundations of law and the very essentials of liberty. A fatal organic and indissoluble connexion was revealed between that social-democratic cult of force, of which I wrote in *Osvobozhdenie* in October 1905, and that régime of oppression which the Bolshevik Social-Democrats, who have changed their name to Communists, established in November 1917. This connexion was embodied in the figure of Lenin. I shall give in another chapter of my Memoirs a full analysis of that figure, psychological, political and historical, together with an estimate of the fatal part that was played by him.

PETER STRUVE.

THE EXPANSION OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA TO THE INDIAN BORDER

ANGLO-RUSSIAN relations from the Greek War of Independence onwards were conditioned by two imperialistic struggles: Russia's efforts to reach the Mediterranean *via* Constantinople and the Indian Ocean *via* Persia, and the endeavours of Great Britain to prevent Russia from doing so and to consolidate her own position in India. Great Britain viewed the Eastern Question from the standpoint of the necessity to safeguard communications with India. To Russian economists and economic historians, on the other hand, the legitimacy of Russia's aspirations to gain free and uncontrolled access to the warm seas of the south was axiomatic. In particular, England's monopoly of power in the Persian Gulf appeared to them, especially towards the end of the 19th century, in the light of a "dog in the manger" policy. The literature on these subjects is full of a spirit of nationalism which shows little or no regard for the case of the opposite side. In matters concerning Afghanistan, diplomatic documents, such as those of Gorchakov, tended to be regarded as "written to order" and were correspondingly discounted by public opinion. Unfortunately, there was very little else emanating from Russia to help Englishmen to form an accurate judgment of Russia's legitimate national aspirations. During the forty years that followed the Crimean War the Russian advance to the gates of India was too rapid and elemental to be properly understood in its historical perspective. Even today there are apparently no books in the Russian language specially devoted to giving a full and connected account of the growth of Russian power in the direction of the Pamirs.

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The first Russian account of India is the *Journey of Afanasy Nikitin to India* (1468-74), an unfinished diary written in the reign of John III, the first Russian Tsar and the liberator of Russia from the Tartar overlordship. Muscovite Russia was beginning to find her feet. The Persian historian Abd-ar-Rezzak, according to the Russian academician, V. Bartold,¹ mentions the arrival of Russian envoys at Herat in 1464. In 1475, the Venetians, Barbaro and Contarini, found at Tabriz, then the capital of Persia, another Russian emissary, Marcus Rufus. At Moscow, in 1490, there was an envoy from Sultan Husein, the ruler of Herat. It was in connection with one of these embassies to Russia that the first Russian journey to India took place. In 1466, there arrived in Moscow an embassy from Farruh-Iesar Shirvanshah (the ruler of Shemakha

¹ *Istoria izucheniia Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii*, 2nd edition, Leningrad, 1925.

and Baku), and in return the Tsar John III sent an embassy headed by Vasily Panin. Accompanying the legates were merchants, including Afanasy Nikitin of Tver, who subsequently crossed the Caspian Sea to Persia where he was told of the advantages of trade with India. Embarking at Ormuzd, he landed at Diu and travelled overland to Ahmedabad where he spent over three years. Professor M. N. Speransky, the author of a standard history of early Russian literature, considers that Nikitin did not travel to India as a free agent, but was captured by robbers on the Caspian and carried off to India, and that he was probably sold there. However this may be, Nikitin did not find in India goods suitable for Russia. "The Basserman (Mussulman) dogs," he said, "lied to me." Nikitin describes the trade conditions at Calicut and other places and contrasts Indian with Russian life.

In the early part of the 16th century the Genoese Paolo Centurione is said to have proposed to the Grand Duke Vasily Ivanovich the organisation of trade with India *via* the Caspian, the Indian goods passing up the Volga and Oka to Moscow and thence overland to the Dvina and Riga. In 1532, Vasily Ivanovich was surprised by the arrival in Moscow of a Hindu merchant named Husein who claimed that he was the envoy of Babur (the founder of the Empire of the Great Moguls). The Grand Duke agreed to trade relations but to nothing more, since he did not know, as he said, whether Babur was an insignificant ruler and therefore not his equal.

The beginning of diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Uzbek khanates of Central Asia may be said to date from 1559 when Anthony Jenkinson (Chancellor's successor as Captain-General of the Muscovy Company's fleet), who had been sent by John the Terrible with a trade caravan to Khiva and Bukhara, returned to Moscow in the company of embassies from Bukhara, Balkh and Urgench (then the capital of the khanate of Khiva). Prior to this, Moscow had received news of affairs in Central Asia through the Nogai princes. The chief aim of the Russian embassies which followed was to liberate the large numbers of Russian prisoners in the towns of Central Asia, mainly fishermen and traders captured on the Caspian by Turkomans. The Central Asiatic khans sent missions to Moscow to obtain hunting requisites—guns, lead, gunpowder, but chiefly gerfalcons. Jenkinson reported the complete decline of trade in Central Asia with China owing to the conquest of the khanates about 1500 by the Uzbek steppe-dwellers. Bukhara received so many goods *via* Aleppo and Smyrna that Jenkinson had to sell his wares with scarcely any profit, and consequently the English traders sent

him in 1561 with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to conclude a commercial agreement with the Shah of Persia.

During the Time of Troubles and the reign of the first Romanov, little occurred of note except the raids carried out on the Caspian by the Yaik or Ural Cossacks, who were only nominally under the authority of Moscow. In the second half of the century, however, the "Posolsky Prikaz" or Foreign Office at Moscow made persistent attempts to obtain information concerning trade routes to India. At this time the Persian route was unsuitable owing to fighting between the Persians and the Afghans over the question of the Persian-Afghan frontier. The Tsar Alexis twice sent emissaries to the Great Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb *via* Persia, but on each occasion they were stopped on the way by Abbas II. An attempt was then made to find a route through Bukhara. In 1669 the brothers Boris and Semen Pazukhin left Astrakhan for Khiva and Bukhara, whence they sent their interpreters, Nikita Medvedev and Semen Izmail, to Balkh to seek information regarding the routes to India. Medvedev returned with the news that the "Indian Mountains" (the Hindu Kush) formed a great obstacle in that direction, and therefore the Tsar in 1675 commissioned a Tartar named Kasimov to accompany the Bukharan envoy, Farik, on the latter's return journey to Bukhara, and to explore the upper course of the river Amu-Darya in order to see whether Delhi could be reached by that route. Kasimov arrived in 1676 at Kabul, but as he was travelling without goods and only with documents he was not allowed to continue his journey. Aurangzeb was informed of his arrival, but considered that relations with Moscow were disadvantageous to himself, saying that "the Russian Tsar sends envoys to the Indian Shah for riches and not for anything else." Other objections that he made were the great distance between the two capitals and the difference in religion; yet, as Russian writers have pointed out, at this very time an English embassy from London was already in Delhi.

In the early part of the reign of Peter the Great, a Russian merchant named Semen Malenky or Malinkov, with goods and gold coins from the Tsar, succeeded in reaching Delhi in 1696 *via* Bender Abbas and Surat, and was received by Aurangzeb. Malenky sold all his goods and bought in exchange enough Indian goods to fill two ships. Taking back with him an elephant, a gift from the Great Mogul to the Tsar, he returned by the same route, but died on the way at Shemakha, leaving no detailed information about his journey.

Nothing more was undertaken in this direction by Peter until some time after the battle of Poltava. The line of least resistance appeared to be the exploration of the vast region to the east of the Caspian. In 1713 Peter heard from Turkoman reports that the Amu-Darya had previously flowed into the Caspian, and had not long before been diverted by the Khivans to the Sea of Aral owing to their fear of the Russians. Hence he conceived the plan of making this river flow once again into the Caspian, and thus of obtaining the route to India by water-way of which the ancient geographers had dreamed. In 1714, Prince Bekovich-Cherkassky was given the task of investigating the eastern shore of the Caspian, where he discovered the dried-up bed of a river which he judged to have been the Amu-Darya. Peter, however, decided that it was preferable to gain control over the Central Asiatic khans by imposing upon them Russian bodyguards. About the same time, Prince Matvey Gagarin, the Governor of Siberia, sent a report that gold-bearing sand had been found near the town of Erket or Yerket (Yarkand). Hence Peter equipped two expeditions which were to converge on India: one under Buchholz to start from Siberia for Yarkand, and the other under Prince Bekovich-Cherkassky to proceed from Astrakhan to the Central Asiatic khanates. The khan of Bukhara was to be requested to send a caravan with Lieut. Kozhin, disguised as a merchant, to meet the Buchholz expedition. Ships were then to be obtained from the khan, "by which the Russian merchants might sail up the Amu . . . and then on to India." Communications with Russia were to be safeguarded by the building of forts on the Caspian and the Sea of Aral. But the junction of the two expeditions could not be effected. Bekovich-Cherkassky, with 4,000 men, arrived at Khiva in 1717, but the khan only pretended to accept his authority, and some time later the Russians were treacherously attacked and their leader killed. Peter compensated for his failure here by establishing the "Irtysh line" of fortifications with the foundation of Omsk (1716), Semipalatinsk (1718) and Ust-Kamenogorsk (1720). Nevertheless, it is evident that Peter still had hopes of achieving success in the khanates, for the Russian envoy, Beneveni, was there in 1721 with the object of gaining new information on the course of the Amu-Darya.

Peter now turned his attention to Persia, and in the war, which he waged with that country in 1722-23, one of his aims was to capture the Indian trade. This may be seen from the fact that the Senate at St. Petersburg, in giving a justification for the war,

declared that the Emperor was "following in the footsteps of Alexander of Macedonia." Further, A. P. Volynsky, when recalling the campaign, wrote: "According to the intentions of his Majesty, he was not concerned merely with Persia. For, if we were fortunate in Persia, and God continued his life, he would finally have attempted to reach India, and he had the intention to reach even the Chinese Empire, as I myself heard from his Imperial Majesty." After the conclusion of the Russo-Persian War, Peter planned sea communications with India. In December, 1723, two frigates were sent from Reval under Vice-Admiral Vilster, with Peter's confidential advisers, Captain Myasnoy and Captain-Lieutenant Kiselev. Vilster had secret orders to seize Madagascar and to voyage to the East Indies and to Bengal. The frigates had to sail disguised as merchantmen; but they proved unseaworthy (one began to leak immediately on reaching the open sea), and the expedition fell through.

A few years after Peter's death in 1725, Russia restored to Persia her Caspian provinces because they required too many men and too much money for their defence. But Ivan Kirillov, who had been greatly impressed by Peter's example, set himself the task of consolidating Russian power on the Sea of Aral and of seizing Bukhara and Samarkand. For this purpose he founded the town of Orenburg and crushed the resistance of the Kirghiz and Bashkirs. Kirillov died in 1737 without having realised his dream in Central Asia. His work was continued by the historian Tatishchev, who was also Director of the Ural mines. In 1750, owing to the insistence of Neplyuyev, Governor of Orenburg, another attempt was made to send caravans to India and for this purpose the Russo-Indian Company was formed, but the constant raids and attacks of the nomads of the steppes between the Caspian and the Amu-Darya made it impossible to establish trading relations even with the Central Asiatic khanates. Although Catherine the Great, unlike the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, adopted a pro-Mussulman policy and aimed at the education of the Kirghiz by having school-books printed in their language, she paid little or no attention to matters in Central Asia. In 1775 she informed her Minister in Turkey that she regarded Asiatic affairs as entirely foreign to the European nations, and in 1791 she rejected a proposal of the French émigré Saint Genis that a military expedition should be sent through Bukhara and Kabul to conquer India.

At the beginning of the 19th century the Emperor Paul I, embittered at not receiving possession of Malta, broke his alliance with Great Britain, revived the Armed Neutrality League, and

concerted with Napoleon a plan for the conquest of India. According to this extraordinary scheme, 35,000 French troops under Masséna were to sail down the Danube, cross the Black Sea and proceed by way of the Don, the Volga and the Caspian to Astrabad (now Askhabad), where they would join an equal number of Russian troops. The combined army would then march *via* Herat and Kandahar to the Indus. The French contingent did not appear, since Napoleon was too busy elsewhere; but, nothing daunted, Paul ordered a force of 22,000 Don Cossacks under their ataman Orlov-Denisov to advance in January 1801 to India *via* Orenburg, Khiva and Bukhara, and lest they should be downhearted he promised them "all the riches of the Indies." A little later the unbalanced Emperor was assassinated in a palace revolution; and in March, on the first day of his reign, Alexander I ordered the Cossacks to return. The memory of the abortive attempt long remained in English minds, and this date may be taken as the starting-point of the suspicions which Great Britain subsequently entertained towards Russian action in Central Asia.

The failure of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit, which disappointed the Shah's hopes of French assistance in his quarrel with Russia over Georgia, greatly relieved the anxiety of the British Government in regard to the security of the British position in India from the point of view of foreign attack by way of Persia. From now until the treaty of Turkmanchai (1828), the influence of Great Britain in Persia was predominant, but the Russian victory in the Russo-Persian war of 1826-28 meant a loss of British prestige. Persia, disappointed at the small amount of assistance she had received from Great Britain and feeling that she had been used as a tool to prevent Russia from intervening in Greco-Turkish affairs, now began to allow herself to come under Russian influence. In addition to gaining the provinces of Erivan and Nakhichevan, Russia obtained a firm commercial footing in Persia by the establishment of a large number of consulates and by a commercial agreement on a most-favoured-nation basis. Persian merchants again began to travel to the Nizhny-Novgorod Fair to buy European goods. In 1832 the Shah made use of Russian support to strengthen his weakened authority, especially in Khorasan; but England had no reason to fear a Russo-Persian attack on India, since the Caucasus was still unsubdued and Russia was feeling the effects of strain after the suppression of the Polish rebellion. The Russian policy was to encourage the Shah to seek compensation for the loss of his provinces in North-West Persia by conquests in

Western Afghanistan, the main objective being Herat. The Persian campaign of 1833 under the leadership of Mahommed Mirza was not resisted by England, and the Persian forces raised the siege only after receiving the news of the premature death of Abbas Mirza. In 1834 the pro-Russian Mahommed Mirza succeeded to the Persian throne.

By this time anti-Russian feeling was becoming strong in England. Sir George de Lacy Evans had published *On the Designs of Russia*, 1828, and *On the Practicability of an Invasion of British India*, 1829. The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which Nicholas I forced upon the Porte in 1832, aroused the fierce indignation of Palmerston. The "eccentric genius" David Urquhart, who declared Russia to be "Satanic," poured forth his hostility in addresses and pamphlets, including *Turkey and its Resources*, 1833, followed by *England, France, Russia and Turkey*, the strong anti-Russian character of which aroused the opposition of Richard Cobden. In 1841, during the first Afghan War, David Urquhart even went to the length of denouncing Palmerston as a secret accomplice of Nicholas I.² Suspicion of the hidden designs of Russian imperialism was to fill the entire reign of Queen Victoria and received particularly clear expression in Sir Henry Rawlinson's *England and Russia in the East*, 1875, and Lord Curzon's *Russia in Central Asia* in 1889.

The first Afghan War, which many important British authorities have described as the result of diplomatic blundering, was partly due to the intrigues of Count Simonich, the Russian Minister at Teheran, who helped to stultify the Burnes Mission to Kabul in September, 1837. Shortly before the arrival of the British envoy, Captain Witkiewicz, sent by the Russian Foreign Ministry, appeared in the neighbourhood of Kabul with two congratulatory letters to Dost Mahommed, one of which was signed by Count Simonich, while the other, unsigned, purported to be from Nicholas I. Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, was faced with a dilemma in regard to Dost Mahommed's claim to the restoration of Peshawar which Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Maharajah, had seized in 1834 and held with a strong grip. Moreover, as E. Grimm points out in the Soviet review, *Novy Vostok*, 1929, Nos. 26-27, Dost Mahommed was

² Cf. Urquhart's *Diplomatic Transactions in Central Asia from 1834 to 1839*. 1841. (With the sub-title: Exposition of transactions in Central Asia through which the independence of States, and the affections of peoples, barriers to the British Possessions in India, have been sacrificed to Russia, by Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, constituting grounds for the impeachment of that Minister.)

guilty of duplicity towards the newly-arrived Governor-General. While asking Lord Auckland for advice as to what should be his policy in regard to the Sikhs, he sent a letter of the same contents to General Perovsky, the Military Governor of Orenburg, and requested him to forward it to Nicholas I. In a despatch of 25 June, 1836, the Home Government warned the Governor-General in terms of the utmost gravity against the danger of Russian action in Persia and stated that Dost Mahommed at Kabul and his brother Kohandil at Kandahar were in active correspondence with the Persian Court. The despatch also referred to the rumours that the Khan of Khiva had entered into an arrangement with Russia and urged the Governor-General "to raise a timely barrier against the encroachments of Russian influence."³

Meanwhile the British Minister at Teheran, Dr. John McNeill, whose *Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East* had been favourably noticed by Lord Palmerston, was unable to counteract the influence of Count Simonich, and on 23 July, 1837, Shah Mahommed left Teheran with an army to besiege Herat. Palmerston, however, forced him to abandon the siege on 9 September, 1838. Simonich was superseded by Duhamel, of whom Palmerston had written in the previous year: "Duhamel, who is to succeed Simonich, is perhaps a more formidable man, because he is not quite so much of an intriguer. Simonich overshot his mark; Duhamel will take a better aim." On 1 November, 1838, Lord Auckland issued a General Order stating that, despite the rescue of Herat, the expedition planned against Dost Mahommed would take place in order to establish "a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our North-West Frontier." Thus although the ostensible object of the first Afghan War was to replace Shah Shuja on the throne at Kabul, it was the fear of a Russian attack through Persia and Afghanistan that brought about the opening of hostilities.

The Tsar's "counterstroke" took place in November, 1839, when he ordered General Perovsky to lead an expedition against the Khan of Khiva who had plundered Russian caravans. Palmerston told Baron Brünnow, then on a special mission to London to negotiate an agreement concerning the Dardanelles and Mehemet Ali, that Russia, foiled in Persia, was seeking an alternative route to India through the Central Asiatic khanates and that, if Russia should seize Khiva, Great Britain in self-defence would be obliged to send troops across the Hindu Kush to Balkh. Brünnow replied that this

³ *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy.* Vol. II.

would mean war. The crisis⁴ was averted, however, by the failure of Perovsky to reach his objective. The Government of India persuaded the Khan of Khiva to make amends to Russia. In 1842, the Khan signed a treaty agreeing to abolish slave-trading and to suppress raiding.

• A side-light on the Russian attitude during these years of tension may be obtained from the following. In a despatch to St. Petersburg the Russian ambassador, Count Pozzo di Borgo, wrote on 12 October, 1838, that the old plan of a Russian expedition to India was feared by everyone in England despite its improbability. On 20 October the Chancellor Nesselrode wrote to Pozzo di Borgo: "For us it is necessary that we should not have with the English in Central Asia either relations or collisions. We are following exclusively commercial aims." On the margin of a copy of this despatch Nicholas I wrote the word "Excellent."

In the period 1842-64 Russia discovered the best way of approach for her further advance. In 1847, by the occupation of the mouth of the Syr-Darya, a key position was obtained for the advance on Kokand. In 1853 the fort of Ak-Mechet, about 220 miles up the river, was seized and renamed Perovsk. In 1854, an expedition was sent up the Ili valley and a fort was built at Vernoe which later became the capital of Semirechia. Further progress was stopped by the Crimean War; yet superficially it looked as if after all there was some justification for Palmerston's remark to Pozzo di Borgo in October, 1828: "Now, of course, there can be no talk of a Russian expedition to India, but if it is desired to capture a fortress, the beginning is to surround it gradually and from afar." According to A. E. Snesev⁵ the Crimean War showed Russia the need for future campaigns in the direction of India. He suggests that this was clear to the Russian military authorities towards the end of the war and quotes two schemes submitted by Chikhachev and Hrulev. I. M. Reisner mentions a third plan, which was presented by Duhamel in 1855. The idea was to gain the co-operation of Persia and Afghanistan and to send a Russian force *via* Astrabad, Herat and Kandahar to Lahore.

The co-operation of these countries, however, was not forth-

⁴ It is interesting to note that the Duke of Wellington had Russophil leanings. In conversation with Brunnnow at Stratfieldsaye, where there was a special "Russian Room," the Duke observed that the Russian Emperor had a right to stop attacks of robbers in Asia, just as the Queen of England had in Canada. Cf. the article, *Imperator Nikolai i Koroleva Viktoria*, by F. F. Martens in *Vestnik Evropy*, November, 1896.

⁵ A. E. Snesev. *Avganistan*, Gosizdat, 1921.

coming With the help of a British subsidy, Dost Mahommed was enabled in 1850-56 to annex Balkh and Afghan Turkestan, and in 1863 also Herat, which a British expedition to the Persian Gulf had compelled Persia to relinquish in 1856. I. M. Reisner, in his *Nezavisimyy Afganistan*, published in 1929 by the Moscow Institute of Eastern Studies, considers that the policy of Imperial Russia towards Afghanistan was double-minded and unstable: it used the "Afghan question" to annoy British imperialism or as an object for secret negotiations with Great Britain, and thus only hindered Afghan efforts for independence.

As soon as Russia had recovered from her defeat in the Crimean War and had effected the emancipation of the serfs, the Kokand campaign, which had been successfully started by Perovsky, was resumed in 1864. The experience gained from the ill-fated Khivan expedition of Perovsky in 1839 showed that the direct route to Khiva across the steppes from Orenburg was the longest and that it was better to work round from the south-east. General Kuropatkin later referred to this when he wrote: "The chief difficulty was presented not by the struggle with men, but with nature." In the sixties the Russian infantry received new long-range rifles, whereas the troops of the khans had only flintlock muskets. After an initial reverse in 1864, General Cherniayev stormed Tashkent with its 100,000 inhabitants in 1865. General Kaufmann, who was made Governor-General of Turkestan and was the best organiser that Russia had in Central Asia, occupied Samarkand in 1868 and, by controlling the network of canals connected with the river Zaryavshan, held the whole of Bukhara in his grasp. The Emir of Bukhara gave the Russians important trade concessions, and proved a loyal ally in the campaign against Khiva, which fell in 1873. Russian merchants now received the right of extra-territoriality and an exemption from customs duties; the facilities for Russian trade on the Amu-Darya became as free as on the Volga and the Yenisey.

After Cherniayev's victory at Tashkent, British opinion was troubled with the anxieties for which the Duke of Argyll later invented the felicitous name of "Mervousness." It is clear that the explanation of the Russian advance in Central Asia, which Gorchakov gave in his Circular of 21 November, 1864, and which the Soviet historian, M. N. Pokrovsky, has sneered at as a "children's textbook,"⁶ failed to convince English minds. In 1865 the British Government suggested to the Tsar an exchange of Notes. Gorchakov

⁶ *Diplomatiya i voiny tsarskoy Rossii v XIX stoletii*, Moscow, 1923.

rejected the proposal, but the Tsar informed the British ambassador, Sir A. Buchanan, that he had no ambitious intentions or mental reservations. Throughout the succeeding period the Russian Government always maintained this attitude, and its persistency was equalled by that of British scepticism. In 1869, influenced by the Memorandum of Sir Henry Rawlinson (who said that if Russia took Merv she would have the key to India), the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, suggested to Baron Brunnov that misunderstandings between the two Powers might be avoided by the establishment of a neutral zone. Prince Gorchakov replied that this was just what St. Petersburg desired, and he invited the British Government to abandon "its inveterate prejudices" against Russia. "Let us leave," he said, "these phantoms of the past, which ought to disappear in the light of our time! . . . We on our part entertain no fears with regard to the ambitions of England in Central Asia, and we have a right to expect the same trust in our common sense"⁷ The Tsar considered Afghanistan as being entirely outside the sphere in which Russia might be called upon to exercise her influence, and had no intention of interfering with the independence of that State. Gorchakov refused to entertain the suggestion that the Amu-Darya south of Bukhara should be regarded as the dividing line between the two spheres of influence, but with a view to removing British objections in regard to the projected campaign against Khiva he agreed, in 1873, to the inclusion in Afghanistan of the small khanates of Vakhān and Badakhshan. At the beginning of 1873, Count Shuvalov, who had been specially sent to London by the Russian Government, stated categorically: "The Emperor not only does not wish to take possession of Khiva, but has given definite orders to prevent the possibility of this." Later in the year, British public opinion was aroused not only by the annexation of Khiva, but also by rumours of a proposed Russian expedition to Merv against the Turkomans which, it was feared, might lead to their taking refuge on Afghan territory in the neighbourhood of Herat, and consequently to a collision between the Emir's forces and the Russians. In reply to representations by the Foreign Secretary (Lord Granville), the Russian Chancellor refused to recognise the right of Great Britain to intervene on behalf of Merv and the Turkomans.

Shortly before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, when Anglo-Russian relations were strained almost to breaking-point, General

⁷ S. S. Tatishchev: *Imperator Aleksandr II, ego zhizn i tsarstvovanie*, St. Petersburg, 1903.

Skobelev, who had occupied Kokand in 1875, suggested the plan of opening negotiations with Shere Ali, the Emir of Afghanistan, and of sending an army corps to Kabul, from which centre a rising of malcontents in India was to be organised. A body of irregular cavalry was to be raised and sent to India along the same route that Timur had taken. The scheme was not taken up, however, by the War Ministry, and Skobelev soon found full scope for his energies at Plevna.

Piqued at being obliged to yield at San Stefano, the Tsar ordered a detachment of troops under Grotengelm to move from Petroalexandrovsk on the Amu-Darya to Chardzhuya in order to form a junction with the trans-Caspian forces. General Kaufmann was ordered to move from Samarkand to Balkh, Bamian and Kabul, while General Abramov received orders to lead a column from Samarkand to Chitral and Kashmir. Nothing happened except some futile groping in the Pamirs; as one of the generals admitted later, "We did not know either the ground to be traversed or the population we were to meet."

At the same time a Mission under General Stoletov with letters from Kaufmann was sent from Tashkent to Kabul to conclude an alliance, but the signing of the treaty of Berlin came in between. Yet like Witkiewicz, his predecessor in the thirties, Stoletov was extraordinarily lavish with promises, and on his advice Shere Ali refused to allow the British Mission under Sir Neville Bowles Chamberlain and Major Cavagnari. This led to the second Afghan War (1878-80), which ended with the release of Dost Mahommed's grandson, Abdur Rahman, from the region of the Amu-Darya where he had been living in exile.

The first half of the eighties witnessed the successful Akhal-Teke campaign of 1880-81, in which Skobelev's chief of staff was A. Vereshchagin, brother of the celebrated artist and traveller V. V. Vereshchagin. In the track of Skobelev's march the Trans-Caspian railway began to be built in the direction of Herat. After the campaign Skobelev wrote to Katkov in August 1881: "Without a serious demonstration towards India, in all probability in the direction of Kandahar, it is impossible to think of a war for the Balkan Peninsula." Then with a remarkable change of thought he added: "It would be possible to give up the whole of Central Asia for a serious and advantageous alliance with England."

In February, 1884, Merv voluntarily yielded, or to use the language of I. S. Aksakov, fell like a ripe fruit into Russia's lap. In his article "On the annexation of Merv," in *Rus*, 15 Feb., 1884,

Aksakov asserted that Russia had never had a desire for Hindustan, and attributed Britain's nervousness to "instability of power over her millions of Indian subjects." Anglo-Russian hostility diminished, however, after the successful termination of the Penjdeh "incident" of 1885, when the two countries nearly went to war over the frontier conflict between General Komarov's troops and an Afghan force. It transpired that the object of the Russian movement to Penjdeh was to cover Merv from the south. The last conflict took place in 1892 when a Russian detachment under Colonel Ionov routed a small body of Afghans on the Pamirs, on the southern slope of which he established a military post. The reason given by the Russians for appearing there was that they had been invited to do so by the mountaineers. In 1896 an Anglo-Russo-Afghan commission delimited the frontiers of the three states with the province of Vakhān as a buffer between Russia and India.

Thus ended the territorial expansion of Imperial Russia to the borders of India, an expansion which in its culminating stages coincided with the great growth of European militarism. But while Russian methods in the Middle East were irritating to British minds, it is fair to point out that British officers assisted the Persians in the Russo-Persian wars in the early part of the 19th century and that Russians were irritated by the episode of the "Vixen," by the sending of the emissaries Stoddart and Conolly to the Central Asiatic khanates, and by the presence of British agents among the Turkomans at the beginning of the eighties. There was also a widely-held view among the intelligentsia that Griboyedov's assassination at the end of the twenties by the mob at Teheran, was due to British intrigues.

The gradual improvement in Anglo-Russian relations which led to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 was mainly due to the threat of Germany's *Drang nach Osten*, but it would appear that there was also a growing consciousness of the need for an Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* in view of common tasks in Asia, an opinion which was expressed by General Kuropatkin, the War Minister, in his report to Nicholas II in 1900: "India in the 20th century would be a burden for Russia. In Asia there is arising a struggle of the non-Christian regions against the Christian ones. In this struggle we are on the side of England."⁸

HAROLD T. CHESHIRE.

⁸ Quoted in N. V. Bystrov's interesting article, *Rusko a Indie*, in the Prague review, *Slovanský Přehled*, 1930, No. 6.

LORD PONSONBY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION (1833-1839)

JOHN PONSONBY, eldest son of William Brabazon, first Baron Ponsonby, was born about 1770. Though he soon entered the Irish Parliament as member for Trallaght, he displayed little active interest in political affairs. In 1803 he made a love match with Frances Villiers, the Earl of Jersey's beautiful debutante daughter. Three years later he succeeded his father as second Baron. Between 1826 and 1830 Ponsonby held diplomatic posts in Buenos Ayres and Rio de Janeiro. In December, 1830, he was sent to Belgium on a special mission connected with the candidature of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Rumour held that Ponsonby secured these diplomatic appointments because his handsome face captivated Lady Conyngham, the favourite of George IV. But as brother-in-law to Lord Grey, Ponsonby could rely on other sources of influence besides the King's wish to rid London of his presence. On 8 June, 1832, he became envoy to the Neapolitan Government, and on 9 November, British Ambassador at Constantinople. Lord Palmerston urged him to leave for his new post with as little delay as possible.¹

When Ponsonby secured his appointment as Ambassador to the Porte a crisis was at hand in the East. War had already broken out between Sultan Mahmud and the Pasha of Egypt, and Syria seemed lost to the Porte. In December, 1832, a decisive Egyptian victory cleared the way for an attack on Constantinople. Since Great Britain refused to send a squadron against Mehemet Ali, the Sultan accepted an offer of help from the Tsar, who ordered part of his Black Sea fleet to the Bosphorus. Despite strong protests from the British and French Ministers, Mahmud asked the Russians to retire only when the French Ambassador promised that Mehemet Ali would rest content with Acre and its dependencies. Unfortunately, the Pasha uncompromisingly demanded the whole of Syria and Adana. Worse still, the Russians resolved to remain in the Bosphorus until Mahmud secured acceptable terms. In April the Egyptian commander began to retreat, on the understanding that his father's demands would be satisfied. When the Sultan refused to cede Adana, the Russians encouraged him and promised support. Their presence in the Bosphorus had already alarmed Britain and quickened her interest in Eastern affairs. To counteract Russian influence Lord Palmerston decided to send a British squadron to

Turkish waters. Towards the end of January he again urged Ponsonby to hasten to Constantinople with all possible speed.² Though he placed a vessel specially at his disposal, it was April before the Ambassador left Naples.³ Bad weather was given as an excuse for the unusually long delay.⁴

On 1 May Ponsonby at length reached Constantinople, where he found the situation exceedingly critical. In view of the Sultan's unwillingness to cede Adana, Ibrahim Pasha had already suspended his retreat from Kutaya.⁵ Though the French Ambassador, Admiral Roussin, was anxious to remove every pretext for the stay of the Russians at Constantinople, he seemed loth to advise the cession of Adana, partly because Butenev, the Russian Minister, would deny that Mahmud was acting as a free agent, partly because Mehemet Ali would find the pashalic a base for further encroachments beyond the Taurus.⁶ There were nine Russian warships at anchor in the Bosphorus, and more than 5,000 troops encamped in Asia Minor. On 3 May news arrived that Ibrahim Pasha still insisted upon Adana.⁷ Since Butenev had already offered to support the Sultan with 40,000 Russians from the Danube, Ponsonby and Roussin reluctantly suggested that as a special mark of Mahmud's favour Ibrahim Pasha should be appointed tax collector of the disputed pashalic. They hoped that this compromise would satisfy Mehemet Ali, save the Sultan's dignity, and afford Butenev no grounds for insinuating that Mahmud had been coerced.⁸ Several Turkish Ministers who had talked of resigning if further Russians came, promptly seconded the advice of Ponsonby and Roussin. Not only did they inform the Sultan that he had alienated his subjects by appealing to Russia, but they also warned him that the presence of more troops would cause famine and rioting. Torn between hatred of Mehemet Ali and fear of revolution, Mahmud gave way on 4 May and appointed Ibrahim Pasha tax collector of Adana.⁹ His action saved the capital from attack. Both Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pasha accepted the Peace of Kutaya and ordered their forces to withdraw to Syria.¹⁰

Unfortunately, the crisis was far from past. On 5 May Count Orlov reached Constantinople in the double capacity of special envoy and commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in Turkey. From the beginning he exercised a dominating influence over Mahmud, whose favourites pressed for a formal treaty with Russia. Orlov kept his plans so closely concealed that Ponsonby saw his hand behind rumours of Turkish aid for the Candiotés, who had rebelled against Mehemet Ali.¹¹ When Roussin challenged Orlov

by trying to bring a squadron through the Dardanelles, Orlov menacingly replied that if foreign warships passed the castles he would both protect Constantinople with his fleet and order a Russian army to advance from the Principalities.¹² Forewarned by Roussin's blunder, Ponsonby steered a statesmanlike course. Not only did he counsel the Porte to preserve peace with Mehemet Ali, but he urged Roussin to rely on Orlov's assurances that the Russian forces would retire from the capital when Ibrahim Pasha crossed the Taurus. Ponsonby doubted whether an Anglo-French squadron could force the Straits against Mahmud's wishes, and in view of the high current of public feeling, he feared that popular revolt would follow conflict with the Russian fleet.¹³ From Odessa he learned that the Tsar was preparing reinforcements for a sudden emergency. Though it seemed clear by the end of May that Orlov was negotiating a treaty with the Sultan, Ponsonby refused to abandon his passive policy. He warned Roussin, who remained anxious to see a combined squadron at Constantinople, that forcible opposition would merely compel Orlov to keep his fleet in the Bosphorus, where it would be safe from attack. Ponsonby himself advised prudence and caution. He argued that the presence of an Anglo-French squadron in Turkish waters would induce the Russian forces to leave the Bosphorus as soon as Ibrahim Pasha withdrew behind the Taurus. With their departure, the Russian Embassy would lose the sheet-anchor of its influence over Mahmud, who could then be persuaded to conclude neutralising treaties with Great Britain, France, and Austria.¹⁴ On 25 June Ponsonby requested Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm to withdraw a little way from Tenedos.¹⁵ His prudence was amply rewarded. Tension between Roussin and Orlov gradually weakened, and on 10 July the Russian forces left the Bosphorus for Odessa and Sevastopol.

From agents at the Porte, Lord Ponsonby soon discovered that Orlov had concluded the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with the Turkish Ministers. Whilst the public clauses bound Sultan and Tsar to aid each other against attack when either demanded it, a separate clause freed Turkey from her engagement on condition that she closed the Dardanelles to foreign warships "in case of need."¹⁶ Though Orlov had pledged his allies to keep the treaty secret, the Reis Effendi gave Ponsonby a copy, which differed in two important respects from another copy secured from an undisclosed source. The first copy allowed the Sultan to fix the amount of aid and completely omitted the separate clause.¹⁷ On 12 July Ponsonby forwarded both copies to Palmerston, who immediately replied that

if Russia attempted forcibly to intervene in Turkish affairs, Great Britain would feel at liberty to act as though no treaty existed.¹³ Before these instructions could reach Constantinople, Ponsonby had become deeply alarmed by rumours that Mahmud intended to attack Mehemet Ali with Russian aid, that Butenev was striving to overthrow his opponents at the Porte, and that Russian warships remained ready for action at Odessa and Sevastopol.¹⁹ On 21 July Admiral Malcolm visited Ponsonby to discuss the policy to be pursued. Though they agreed to keep the squadron at Besika Bay until orders arrived from London, Ponsonby made it clear that he wished Palmerston to thwart Russia's plans by sending Malcolm through the Straits.²⁰

On 27 August Lord Ponsonby submitted Palmerston's protest against the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.²¹ On 11 September the Kiahaya Bey defended the Sultan's right to conclude any alliance he pleased. He sent Ponsonby a copy of the treaty together with the separate clause, and declared that it was designed to protect the Ottoman Empire. He explained that the separate clause would close the Dardanelles neither to warships bringing Ambassadors to Constantinople nor to warships "which should ask permission to pass to Constantinople for any other powerful reason."²² This answer left Ponsonby dissatisfied. An intercepted despatch had already warned him that even without a treaty Russia would have compelled Turkey to close the Straits to foreign warships.²³ On 12 September Ponsonby formally asked the Porte to define the "case of need" which would call for the closure of the Dardanelles.²⁴ When the Reis Effendi partially admitted that Russia possessed the right to interpret the clause, Ponsonby was almost in despair.²⁵ Though he knew that Butenev had dictated the Turkish reply, he saw no certain means of neutralising his influence.²⁶ Not only had the Tsar begun to increase his Black Sea armaments, but Mahmud's favourite, Ahmed Pasha, was soon to visit St. Petersburg to arrange for the evacuation of the Principalities and the reduction of the Turkish debt to Russia.²⁷ In view of Mahmud's subservience to Butenev, Ponsonby sought a counterpoise in Mehemet Ali, whom he had for some time regarded as England's ally against Russia.²⁸ On 8 November Ponsonby solemnly warned Palmerston against a threatened revolution which would give Turkey to Russia unless Mehemet Ali seized the capital in the name of Mahmud's son.²⁹ He further contended that Russia's Black Sea armaments revealed the aggressive nature of her Eastern policy.³⁰

Though Great Britain had already protested to Russia against

the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, Austria's support of the Tsar made her loth to proceed to forcible measures.³¹ On 6 December Palmerston directed Ponsonby to remind the Porte of the fate of Poland. He counselled the Sultan to rely not upon Russian aid, but upon a policy of reform which would strengthen his own resources. He also warned Mahmud that since Britain was determined to maintain the integrity and independence of Turkey, she would prefer to see Mehemet Ali at Constantinople rather than a Sultan controlled from St. Petersburg.³² On 31 January, 1834, Palmerston secretly authorised Vice-Admiral Rowley to take the British fleet through the Straits if the Sultan requested its presence to assist in repelling a Russian attack.³³ Lord Ponsonby hastened to execute Palmerston's instructions. Through Dr. MacGuffog, the palace physician, and Abdiz Bey, the court jester, he directly informed Mahmud of Great Britain's Eastern policy. The Sultan at once commanded Vogorides, his confidential adviser, to devise a scheme by which he could communicate with the British Embassy unknown to Butenev. Vogorides candidly told Ponsonby that Britain's refusal to send a squadron against Mehemet Ali had made the Sultan doubt her friendly disposition. In reply Ponsonby declared that the British Government would vigorously assist Mahmud if he acted as Sultan and not as vassal of the Tsar. He further reminded Vogorides that Britain could restrain Mehemet Ali far more effectively than Russia. Ponsonby's well-chosen words seemed to please the Sultan, who had submitted to the Russian alliance only through fear of the Pasha of Egypt. Finally, Vogorides assured Ponsonby that if the influence of Russia could be destroyed, the treaty of 8 July would be "merely paper."³⁴

Though Ponsonby believed that time and caution would enable Britain to regain the confidence of Mahmud, he realised that Russia's Black Sea armaments would temporarily strengthen her influence at the Porte.³⁵ On 9 February he submitted two diplomatic notes to discover whether war between Russia and the Maritime Powers would find the Straits impartially closed or open to Russia and closed to her opponents. The Porte replied at Butenev's prompting that in view of Mahmud's sovereign rights the Straits would be closed to foreign warships until there arose the "case of need" envisaged in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.³⁶ On 11 March Lord Ponsonby forwarded news of a convention recently concluded at St. Petersburg between Ahmed Pasha and the Russian Government. Under this convention Ahmed had surrendered a valuable tract of territory in Asiatic Turkey, possession of which would bring the

frontiers of Russia within a few miles of the caravan routes to Persia.* It would also give the Tsar command of the fortress of Khorassan and provide his armies with an easy water passage to Baghdad along the Tigris and Euphrates. More dangerous still, whilst the convention of St. Petersburg reduced the Turkish debt from six to four million ducats, it had so modified the annual instalments that Russia would retain Silistria, the key to European Turkey, for eight instead of three years.³⁷ These discoveries of Ponsonby contrasted so strongly with Russia's attempts to minimise both the separate article³⁸ and the recent convention,³⁹ that Palmerston hastened to adopt adequate precautionary measures. He had already informed Ponsonby of the secret instructions transmitted to Rowley on 31 January. Whenever Russo-Turkish relations appeared to demand the presence of the British fleet at Constantinople, Ponsonby was to communicate these instructions to the Turkish Government.⁴⁰ On 5 May Rowley left Malta with six sail of the line and a corps of troops. A fortnight later he was off Nauplia di Romania, and on 8 June he dropped anchor in Vourla Bay.⁴¹

Rowley's appearance in Turkish waters seemed to satisfy the Sultan, who was seriously disturbed at the amount of territory ceded under the recent convention.⁴² Influenced by reports that Ahmed Pasha had been badly treated at St. Petersburg,⁴³ Mahmud began to favour the anti-Russian party led by Kosrew, the Seraskier Pasha. He even abandoned a projected meeting with Nicholas during the imperial tour of Southern Russia.⁴⁴ Ponsonby quickly strove to strengthen British prestige at the Porte with the help of David Urquhart, a secret agent from the Foreign Office who enjoyed the confidence of Turks in governmental positions.⁴⁵ For several months Ponsonby had urged the Porte to dispense with the need for Russian assistance by developing its own enormous resources. On 14 May he informed Lord Palmerston that the Turkish Government had decided to organise an efficient militia as part of a scheme of reform which would ultimately revive the Ottoman Empire. This militia, or *redif mansouri*, was to supplement the regular army. It was to be formed by contingents of 1,400 men from each sandjak and was to be raised on the basis of voluntary enlistment and exemption from ordinary military service. The only drawback would be a probable shortage of officers to train the troops.⁴⁶ Since Ponsonby imagined that Butenev would try to shelve this scheme, Palmerston followed his advice and assured the Porte of British co-operation. He further observed that the finances ought to be systematised and the collection of revenues improved. Lastly, he

told Lord Ponsonby that if the Porte needed muskets to equip its militia, the British Government could supply them at a very moderate price.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, the attention of the Porte was diverted from reform by a rising of the Syrians against Mehemet Ali. In spite of the Peace of Kutaya, Sultan and Pasha had never been reconciled. Disputes arose over the amount of tribute,⁴⁸ and Mahmud feared a descent upon the pashalik of Bagdad.⁴⁹ When news reached Constantinople that Ibrahim Pasha was besieged in Jerusalem, the Turkish Ministers openly talked of supporting the rebels.⁵⁰ Since Ponsonby believed that Nicholas had incited the Sultan, he warned the Porte that Mahmud would be defeated if he attacked Mehemet Ali. He further maintained that Britain wished to strengthen Turkey as much as Russia wished to weaken her.⁵¹ Ponsonby's influence was considerably enhanced after the Russian chargé d'affaires reminded the Porte that the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was strictly defensive and could not apply to an aggressive war undertaken by the Turks.⁵² On 7 August the Reis Effendi pointedly asked what the British Government would do if war broke out between Sultan and Pasha. As soon as Ponsonby replied that Britain would seek to preserve the integrity of Turkey, the Reis promised to take no decisive step until he had communicated with the British Embassy. He informed Ponsonby that the Porte had resolved to send Namik Pasha to London to draw closer the bonds of friendship between the two governments.⁵³ On 13 September Vogorides visited Ponsonby to discuss the relations between Sultan and Pasha. He declared that now Mahmud realised how much Russia wished to weaken Turkey he relied upon the Maritime Powers for the recovery of Syria. When Ponsonby contended that England's share in the Peace of Kutaya would morally debar her from helping to attack the Pasha of Egypt, Vogorides replied that Mehemet Ali had flagrantly violated the peace by refusing to pay tribute and by occupying Orfa, which lay outside the limits of Syria. Ponsonby finally agreed to inform Palmerston that Mahmud would willingly confer Egypt and Acre upon Mehemet Ali if Britain and France sponsored such a settlement.⁵⁴

Since the beginning of 1834 Lord Ponsonby had modified his attitude towards the Eastern Question. Whilst he originally regarded the Pasha of Egypt as Great Britain's ally against Russia, he ended by bitterly opposing him. As Mahmud slowly freed himself from Russian control, Ponsonby became his warmest supporter. On 16 August he told Lord Palmerston that misgovernment in Syria had destroyed Mehemet Ali's reputation as champion of

İslam Though the Pasha might crush the disorder round Jerusalem, he would retain Syria only by force and could never use it as a base from which to attack Constantinople. If he were allowed to keep the pashalik, he would embarrass the Sultan sufficiently to make real independence of Russia impossible.⁵⁵ Ponsonby further informed Palmerston that support against Mehemet Ali would probably induce Mahmud to abandon himself completely to British influence.⁵⁶ He confessed that he had advised Vogorides to call up the fleets of the Powers, if war broke out between Sultan and Pasha and Mehemet Ali proved victorious. He believed that the presence of a fleet at Constantinople would enable Britain to dictate terms to both Russia and the Pasha of Egypt. On 15 September Ponsonby warned Palmerston that Nicholas was merely postponing his advance to the Straits until he could subdue the Circassians, whom Urquhart had urged to resist.⁵⁷ In order to arouse suspicion of Russian policy Ponsonby mentioned but casually that Baron Rückmann had denied the offensive nature of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.⁵⁸ Much to his disgust he failed to gain British support for a Turkish attack upon Mehemet Ali. Parliament had recently voted £20,000 for a survey of the Euphrates route to India, and Chesney became leader of a well-manned expedition.⁵⁹ The result was that Palmerston strove to lighten Chesney's task by preserving peace in the East. Not only did he refuse to encourage Mahmud by holding out hope of an alliance, but he warned Mehemet Ali, who proposed to declare himself independent, that Great Britain would maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁰ Since France, Austria, and Russia seemed equally opposed to war in the East, Sultan and Pasha were temporarily reconciled on the understanding that Mehemet Ali should evacuate Orfa and pay 16 million piastres annually as tribute.⁶¹

Towards the close of 1834 Peel and Wellington assumed office in England. Though Ponsonby believed that they would abandon Turkey to Russia and fulfil the wishes of the Tsar by recalling him from Constantinople,⁶² he spared no pains to prove that Russia was following an aggressive policy. On 25 November he assured the British Government that behind all the fluctuation of parties in Turkey there was a constant desire for reform and a "vehement and lasting hatred of Russia." Even Ahmed Pasha had come to regard Nicholas no longer as the saviour but as the destroyer of Turkey.⁶³ Early in November Ponsonby tried to discover the real meaning of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi by submitting two notes similar to those presented on 9 February. When the Porte continued

to return evasive replies, Ponsonby advised it to declare that if war broke out between Russia and the Maritime Powers the Straits would remain impartially closed. Though Mahmud was prepared to follow this advice, Butenev insisted that he should observe the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Finally, on 29 December, Ponsonby told the Reis Effendi that he understood from a further vague reply that the Dardanelles would remain closed only to Powers warring with Russia, in flagrant violation of the Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1809.⁶⁴ On 12 January Ponsonby jubilantly informed Wellington that the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was an "offensive treaty against Great Britain." He maintained that the Turkish Ministers were highly elated and confidently expected the British Government to protect British interests.⁶⁵ On 20 January he declared in a secret despatch that the Belikgee was to go to London, probably to propose an Anglo-Turkish alliance against Russia and Mehemet Ali.⁶⁶ Though Ponsonby was warmly supported by Urquhart, he failed to incite Wellington against Russia.⁶⁷ Nicholas assured Britain that Russia derived no special privileges from the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and Wellington felt little inclination to doubt his word while Chesney was surveying the Euphrates.⁶⁸ When the Duke discovered that Ponsonby had summoned the British squadron to Vourla Bay,⁶⁹ he immediately countermanded the secret instructions which authorised Rowley to pass the Dardanelles.⁷⁰ This done, he left Ponsonby to pursue his duties uninstructed.

By the end of 1834 Ponsonby's views on the Eastern Question were firmly fixed. He believed that the Tsar intended to seize Constantinople as soon as he could subdue the Circassians. Until Russia was completely prepared Nicholas hoped to paralyse Turkey by upholding the Peace of Kutaya, which strengthened Mehemet Ali at the Sultan's expense. Though Ponsonby considered war with Russia almost inevitable, he thought it might be avoided if Britain allied with Turkey against Russia and Mehemet Ali. He admitted that this alliance might provoke war instead of averting it. Yet war speedily begun would find Russia unprepared, whilst war long postponed would find her impregnable. Ponsonby regarded Constantinople as the key position and he urged the British Government to secure it by sending a squadron through the Dardanelles.⁷¹ In order to spread these views in England Ponsonby and Urquhart decided to launch a press campaign. When Urquhart was recalled from Turkey in September, 1834, he returned to London to fight for "the Cause." Ponsonby read, corrected, and subsidised Urquhart's famous pamphlet, *England, France, Russia, and Turkey*.⁷²

He also informed him of events at the Porte and frequently advised him on articles for the press. Moreover, he appears to have had some connexion with Urquhart's own periodical, *The Portfolio*. Their press campaign was not without results. In August, 1835, David Urquhart proudly declared that the development of opinion in favour of Turkey was widespread and "next to miraculous."⁷³

When Palmerston returned to the Foreign Office in April, 1835, Ponsonby strove to arouse his suspicions of the Tsar and Mehemet Ali. In order to destroy one of Russia's greatest holds over the Porte he urged Mahmud to discharge the debt of four million ducats for which Silistria was pledge.⁷⁴ Though Nicholas surprised Ponsonby by offering to accept prompt payment of the entire sum,⁷⁵ the Turkish Government protested their inability to liquidate four million ducats.⁷⁶ Ponsonby could neither secure a reduction from Russia nor persuade the Porte to economise on unnecessary expenditure.⁷⁷ Early in 1836 he asked Urquhart to canvass the possibility of an unguaranteed loan in England at not more than 8 per cent.⁷⁸ Ponsonby found an effective platform for his anti-Russian campaign in the difficulties which Chesney encountered during the survey of the Euphrates. Since Nicholas and Mehemet Ali both feared the extension of British influence in Mesopotamia, they vigorously opposed Chesney's expedition. Nesselrode advised Mahmud not to grant a firman for the Colonel,⁷⁹ and Ibrahim Pasha refused to supply camels to transport the expedition across Syria.⁸⁰ Ponsonby warned Lord Palmerston that the Russian Government were behind this system of sabotage.⁸¹ On 30 June he reported that Butenev was urging the Pasha of Egypt to ignore the general firman issued to Colonel Chesney. Prompted by Duhamel, the Russian Consul-General, Mehemet Ali had reminded the Porte that Great Britain subdued India when the way was prepared by commercial enterprise. To prevent her from seizing Mesopotamia the Pasha wished to be instructed to throw obstacles in Chesney's path. Ponsonby quickly strove to defeat this dangerous intrigue. First he pressed the Porte to admit that Russian influence had stopped the issue of a firman addressed specifically to Mehemet Ali. Ultimately he persuaded Mahmud to return no answer unfavourable to British interests until fresh instructions arrived from London. In other words, Chesney might proceed with his expedition under the general firman, which Great Britain was at liberty to impose upon the Pasha of Egypt.⁸²

Though pressure from Palmerston soon forced Mehemet Ali to assist Chesney,⁸³ Ponsonby considered his intrigues with Russia a

further motive for depriving him of Syria. He forwarded consular reports to show that conscription, monopolies, and ruinous taxation were oppressing the natives, destroying agriculture, and hampering British trade.⁸⁴ When the Syrians appealed for Turkish protection, Mahmud prepared to attack his vassal. The Turkish commander intrigued with Emir Beshir of the Lebanon and concentrated troops on the Syrian frontier. Mehemet Ali promptly retaliated by fortifying the passes of the Taurus and augmenting the army of Ibrahim Pasha.⁸⁵ Though Roussin was anxious to avert hostilities, Ponsonby pleaded lack of instructions and the futility of restraint.⁸⁶ On 11 July he announced that Russia still hoped to weaken Turkey by upholding the Peace of Kutaya.⁸⁷ Even when war appeared certain, Ponsonby refused to intervene. He informed Palmerston that attempted restraint would merely destroy his influence and revive the mistaken idea that Great Britain favoured the Pasha of Egypt.⁸⁸

In a despatch written on 11 October and forwarded to London early in November, Ponsonby maintained that all intelligent Turks considered possession of Syria essential to freedom from Russian control. Not only did he plead for an alliance with Turkey, but he sent reports to prove that Mahmud was stronger than Mehemet Ali.⁸⁹ Though Palmerston had already advised the Porte to concentrate on internal reform and to avoid hostilities which must end in disaster,⁹⁰ Ponsonby decided not to communicate his instructions on the grounds that they were based upon insufficient information. He again warned Palmerston that if Great Britain refused to assist the Porte she would lose all her influence in Turkey. Instead of communicating the instructions of 4 November, Ponsonby personally persuaded Mahmud to delay his attack until spring.⁹¹ On 28 December he announced that the Porte had issued a firman directing Mehemet Ali to observe the capitulations with respect to British trade. If it were strictly executed it would disorganise the Pasha's finances by destroying monopolies. Ponsonby argued that Great Britain ought to assist the Porte if Mehemet Ali ignored its orders. He further told Palmerston that he would hold himself personally responsible for any injuries which the Sultan might suffer on account of the firman.⁹² Though Palmerston firmly declined on 8 December to support Mahmud against Mehemet Ali,⁹³ Ponsonby once more refused to communicate his instructions. On 10 January he magnanimously forgave Palmerston for his mistaken ideas and strongly urged him to reconsider his policy. Probably at his prompting the Sultan sent a confidential communication which openly asked for British assistance against the Pasha of Egypt. In reply Ponsonby

advised Mahmud to despatch a trustworthy agent to London to repeat his communication to the British Government.⁹⁴

In February, 1836, Admiral Roussin discovered that Butenev was pressing for the admission of troops into Turkey on the ground that Great Britain intended to attack Russia. Ponsonby quickly denied the hostile plans attributed to his Government and candidly told the Porte that Great Britain would protect Turkish integrity and independence. He even urged Palmerston to station Rowley near the Dardanelles.⁹⁵ On 8 April he reported that the Sultan had at last sent a confidential agent to London. Since Ponsonby believed that Mahmud was determined to attack the Pasha of Egypt, he helped the Porte to prepare instructions for its envoy. He warned the Kiahaya Bey that if Mahmud merely applied for assistance against Mehemet Ali he would never overcome Palmerston's objections to interference, based on the principle of non-intervention and the mistaken idea that Turkey was permanently bound by the Peace of Kutaya. To gain support from Great Britain Mahmud must declare that the Tsar was his real enemy and Mehemet Ali the chief instrument which Nicholas used to weaken Turkey.⁹⁶ Despite these well-planned arguments Ponsonby failed to stampede the British Government into premature action. Not only did Durham confidently report from St. Petersburg that Russia possessed neither will nor means to seize Constantinople,⁹⁷ but Nicholas remitted half the Turkish debt and promised to evacuate Silistria when the remainder was paid.⁹⁸

Durham forwarded statistics proving the armaments of Russia to be essentially defensive,⁹⁹ and Austria and Prussia vouched for her disinterested Eastern policy.¹⁰⁰ On 7 May Palmerston informed Ponsonby that Great Britain must give Russia credit for the debt reduction and the promise to evacuate Silistria.¹⁰¹ He further declared that she could not assist Mahmud to attack Mehemet Ali.¹⁰² Since Palmerston felt that Turkey needed reform, not war which would end in disaster, he offered to supply British officers to train the Turkish troops. Early in March he commissioned a Pole named Chrzanowski to join the Turkish staff at a salary of £1,000 per annum. In May he sent out a group of officers under Lieutenant-Colonel Considine and guaranteed them liberal pay until the Porte employed them.¹⁰³ Finally, on 1 June, Palmerston despatched new instructions to Vice-Admiral Rowley, who was given leave to cruise about the Archipelago, provided he refrained from "demonstrations . . . calculated to excite distrust in the continuance of peace." Though Palmerston doubted whether the squadron would

need to pass the Dardanelles without express orders from the Foreign Office, he authorised Rowley to defend Constantinople on receipt of an appeal from the Sultan "in a case of certain and imminent danger."¹⁰⁴ On 20 June, when Palmerston forwarded these instructions to Ponsonby, he stressed the imperative need for caution in using powers to call up the fleet.¹⁰⁵

Ponsonby felt convinced that Palmerston had been duped by friends of the Tsar. He maintained that it was "puerile" for Durham to assert that Russia had abandoned her aggressive designs. She was merely cloaking them until she could subdue the Circassians.¹⁰⁶ Despite her professions of disinterestedness she was weakening Turkey through Mehemet Ali and extending her influence in Bulgaria and the Principalities.¹⁰⁷ Though Ponsonby was ready to guarantee Turkish integrity by a formal treaty, he refused to credit an Austrian declaration which would make Great Britain the dupe of Russia. He clearly mistrusted the "shuffling, finessing, manœuvring policy" of Metternich, and bitinglly remarked that the Prince puzzled himself with his own cunning.¹⁰⁸ At the first opportunity Ponsonby strove to embroil Great Britain and Russia. When a British merchant named Churchill was placed untried into irons for accidentally wounding a Turkish boy, Ponsonby broke off communications with Ahmed Pasha and the Reis Effendi, whom he held responsible, and insisted on dealing with the Porte through the Kiahaya Bey. Whilst he urged the Sultan to dismiss his two Ministers he told Palmerston that they were creatures of Butenev, who warmly supported them. If Great Britain now refused to demand their dismissal she would be regarded throughout Turkey as the vassal of Russia.¹⁰⁹ On 21 June Mahmud removed the Reis Effendi from his post on the ground of ill-health. This compromise satisfied no one.¹¹⁰ Whilst Nicholas instructed Butenev to deal with the new Reis Effendi he secretly insisted that Mahmud should ask for Ponsonby's recall through the Turkish Ambassador in London.¹¹¹ On 14 July Ponsonby again warned Palmerston not only that the struggle was between Great Britain and Russia, but that it could not be settled until one of the Powers had been completely disgraced.¹¹² Fortunately, Palmerston accepted an assurance from the Turkish Ambassador that Mahmud had dismissed Akif Effendi for his treatment of Churchill. On 5 November he directed Ponsonby to demand pecuniary compensation and the punishment of all offenders except Ahmed Pasha.¹¹³ For once, Ponsonby obeyed his instructions, and by February, 1837, the dispute had been amicably settled.¹¹⁴

Though Ponsonby had been unable to embroil Great Britain and Russia by the Churchill dispute, he continued to warn Palmerston that it would be impossible to reform Turkey as long as the Tsar controlled her policy. Thanks largely to Russian influence, Mahmud had refused to give Considine and his colleagues positions in the Turkish army. When he urged them to act as "mere instructors" Considine left Turkey in disgust.¹¹⁵ From June, 1836, Ponsonby was assisted by David Urquhart, who had returned to Constantinople as secretary of the British Embassy. Though their friendship quickly cooled because Ponsonby thought Urquhart could have been better employed in London, they remained united by their fierce hatred of Russia.¹¹⁶ Towards the end of October they encouraged Bell & Co. to send the schooner "Vixen" to trade with the Circassians at Soujouk Kalé. Since the Russian Government had already restricted trade with Circassia by posts possessing quarantine stations and customs houses, Ponsonby hoped they would confiscate the "Vixen" and embroil themselves with Great Britain. If they ignored the vessel, they would virtually abandon their claims to Circassia and enable Great Britain lawfully to support the inhabitants.¹¹⁷ Their plan at first succeeded. The Russian Government detained and confiscated the "Vixen," and Ponsonby urged Palmerston to send a fleet into the Black Sea.¹¹⁸ He maintained that Mahmud would grant a passage through the Straits, if Great Britain shielded him from the anger of the Tsar. Public opinion in London grew highly excited and questions were asked in the House of Commons.¹¹⁹ Ultimately, a serious crisis was averted only by the good sense of Palmerston and the Tsar. On 19 April Palmerston declared that while Great Britain must vigorously challenge any claim of Russia to regulate trade with the whole Eastern coast of the Black Sea, she would admit her right to issue orders for Soujouk Kalé, Russia's legally and in fact.¹²⁰ The Russian Government readily retreated across this bridge which Palmerston had purposely built. Since the Tsar was anxious to avoid the awkward question of Russia's right to Circassia, he based the confiscation of the "Vixen" on her breach of regulations applicable to Soujouk Kalé.¹²¹ In the end the episode recoiled upon the heads of its authors. Ponsonby and Urquhart had become so estranged that in January, 1837, Ponsonby sent the Foreign Office a list of complaints against Urquhart.¹²² Even before they reached London Palmerston had decided that Urquhart was too impulsive and impatient of control to be of real use to the British Government. First he recalled him from Constantinople on account of his connexion with the "Vixen"

affair and later dismissed him completely from the diplomatic service.¹²³

In February, 1837, Palmerston granted Ponsonby leave of absence and ordered Sir Charles Vaughan to proceed to Constantinople on a special mission. Since Ponsonby seems to have felt that the British Government would not allow him to return, he rejected Palmerston's offer and forced him to recall Vaughan.¹²⁴ In April he forwarded a further Turkish overture for assistance against Mehemet Ali.¹²⁵ Though Palmerston again refused to ally with the Porte, he admitted that the Peace of Kutaya was not permanently binding. Ponsonby's arguments and Mehemet Ali's conduct appear to have convinced him that Syria ought ultimately to be restored to the Sultan. What distinguished him from Ponsonby was his insistence that Turkey must reform herself until she could recover the pashalic unaided.¹²⁶ Ponsonby replied by stressing the impossibility of reform as long as Russia remained influential at Constantinople. When he urged Mahmud to employ British officers he found them passed over for Prussians.¹²⁷ During 1838 Sultan and Pasha increased their armaments and prepared for war. Ponsonby made no real attempt to avert hostilities. He merely advised the Porte to keep on the defensive in order that it might gain support from the Maritime Powers if Mehemet Ali began the attack.¹²⁸ When the Pasha of Egypt pressed the Powers to recognise his independence, Ponsonby believed that he was supported by Russia.¹²⁹ Though Palmerston wanted a Five Power convention which would neutralise the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi¹³⁰, Ponsonby pleaded for an Anglo-Turkish alliance and a British fleet in the Black Sea to dictate terms to the Tsar.¹³¹ In September, 1838, he invited the Mediterranean squadron to remain in Vourla Bay on the grounds that war between Sultan and Pasha would bring the Russians to Constantinople. He regarded its withdrawal to Malta as the betrayal of Turkey to the Tsar.¹³²

Early in 1839 war broke out in Syria. Though Ponsonby received repeated instructions to restrain the Sultan, he privately encouraged him, in the belief that Turkey could be saved from Russia only by destroying the Peace of Kutaya.¹³³ When Ibrahim Pasha gained a decisive victory at Nezib and Mahmud died with a minor to succeed him, Ponsonby urged the regency to reject the terms which Mehemet Ali demanded. Joint intervention quickly localised hostilities in order that the Powers might arrange a suitable settlement. Though France alone opposed the restoration of Syria, negotiations dragged endlessly on in London. In April, 1840, Ponsonby advised Palmer-

ston to act promptly. He warned him that continued delay might lead to renewed hostilities and a second treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.¹³⁴ Not only did Ponsonby strive to maintain the morale of the Turks, but he secretly encouraged the Syrians to revolt against Mehemet Ali.¹³⁵ When the Pasha rejected the Convention of July, 1840, Ponsonby rashly urged the Sultan to depose him from the government of Egypt. Lord John Russell described this action as "highly criminal" and demanded Ponsonby's recall from Constantinople.¹³⁶ Fortunately an Anglo-Austrian force defeated Ibrahim Pasha at Acre and compelled Mehemet Ali to submit to the Convention of 1840, which deprived him of Arabia, Candia, Syria, and the Red Sea coast. Under pressure from the Powers the Sultan agreed to give Mehemet Ali hereditary rights in Egypt by publishing a firman of investiture on 13 February, 1841. Ponsonby's influence was clearly apparent in the clauses which robbed the Pasha of control over the army and the finances.¹³⁷ Ultimately, the Sultan was compelled to revise his firman by giving Mehemet Ali real control over Egypt.¹³⁸ In July, 1841, the representatives of the Five Powers confirmed this settlement in the Treaty of London. Ponsonby's aims had been in some measure achieved. The power of Mehemet Ali was broken, the exclusive influence of Russia destroyed, and the way apparently cleared for the effective reform of Turkey. But Ponsonby's tenure of power at the Porte was virtually ended. In August, 1841, the Whigs were succeeded by the Tories, and Ponsonby gave place to Stratford Canning, a diplomat every bit as headstrong, but infinitely more capable and energetic.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

¹ D.N.B.: see also Sir J. Ponsonby, *The Ponsonby Family*, pp. 75-80.

² Temple, Ponsonby's successor, reached Naples on 8 March. Temple to Palmerston—12 March/33 No 1. F.O. 97/134.

³ Talleyrand to Broglie—31 Jan./33. Talleyrand, *Mémoires*, V, pp. 114-16.

⁴ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series. XVII, pp. 1102-3; XXII, pp. 322-3.

⁵ Mandeville to Palmerston—22, 23 April/33. Nos. 72 & 75. F.O. 78/222.

⁶ Roussin to Broglie—20 May, 10 June/33 Douin, *La Première Guerre de Syrie*, II, pp. 382, 422-5.

⁷ Mandeville to Palm.—6 April, 23 April/33 Nos. 62, 63, 64, 73, 77 F.O. 78/222

⁸ Roussin to Broglie—28 April/33. Douin, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 318-22.

⁹ Roussin to Broglie—28 April, 3, 5, 8 May/33. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-22, 330-6, 339-42, 353; Ponsonby to Palmerston—22, 24 May/33. Nos. 2 & 6. F.O. 78/223.

¹⁰ Pons. to Palm.—22, 24 May/33. Nos. 2 & 6. F.O. 78/223.

¹¹ Mandeville to Palm.—5 May/33 No 87. FO 78/222, Roussin to Broglie—8, 10, 14 May/33 Douin, *op cit*, II, pp 354-6, 360, 368-70, Pons. to Palm.—3 June/33 No. 15. FO 78/223.

¹² Pons to Palm—22 May, 7 July/33 Nos. 3 & 29 FO. 78-223; Roussin to Broglie—16 May/33. Douin, *op. cit*, II, pp. 370-1. Apparently Roussin never informed his Government that he had asked permission for the French fleet to come up to Constantinople Broglie to Roussin—21 June/33 Douin, *op cit*, II, pp. 433-5

¹³ Pons. to Palm—7, 22 Jan/33. Nos 20, 26. FO 78/223

¹⁴ Pons. to Palm.—22 June, 8, 10, 11 July/33. Nos. 27, 31, 32, 34. FO 78/223; Roussin to Broglie—6 July/33. Douin, *op cit*, II, pp. 459-63.

¹⁵ Pons to Palm.—3 June, 7 July/33 Nos 11, 29 FO 78/223.

¹⁶ Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, II, p. 995.

¹⁷ Pons. to Palm—12 & 13 July/33. (Sep & Sec) Nos 35-7. FO. 78/224. The Reis Effendi corresponded to the Foreign Minister.

¹⁸ Palm. to Pons.—7 Aug No. 16. F.O. 78/220. The French Government co-operated closely throughout. Aston to Palm.—2, 9 Aug. Nos. 84 (Conf.), 90. F.O. 27/466.

¹⁹ Pons. to Palm—15, 16 July. Nos. 39, 40. F.O. 78/224.

²⁰ Pons. to Palm—15, 21, 26 July Nos. 39, 41, 43. FO. 78/224.

²¹ Pons. to Palm—26, 27 Aug/33. Nos. 48, 50 FO. 78/224, Hertslet, *op. cit.*, II, p. 928. The French Ambassador submitted a similar protest.

²² Pons. to Palm—15 September/33. No. 55. FO 78/224. The separate article as communicated by the Kiahaya Bey read: "En suivant le principe de la réciprocité la Sublime Porte fermera au besoin le détroit de la Mer Blanche—c à d. elle ne permettra sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être à aucun bâtiment de guerre étranger d'entrer dans le dit détroit; et cet article aura la même force et vigueur que s'il était inséré mot à mot dans le traité ostensible" The Kiahaya Bey was responsible for internal affairs.

²³ Pons. to Palm.—27 Aug./33 Sep. & Sec. FO 78/224.

²⁴ Pons. to Pisani—12 Sept. FO. 78/224.

²⁵ Pisani to Pons.—15 Sept FO 78/224.

²⁶ Pons to Palm.—7 Sept. No 54. F.O. 78/224.

²⁷ Pons to Palm—16 Sept., 1 Oct/33 Nos. 57, 65. FO. 78/224. The Tsar was said to have induced Mahmud to conclude the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi by offering to reduce the debt which Turkey owed to Russia under the Treaty of Adrianople. Pons. to Palm.—13 July/33 No. 37. FO. 78/224.

²⁸ Pons to Palm.—24 May/33 No. 6 FO 78/223; Same to same—27 Aug./33. Sep. & Sec. FO. 78/224

²⁹ Pons. to Palm.—8 Nov/33. No 87. FO. 78/225

³⁰ Pons. to Palm—22 Oct/33. No. 79. FO. 78/225; Granville to Palm.—18 Nov/33. No. 267. FO 27/468.

³¹ Palm. to Bligh—13 Oct./33. No 93. FO 65/206; Bligh to Palm—2 Nov./33. No. 113. FO. 65/208. In September Metternich and the Tsar had signed the secret Convention of Munchengrätz which bound them to uphold both the Ottoman Empire and the reigning dynasty. The British and French Governments thought that Russia and Austria had agreed to partition Turkey. Martens, *Recueil des Traités . . . conclus par la Russie*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 445-7; Granville to Palm.—13, 20 Sept./33. Nos. 173, 182. FO. 27/467, Palm. to Temple—8 Oct/33. Bulwer, *Life of Lord Palmerston*, II, pp. 169-70

³² Palm. to Pons.—6 Dec./33 No. 23. FO. 78/220. Printed at length in *E.H.R.*, XLII, pp. 86-9.

³³ F.O. to Rowley—31 Jan./34. (Enclosed in Palm. to Pons.—10 March/33.) F.O. 78/234. No direct record was left in the F.O. of Rowley's

instructions having been communicated to the French Government. The French admiral was given sealed instructions which he was not to open until he received a specific communication from Ponsonby. Roussin apparently was never told of either the secret instructions to Rowley or the sealed instructions to the French admiral. Wellington to Cowley—31 March/35 No 6. F.O. 27/497.

³⁴ Pons to Palm—19 Dec/33 (Sec) F.O. 78/225.

³⁵ Pons to Palm—10, 19 Jan./34. Nos 4, 6 F.O. 78/235

³⁶ Pons to Palm—12 Feb./34 No. 18 (enclosing the two notes) F.O. 78/235, Palm to Pons.—6 Dec/33. No 24. F.O. 78/220, Pons to Palm—1 March/34 No 23 (enclosing the Turkish replies). F.O. 78/235.

³⁷ Pons to Palm—1, 11 March/34. No. 27, Cont F.O. 78/235.

³⁸ After conversations with Prince Lieven, Palmerston said he took it for granted that Nesselrode did not regard the separate article as in any way infringing treaties which the Porte had concluded with other Powers. Palm to Bligh—28 Feb/34. No. 5 F.O. 65/212.

³⁹ Palm. to Bligh—28 Feb/34 No 6 F.O. 65/212, Nesselrode to Lieven—24 Jan/3 Feb/34. F.O. 65/216.

⁴⁰ Palm. to Pons.—10 March/34. (Sec.) F.O. 78/234

⁴¹ Admiralty 50/192 Log of Sir J. Rowley.

⁴² Pons. to Palm.—1 March, 14 May/34. No. 24. Sep. & Conf. F.O. 78/235, 6.

⁴³ Bligh said that Ahmet Pasha had been very cordially received at St. Petersburg and treated with exactly the same ceremony as other ambassadors. Bligh to Palm.—21 May/34. No. 56. F.O. 65/213.

⁴⁴ Pons. to Palm.—8 June, 24 July/34. Nos 80, 93. F.O. 78/236, 7. The Seraskier Pasha was commander of the army

⁴⁵ Pons. to Palm—11 Oct/34. (Priv.) F.O. 78/239; Taylor to Urquhart—3 March/34. (Urquhart MSS)

⁴⁶ Pons to Palm.—3 Feb./34. No. 16. F.O. 78/235; Same to Same—14 May, 24 July/34 Nos. 55, 95. F.O. 78/236, 7. The militia never appears to have been efficiently organised Same to Same—4 Sept./34. No. 139. F.O. 78/238

⁴⁷ Palm to Pons—1 June/34 No. 24. F.O. 78/234.

⁴⁸ Dodwell, *The Founder of Modern Egypt*, p. 156; Sabry, *L'Empire égyptien sous Mohammed Ali*, pp. 274-6.

⁴⁹ Pons to Palm—14 May/34 No. 57 F.O. 78/236

⁵⁰ Pons to Palm—25 July/34 No 99 F.O. 78/237

⁵¹ Pons to Palm—25 July/34 No. 99 (enclosing Pons. to Pisani—24 July/34), Same to Same—16 Aug/34. No 115. F.O. 78/237.

⁵² Schiemann, *Geschichte Russlands*, III, pp 279-80.

⁵³ Pons. to Palm—16 Aug/34 No. 115 F.O. 78/237.

⁵⁴ Pons. to Palm—15 Sept/34 (Sec) F.O. 78/238.

⁵⁵ Pons to Palm.—12, 16 Aug/34. Nos. 114, 122. F.O. 78/237, 8.

⁵⁶ Pons. to Palm.—16 Aug/34. No. 122 F.O. 78/238.

⁵⁷ Pons. to Palm.—15 Sept/34 (Sec) F.O. 78/238; Urquhart to Palm—18 Aug/34 (enclosing Petition of Circassians to William IV). F.O. 78/249; Pons. to Urquhart—11 Oct./34. *Remin. of William IV*, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Pons to Palm.—20 Aug/34 No. 129. F.O. 78/238. "... I fear I neglected to inform Y.L. that on the first knowledge by the Porte of the insurrection of the Syrians... the Sultan inquired if Russia would assist him, to which the minister replied that Russia could not because the Treaty of 8 July was a purely defensive treaty."

⁵⁹ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, pp. 154-82. For the "Report from the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the best means of promoting communications with India by Steam," see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1834, XIV.

- ⁶⁰ Palm. to Campbell—26 Oct./34. No. 17 F.O. 78/244; Campbell to Palm—4 Sept./34. (Sec. & Conf.) F.O. 78/246
- ⁶¹ Campbell to Palm.—26 Nov./34 F.O. 78/247
- ⁶² Pons. to Urquhart—19 Jan./35 *Remin. of William IV*, p. 51.
- ⁶³ Pons. to Palm—25 Nov., 6 Dec./34. No. 187 (Sep. & Sec.) F.O. 78/240 Apparently David Urquhart had a good deal to do with the conversion of Ahmet Pasha, and when he left Turkey at the end of 1834 he recommended him to Ponsonby as one who could be trusted.
- ⁶⁴ Pons. to Palm.—17 Nov., 6, 14, 17 Dec./34. Nos. 178, 191, 203, 209. F.O. 78/240; Pons. to Well.—12 Jan./35 No. 11. F.O. 78/252 The final Turkish note ran—" . . dans le cas qui est supposé dans la Note de M. l'ambassadeur, c.à.d. que même si une guerre éclate entre la Russie et l'Angleterre le principe que les Détroits du Bosphore et des Dardanelles sont fermés, restera invariable; et que par conséquent, tant que la nécessité de la précaution établie par le traité du 8 juillet n'existera pas, les détroits resteront vigoureusement fermés. . . ."
- ⁶⁵ Pons. to Well.—12 Jan./35. No. 11, Sec. F.O. 78/252.
- ⁶⁶ Pons. to Well.—20 Jan./35. (Sec.) F.O. 78/252.
- ⁶⁷ Urquhart to Well—5 Feb./35. F.O. 78/266.
- ⁶⁸ Schiemann, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 281-2; Taylor to Hudson—4 Feb./35. (Urquhart MSS).
- ⁶⁹ Pons. to Well.—25 Jan./35. No. 17. F.O. 78/252
- ⁷⁰ Lords Admiralty to Rowley—17 March/35. Admiralty, 2/1695, p. 164; Well. to Pons.—16 March/35 No. 5 F.O. 78/251.
- ⁷¹ Memo. by James Hudson. (Urquhart MSS) Hudson was assistant private secretary to William IV. He visited Constantinople in 1835 and on his return drew up a memo of Ponsonby's views
- ⁷² Pons. to Urquhart—20 Sept./34; Urquhart to Fyler—July/42. *Remin. of William IV*, pp. 20, 42.
- ⁷³ Urquhart to Ahmet Pasha—12 Aug./34. *Ibid*, p. 67.
- ⁷⁴ Pons. to Well—4 March/35. No. 35. F.O. 78/252.
- ⁷⁵ Pons. to Palm.—11, 14 July/35. Nos. 130, 134 F.O. 78/254.
- ⁷⁶ Pons. to Palm.—26 Sept./35. No. 176. F.O. 78/255
- ⁷⁷ Pons. to Palm—1 May/35. No. 80. F.O. 78/253
- ⁷⁸ Pons. to Urquhart—7 Feb./36. (Urquhart MSS)
- ⁷⁹ Martens, G. F., *Nouveau Recueil*, III, pp. 760-2.
- ⁸⁰ Pons. to Palm—27 May/35. No. 95 (enclosing Chesney to Pons.—24 April/35). F.O. 78/253
- ⁸¹ Pons. to Palm.—10 June/35. No. 101. F.O. 78/253
- ⁸² Pons. to Palm.—30 June/35. No. 116. F.O. 78/253
- ⁸³ Palm. to Campbell—July/35. No. 2. F.O. 78/257. Palmerston had decided to blockade Alexandria unless Mehemet Ali assisted Chesney. Palm. to Campbell and Rowley—30 June/35 (Cancelled drafts.) F.O. 78/269.
- ⁸⁴ Pons. to Palm.—4, 11 July/35. No. 120, Sep F.O. 78/254.
- ⁸⁵ Pons. to Well.—4 May/35. No. 83. F.O. 78/253; Campbell to Well.—24 March/35. No. 5. F.O. 78/257.
- ⁸⁶ Pons. to Well.—6 May/35. No. 85 F.O. 78/253
- ⁸⁷ Pons. to Palm.—11 July/35 No. 131. F.O. 78/254.
- ⁸⁸ Pons. to Palm.—27 Sept./35. No. 178. F.O. 78/255
- ⁸⁹ Pons. to Palm.—11 Oct./35. No. 186. F.O. 78/255; Same to Same—6 Nov./35. (Sec.) F.O. 78/256.
- ⁹⁰ Palm. to Pons.—4 Nov./35. No. 40. F.O. 78/251.
- ⁹¹ Pons. to Palm.—29 Dec./35. No. 230. F.O. 78/256
- ⁹² Pons. to Palm.—28 Dec./35. No. 226. F.O. 78/256
- ⁹³ Palm. to Pons—8 Dec./35 No. 43. (Sec.) F.O. 78/251.
- ⁹⁴ Pons. to Palm.—10 Jan./36. (Sec.) F.O. 78/273. Ponsonby wrote :—

I have never feared to take upon myself any degree of personal responsibility nor to act with that freedom which is essential to the good conduct of affairs on these occasions where any man, were he ten King Solomons in one body, could not fail, being absent from the scene of action, to form erroneous ideas of the situation of politics in a country like this where even the few initiated who know the mysteries of general Turkish policy, are still often at a loss to form positive conclusions from what they see."

- ⁹⁵ Pons to Palm—5, 7 Feb./36. Nos 20, 25 (Sec). F.O. 78/273.
⁹⁶ Pons to Palm—8 April/36 (Sec) F.O. 78/274
⁹⁷ Durham to Palm—3 March/36. (Conf.) F.O. 65/223
⁹⁸ State Papers XXIV, p 1078, Pons. to Palm.—23 March, 18 April/36.
 Nos 25, 49. F.O. 78/273, 4; Durham to Palm—17 April 36. No 51 F.O. 65/224.
⁹⁹ Durham to Palm—8 July, 4 Oct/36 No 113. (Conf) No 164 F.O. 65/225, 6.
¹⁰⁰ Russell to Palm—23 March/36. No. 7. F.O. 64/205, Lamb to Palm.—5 Aug/36 No. 6 F.O. 7/257
¹⁰¹ Palm to Pons—7 May/36 No. 23. F.O. 78/271.
¹⁰² Palm to Pons—7 May/36 No. 22. (Sec) F.O. 78/271
¹⁰³ Palm. to Pons—7, 29 March/36. (Priv & Conf, Sec & Conf) F.O. 78/271, *Journal of Modern History* I, pp. 579-80
¹⁰⁴ Palm to Admiralty—1 June/36. F.O. 78/298
¹⁰⁵ Palm to Pons—20 June/36. No. 46. F.O. 78/271.
¹⁰⁶ Pons to Palm.—7 May/36 No. 65 F.O. 78/274.
¹⁰⁷ Pons to Palm—24 April, 1 May/36. No. 52, Sec. F.O. 78/274.
¹⁰⁸ Pons. to Palm.—19 Oct./36. No. 194. F.O. 78/277.
¹⁰⁹ Pons to Palm.—10, 11, 28 June, 14 July/36 Nos 81, 84, 98, 110. F.O. 78/275-6.
¹¹⁰ Pons to Palm.—28 June/36. No. 98. F.O. 78/275.
¹¹¹ Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, I, pp. 243-51; Tatischev, *Vnesnnyaya politika Imperatora Nikolay*, I, pp. 410-12.
¹¹² Pons to Palm—14 July/36. No. 110. F.O. 78/276.
¹¹³ Palm. to Pons.—16 Sept., 5, 11 Nov./36. Nos. 80, 98, 102. F.O. 78/272.
¹¹⁴ Pons. to Palm—4 Jan, 19 Feb./37. Nos 3, 34. F.O. 78/301
¹¹⁵ Pons. to Palm.—22 Sept., 5, 19 Oct/36. Nos. 162, 176, 194 F.O. 78/277
¹¹⁶ Pons. to Urquhart—15 March/36; Urquhart to Palm—20 Sept/37. (Urquhart MSS)
¹¹⁷ Bell to Urquhart—2 Nov./36 (enclosing Memo. of conversation with Lord Ponsonby). Urquhart MSS. (copy from original); Palmerston to Urquhart—20 June/38 Urquhart MSS.; Ponsonby to Palmerston—28 Oct/36. No. 206. F.O. 78/277; Nesselrode to Butenev—7/19 July/36 *Portfolio*. V, pp 313-15. Urquhart later declared that Bell had received a letter from William IV., saying that anyone who attempted to trade with Circassia would do his country a service. Urquhart to Fyler—Feb./42. *Remin. of William IV*, p. 27.
¹¹⁸ Durham to Palm.—12 Jan/37. No. 10. F.O. 65/233; Ponsonby to Palm—18 Feb./37. No. 28. F.O. 78/301.
¹¹⁹ *Times*—27 Jan/37; *Standard*—27, 28 Jan., 3 Feb./37, Hansard. XXXVI, pp. 133-4, XXXVII, pp. 621-56; Grey to Lieven—24 March/37. *Letters of Earl Grey and P. Lieven*. III, p. 232.
¹²⁰ Palm. to Durham—19 April/37. No. 81. F.O. 65/231.
¹²¹ Durham to Palm.—10 May/37. No. 80. F.O. 65/234.
¹²² Pons. to Palm.—31 Jan., 5 April/37. Nos. 18, 66 F.O. 78/301, 2.
¹²³ Palm. to Urquhart—10 March/37. (Urquhart MSS)

- ¹²⁴ Palm to Ponsonby—8 Feb/37. No 11; 9 March. No 24, 5 June No 30. F.O. 78/300, Pons to Vaughan—2 May. F.O. 78/303.
- ¹²⁵ Pons to Palm—6 April/37. No. 68 F.O. 78/302.
- ¹²⁶ Palm. to Vaughan—11 May/37. No 29. F.O. 78/308.
- ¹²⁷ *Journal of Modern History* I, pp. 583-5.
- ¹²⁸ Pons. to Palm.—2, 13 Feb, 9, 18 March/38. Nos. 27, 37, 46, 74. F.O. 78/330.
- ¹²⁹ Pons to Palm—11 June/38. No 143 F.O. 78/331
- ¹³⁰ Palm to Granville—6 July/38 Bulwer, *op cit* II, p. 270
- ¹³¹ Pons. to Palm.—13 Oct/38 No. 218. F.O. 78/332.
- ¹³² Pons to Palm—5, 27 Sept., 29 Oct/38 Nos. 198 (Sec), (Sep & Conf) & 228. F.O. 78/332
- ¹³³ Palm to Pons—15 March/38. No 38 (Cypher.) F.O. 78/352; Pons to Palm—9, 20, 22 May/39. Nos. 110, 120, 122 F.O. 78/356; Palm to Pons.—15 Aug./39. No. 116 F.O. 78/353. The French Government complained to Palmerston about Ponsonby's conduct. Guizot, *Memoires*. IV, pp 504-5
- ¹³⁴ Pons to Palm.—9 April/40 Nos. 72, 73 F.O. 78/393.
- ¹³⁵ Palm. to Pons—7 April/40 No 51. F.O. 78/389; Pons to Palm—25 April/40 Parl. Papers (*Affairs of Levant*) I, p. 653.
- ¹³⁶ Russell to Melbourne—27 Sept/40 Walpole, *Life of Russell*. I, p. 352.
- ¹³⁷ *Affairs of Levant*. III, pp. 207-9, 247.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid*. III, pp. 419-20.

PROTESTANT REUNION IN THE 18TH CENTURY

(ARCHBISHOP W. WAKE and D. E. JABLONSKI).¹

THE Christian Church has always felt that schisms should not become permanent, and that the work of unification should never cease. People, for example, have always hoped that someone would be successful in bringing the Catholic and Orthodox Churches together. Later efforts were made to unite the two main streams into which the Protestant Church divided. At first they were unsuccessful, for while the movement for reform was actively spreading and attracting new adherents, the disadvantages that the cleavage entailed were not apparent. They became evident, however, when the Catholic Church passed from the defensive to the offensive, and attempted to win back the lost ground. During the Thirty Years' War it became obvious that the schism in faith was to have fateful consequences in political life. It was at that time that the need for unity in the Protestant churches began to be felt more keenly than before, and John Dury, a clergyman of Scottish origin (1596-1680) proclaimed this idea incessantly. During his sojourn in Elbląg he gained some knowledge of the religious conditions in Poland. He learned that as early as 1570 the Lutherans, the Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren, who had fled there from Bohemia at the time of persecution, had come to an agreement at Sandomierz, which is known as *Consensus Sandomiriensis*. As a matter of fact, these three churches were not unified, but they recognised their several confessions and churches as orthodox. They agreed to put an end to previous disputes, and work for peace and mutual love.

Dury thought that it might be possible to induce the Protestant Churches in other countries to follow suit. He strove for that idea all his life. His tendencies won support mainly from the Calvinist Churches on the Continent as well as from the exiles from Bohemia and Moravia. Their leader, Jan Amos Komenský (1592-1670), the Bishop of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren, supported Dury actively and zealously. He sought to introduce reforms in education, and he wanted to bring together all human knowledge, so as to put

¹ The following is a reprint, with a few additions, of a paper read at the Historical Congress in Warsaw, and it supplements the article on "Comenius and the Christian Unity" in No. 25 of this *Review*. See also H. Dalton, *D. E. Jablonski*, G. J. Jordan, *The Reunion of the Churches, A Study of G. W. Leibniz and his great Attempt*, London, 1927; E. Bursche, *Program polskiego uniwersalizmu chrześcijańskiego*, Warsaw, 1927.

an end to the philosophical and theological disputes which gave rise to such confusion.

Dury did not achieve his object, for unity of the faith found little favour in the 17th century. Only towards its close and at the beginning of the 18th century, when Pietism began to penetrate the Protestant faith, was the soil ready for further attempts. Tendencies making for union appeared in a few places, and found some prominent supporters. They were chiefly centred in Germany, which suffered through the cleavage far more than other countries, where one or the other confession took the upper hand. G. W. Leibniz (1646-1716), the leading exponent of Protestant union, was soon supported by Daniel E. Jablonski (1660-1741).

Jablonski was a grandson of Komenský and strove faithfully to follow his footsteps. He had been brought up in the doctrine of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren, and during his studies at Oxford was brought into touch with the Anglican Church. Even when, as preacher to the Elector of Brandenburg, he was actively engaged in Berlin, he never ceased to regard himself as a member of the Unity of Brethren, in which from the year 1699 he held the dignity of Bishop. He knew that the Unity from its earliest beginnings paid more attention to the decent conduct of its members than to fine points and development of doctrine. He did not feel that differences of doctrine and ritual in the two branches of the Protestant faith would prove insuperable. While in England, he acquired a great admiration for the Church of England and its organisation, which never left him afterwards. All his life long he looked to it as the best mediator between the two parties, and as the safest harbour.

Jablonski was aware of the many long years of patient effort by John Dury, whose work he wished to carry further. In 1696 he wrote to his friend Patrick Gordon in England that he had in his possession a fair number of Dury's letters and other writings, and asked him to send anything he could find in his collection of manuscripts, or from other sources. He regretted that so few of them were printed, and it seems as though he intended to publish a selection of them.

Towards the end of the 17th century the movement for union gathered strength in Germany, especially in Brandenburg and Hanover. In the year 1697, Jablonski was invited by the Elector Frederick III to work out a plan according to which the negotiations between the two countries should proceed. In Hanover there was considerable support for the idea. The university at Helmstadt had always had a reputation for moderation. For a time it was

even suggested in Hanover that approaches should be made to the Catholic Church. The Abbot Molanus, and Leibniz also, fostered the plan. But when they found that there was very little hope of attaining it, they began to act on the suggestions coming from the Court of Brandenburg. At first the proposal was to bring the churches of both countries together, but soon interest turned to places beyond the frontiers as well, to Switzerland, Holland and England. Jablonski was even willing to set out on a search for collaborators in these countries. Nothing came of this, however, because even in Germany the conferences only made slow progress. The Elector of Brandenburg tried to put more zest into the work in his territory at least, but in spite of his support nothing permanent was achieved. Resistance in some circles among the Lutheran clergy was so strong that, after the publication of the pamphlet *Arcanum imperium*, negotiations had to be suspended.

Even after this set-back Jablonski continued his efforts. When he saw that the greatest impediment arose from differences in doctrine, he turned his attention in another direction, and tried to bring ritual and ceremonies together. He knew that the Lutherans would not give up theirs, and would not accept those of the Calvinists and vice versa, and so he looked for something else. In his admiration for the Church of England he thought that it would be best to introduce the Anglican liturgy into the Protestant countries on the Continent. As a member of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren he found it acceptable, because the ritual of the Unity had not been simplified as much as that of the Reformed Churches. Jablonski also often stressed the fact that the office of bishop had been preserved in the Unity as well as in the Anglican Church. During the opening years of the 19th century Jablonski tried to introduce the Anglican liturgy into Prussia, and on this subject he carried on a lively correspondence with his friends in England. In the year 1704 he had a German translation of the Book of Common Prayer printed. Since, however, this subject roused little interest in England, while in Germany local conflicts absorbed all attention, Jablonski was unable to make any headway in this direction. In 1710, when the British Ambassador in Berlin, Lord Raby, took the matter up, and when Jablonski entered into correspondence with the Archbishop of York, John Sharp, it looked as if a more propitious moment had arrived. But as soon as it became clear that it would be impossible to introduce the liturgy alone, and that it would entail big changes in the organisation of the Church, so many obstacles arose that it was impossible to

proceed any further. Besides, political entanglements diverted interest to other affairs for several years.

Jablonski did not lose faith in the idea, and when times were more propitious he set to work again. This occurred in 1716, when two things presaged a good result. In the first place Frederick William I, the King of Prussia, declared himself ready to support the work, and that not only within his own territory but by intervention outside as well. The other favourable circumstance was the recent succession of George I, the Elector of Hanover, to the English throne. With the conversion of the Elector of Saxony to the Catholic faith, the Prussian King, and the Elector of Hanover were the two most powerful Protestant princes in the Empire; if the one could exert his influence on the Reformed Church, the other could influence the Lutheran clergy and rulers. As a result of previous experience the lead was not to come from the clergy alone, but was to receive support from secular elements as well.

Since it was of considerable importance to win George I over permanently to the idea of the union, Jablonski looked to the English clergy for support. Through Thomas Bray (1656-1730) whose acquaintance he had very likely made during his studies in Oxford, he began a correspondence early in 1717 with William Wake (1657-1737), Archbishop of Canterbury. He knew that Wake had recently taken care of the messengers of the Unity, and of the Reformed Church in Poland, Sitcovius and Anders, and that he had recommended them to the King and to members of the Church. Wake had a lively appreciation of the state of the different churches on the Continent, because he had lived in France for several years. He was of a tolerant disposition, and so Jablonski was soon on friendly terms with him, and kept up the correspondence for a number of years.

At the beginning he wrote to him with regard to the apostolic succession of the Bishops of the Waldensians, and of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren. The existence of the apostolic succession in the latter was doubted by some English clergymen, while just at that time collections were being made for the benefit of its oppressed descendants, and of the Calvinists in Poland. Jablonski tried to disperse their doubts and to show that with regard to episcopal succession no other church stood so near to the Anglican as the Unity of Brethren. Wake let himself be persuaded by Jablonski's arguments, which on the whole were not founded on quite reliable facts. He replied in such a friendly manner that Jablonski was led to approach him on a matter which interested

him more deeply, namely, his plan for bringing the Protestant churches together. He mentioned this for the first time in a letter dated 15 May, 1717. Wake sent a warm reply which showed that he approved of the attempts to reconcile the churches, and that he would be willing to lend his support.

Encouraged by this, Jablonski took a further step and in September, 1717, he sent him his proposals for the union of the churches, which had been originally worked out for Frederick William I. In these proposals he suggested: (1) in what unity of churches should consist, and (2) what might be the proper means to obtain it. With regard to differences in doctrine (on such matters as the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, the omnipresence of Christ's body, predestination and grace), he thought that it would be sufficient if both sides agreed "that the differences do not concern the body and ground of religion, nor are against any fundamental articles of faith, and therefore are not of such importance as to cause a schism in the church." Differences in ceremonies he also felt were not insuperable. He suggested that "a commission of several godly and moderate men, and well experienced in Christian antiquity on both sides should meet and examine the ceremonies and forms of each of the Evangelical Churches, and propose what might be laid aside as giving offence, or what might be retained." He also asked the two parties to drop the names which they were using (Lutherans and Reformed), and simply call themselves Evangelical. As a suitable example for the union, Jablonski recommended them to read *Consensus Sandomiriensis*. He also had a plan worked out as to the means by which the union should be realised. First he wanted the King of Prussia to take the lead as representative of the Reformed, and the King of England in the name of the Elector of Hanover for the Lutherans. A commission of moderate theologians appointed by the two rulers should then draw up a plan along the lines of which the work of union might best be begun and carried on. The project, once approved, was to be made known to other clergymen in the two churches, and then both rulers were to try to win over the princes of the Empire, and eventually other countries as well. Jablonski hoped that Wake would exert his influence with George I and gain the support of the Church of England, which could act as mediator between the two sides, because she had something in common with each. In doctrine she came nearer to the Reformed, in certain ceremonies to the Lutherans, and she was loved and esteemed on both sides.

Jablonski's programme was the result of his extensive knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the Protestant Churches, especially in Germany. It is evident, however, that in its elaboration he had been influenced, to a considerable extent, by similar proposals of an earlier date, and it is clear that he gave currency to many ideas which had been discussed, particularly by the Polish Protestants, some time before. It is true that Jablonski only mentioned *Consensus Sandomiriensis*, but his plan contains elements which remind us of the work of others. The main principles, especially, invite comparison with the work of the Polish clergyman, Bartholomew Bythner, *Fraterna et modesta ad omnes per universam Europam reformatas ecclesias . . . pro unanimi in toto Religionis Evangelicæ negotio consensu inter se constituendo exhortatio* which in the 17th century went through several editions, and was well known among the members of the Unity who were then living in Poland. In this book Bythner suggested that the Protestants ought to give up their special denominations and simply be called Christians. He also thought that it was essential that the laity should take energetic steps to unite the Churches, and he feared that the project would fail if left entirely to the clergy. He also considered that the first essential was to bring about a settlement in Germany, where cleavages and difficulties were most numerous. In points of doctrine and ritual he tried to stress their similarities and contacts and to keep their differences in the background. Divergences between the proposals of Bythner and those of Jablonski can be explained chiefly by the different conditions ruling at the time, and the milieu in which they lived. Bythner's programme was wider, with a larger scope, but it was less thoroughly worked out, and in some points it was not clear enough. Jablonski knew that it was not possible to begin straight away by calling together representatives of all Protestant Churches, but that it would be better to proceed by degrees, and with the steady support of strong rulers who were personally attracted to the idea of unification.

From Wake's letters it is clear that he agreed with Jablonski, and that he was willing to approach the King. He was well aware of the tendencies towards union on the continent from other sources, especially from the Genevan professor, John Alphonsus Turretinus and, in fact, he was well disposed towards them. Like Jablonski he also counted on the support of Charles Whitworth, the Ambassador of George I at the Prussian Court from 1716 to 1719, who was prepared to work for the union of churches.

If matters in England did not proceed as smoothly as Jablonski

had hoped, the reason was not the unwillingness or lukewarmness of Wake, but the difficulties which George I encountered in England at the beginning of his reign. It seems as if Jablonski had no very clear conception of this, or of George's character and abilities, and that he looked at things from a point of view too much removed from every-day life. In his eyes George I was a suitable instrument for the work on the union, because as King of England he was obliged to take part in the religious observances of the English Church, while in Hanover he appeared as a Lutheran. He thought that his subjects might well follow his example, and that George I might influence Denmark, Sweden, and the German Lutherans, whose only representant he was in the College of Electors.

The years 1718 and 1719 passed in mutual correspondence, and nothing remarkable happened on either side. Not until May, 1720, could Jablonski report to Wake that the idea was meeting with a better reception in Germany. Interest was aroused by a writing of Turretinus entitled *Nubes testium*, to which from the Lutheran side Conrad Klemm and Christian Pfaff, professors at the University of Tübingen, replied in moderate terms. Without delay Jablonski sent a copy of Pfaff's booklet *Alloquium Irenianum* to Wake; the fact that the intolerant Lutherans had not attacked Klemm and Pfaff, and that especially from Saxony no voice of opposition was raised, Jablonski took as a good omen for the future. For Wake it was a stimulus to further action.

He had little opportunity to exert his influence on George I, who was then engrossed in political affairs, but he gained the support of his leading councillor, Count Berendorf. He did not press the matter on the King, who hurried to Hanover, because he relied on Berendorf's influence. And he advised Jablonski that the time was propitious, and that under the protection of both rulers he should call representants of both sides to a conference.

Reality, however, proved to be something different from the aspirations of Wake and Jablonski. When Whitworth left Berlin, there was no suitable mediator between the courts of Berlin and Hanover. Jablonski wanted the matter to be discussed at Regensburg, where the assemblies of the princes of the Empire took place, but even along this path he did not get much further. It became clear that Wake was right when he suggested that the union should first be brought about in Prussia and Hanover, and only extended to other countries gradually afterwards. As on many previous occasions, a war of polemics broke out among uncompromising theologians as soon as the movement made any headway. Hopes

placed on George I came to nothing. In 1722, political unrest in England prevented him from leaving the country, so that he could not even go to Hanover and try to put an end to the polemics. In spite of that, Wake still hoped that the work would be successful if it could be placed in the hands of politicians; and he tried to raise the sinking hopes of Jablonski. After 1722, however, the correspondence lapsed, and when in 1727 Jablonski resumed it, there was no prospect of an early realisation of his projects.

By his literary work, however, Jablonski prepared the ground for the future. In 1731 he published *Historia Consensus Sandomiriensis*, in which he showed that Poland had put into force as early as 1570 that for which in Germany he had been working in vain. He dedicated this work to Wake, upon whom in the second phase of his activities he had mainly relied. The publication of his book again reminded the world of the work and conciliatory spirit of the Polish Protestants and the Czech exiles living in Poland, and was, in fact, the only concrete result of Jablonski's efforts.

Except for that, it is clear that his activities were premature, and that on both sides those who wished to smoothe all difficulties and work for amity and collaboration were still in a minority. What had been stressed by the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* and what in the spirit of the old tradition was still alive among the descendants of the Bohemian exiles in Poland, was felt even in Jablonski's time to be unreal. The idea that differences in doctrine between both parties "did not concern the body and the ground of religion, nor were against any fundamental article of faith," in his time fell on stony ground and could not take root.

The failure, however, does not diminish the value of Jablonski's efforts for the cause. For a number of years in many directions he fostered every tendency toward settlement of disputes, and the achievement of that unity which has always been the ideal of the Christian Church. His plan did not comprehend the union of all those who professed Christianity; it did not go the length of including the Catholics and the Orthodox, for he consciously limited himself to the Protestant churches. He was sure that a great and noble work would have been achieved, if even the Protestant world could but have adopted what the Polish Lutherans, the Reformed, and the members of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren had realised at the meeting of Sandomierz in 1570.

OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK.

EARLY EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY TO CANADA¹

AROUND the seventies of the last century, when the stream of migration from the various ethnic units living along or near the Atlantic seaboard started to decline, when the superfluous labour of those adventurous nations, which had taken such an active part in overseas immigration, was no longer available to supply the demand for man-power necessitated by the growing industrial development of the United States, a new, yet undepleted area, South-Eastern Europe, was discovered by the agents of the New World. The remote agricultural population of Austria-Hungary offered at this time a fresh reservoir of labour to the solicited emigrant trade.

The United States, with its well-organised and active European connections, was, within a relatively short time, so successful in inducing people to emigrate to the Union, that in the eighties immigration became an established phenomenon. The regular flow of this movement had found its channels to the industrial East and required no further inducement.²

The economic benefits attainable in the New World influenced a large number of these newcomers to adopt the new standards of

¹ This article is an extract from a large work which will shortly be ready for publication and will deal with the origin of the South-Eastern European immigration to Canada. The importance of such a work will readily be understood when we realise that the ethnic groups living in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, supplied during the past forty years a large number of settlers for the Prairie Provinces of Canada and are today a factor in the industrial life of the East.

The United States were well known at the beginning of the 19th century in South-Eastern Europe, which at that time sent large numbers of political refugees to the New World. The landless peasantry, who emigrated for purely economic reasons, started to come to the shores of North America in the seventies, when, through the contract system, the poorer classes were enabled to cross the ocean.

It should be mentioned also that prior to the movement described in this article there had already started a migration from three East European groups

I. The Mennonites of Southern Russia and small German groups of Roumania.

II. Russian and Roumanian Jewish refugees, directed by the West European Jewish relief organisations

III. Poles living in the eastern provinces of Germany, who were more or less influenced by the propaganda in Germany. The Ruthenes, Slovaks, Galicians, Ukrainians, Magyars, Southern Slavs and Roumanians living in Austria-Hungary are more or less isolated, and their movement is a separate chapter in the history of immigration.

² Most of the people coming to the United States from Austria-Hungary were brought as contract labourers to the coal mines, steel and other heavy industries. In 1882 contract labour was prohibited by the U.S. Congress.

life and decide to establish themselves permanently in North America. With increasing prosperity, becoming adapted to their new surroundings, this group started in time to build up its own institutions along the lines indigenous in the parent country; this natural tendency in social organisation made itself evident in the most remote settlements where these people were to be found.³

Jealousy of the different religious denominations, with the fight for race supremacy, was renewed on the arrival of the new groups, all jealous of their race inheritance, and the strife was nourished in some cases by propaganda received from the Mother Country.⁴

These new immigrant elements on the American continent not only were prevented from arriving at an accord which could express their mutual interests by the racial feuds exported with them to America, but their unity suffered and was lessened by the waste of energy in the fight to overcome the opposition of the older West European immigrant groups, which manifested their antipathy to the newcomers and weakened their organisation for social progress.

Canada, with its limited offers, had in the last century very little inducement which would tend to divert this migratory movement towards her shores. Not only were Dominion agents in Europe unable to compete with the soliciting machinery of the Western States of the Union,⁵ but, even where they were so fortunate as to secure a group for Manitoba or the North-West Territories, there was not the necessary organisation to look after the immigrants on their arrival at their destination.⁶

By the eighties of last century the Canadian Government realised that the only method by which it could succeed in colonising Mani-

³ New York was the first centre of South-East European institutions. Political organisations and benefit societies sprang up like mushrooms.

⁴ In New York in the eighties there appeared the *American Austrian News*, which defended the Empire's interests, while the Hungarian news-sheet *Amerikai Magyar Nemzetor* advocated the unity of Hungary, with Magyar hegemony. *Amerikanské Slovenske Noviny*, published in Pittsburgh, Pa., the first Slovak news-sheet in America, was hostile to the existing Dual Monarchy and especially to the Magyar hegemony.

⁵ Canadian agents in Britain and the Continent made this clear every year in their reports. John Dyke, the European adviser to the Dominion in matters of immigration, states plainly: "I must, however, distinctly point out that the competition on behalf of Texas and Arkansas is especially keen and powerful. The whole of the German Empire, Austria, Switzerland, and Northern Italy have been systematically flooded with literature upon these States for the past ten or fifteen years." (See report of 22 Feb., 1883) gen. correspondence, Department of Agriculture No. 38,885, Public Archives of Canada.

⁶ The agents of Dakota and other neighbouring States were lavish with their promises and paid the immigrant his railway fare.

toba and the North-West Territories, the only possible way to secure a regular influx of settlers from Europe, was to give some financial assistance for the formation of group settlements, which would serve as a nucleus to which the individual settler of the particular nationality could be directed by the various agencies.

In the development of the new settlements, the elements of past environment and racial inheritance have not shown much difference. The formation of colonies of uniform racial origin was successfully started with Scots, English, Scandinavians, Germans and Austro-Hungarians. The difficulties encountered in organising these different racial groups were more or less the same in all cases. "Preferred" and "non-preferred," as applied to classes of settlers, are useless and valueless terms, and are more or less expressions invented by the local political clique, according to the political support which the immigrant group was willing to extend.

As early as 1880 the Canadian Government called the attention of her Immigration Official in Europe to the large movement from Austria-Hungary to the United States, and in 1883 Mr. John Dyke, the European adviser to the Dominion in immigration matters, left for continental points, including Vienna, to study the situation. The Canadian Immigration Agent during his visit to Austria made arrangements with shipping interests which asserted that they had a clandestine organisation of about six hundred agents spread over Austria-Hungary, through which they controlled the South-East European immigration trade.⁷ A bonus of five dollars was promised to these shipping agents for each settler induced to go to the Dominion—to be paid promptly after the arrival of the settler in Manitoba or the North-West Territories. In addition, propaganda, consisting of printed material descriptive of the advantages of the new country, was issued in various South-East European vernaculars and spread over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.⁸ Thousands of dollars were expended, and yet not one settler could be secured. It looked as if Canada could not hope to gain recognition as a favourable field for immigration from South-East Europe, when, in the spring of 1885, the agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the

⁷ The Cunard Line controlled the immigrant trade of South-Eastern Europe through Mr. Hirschman, of Hamburg, the same man who had succeeded in bringing the Mennonites from Southern Russia. (See Dept. of Agriculture, No. 39,538, P.A.C.)

⁸ From a letter which John Dyke addressed to Sir Alexander T. Galt on 12 April, 1883, about the work in Austria-Hungary, it may be learned that besides the advertising of the Cunard Line, the Canadian Government itself advertised in a dozen newspapers of Austria-Hungary, and Mr. Maas was stationed in Vienna to keep the Press informed about Manitoba.

United States discovered an influential Hungarian nobleman, one of whose projects for settlement of his compatriots in the United States had just turned out a failure.

Count Paul O. Esterházy, a descendant of one of the oldest Hungarian families, had, years before, made his home in New York and had taken great interest in the future well-being of his compatriots.

Seeing their hopeless life in the mining towns, their misery and the measure of their exploitation by industry and the degeneration due to change of environment, he decided to lead these people back to the cultivation of the land, to the toil by which their forefathers had earned their livelihood for generations. His first effort in the United States had failed, and in this failure he had lost his own fortune.⁹

The Canadian Pacific Railway, greatly interested in the colonisation of the company's lands in the West, invited Count Esterházy to the Dominion. During the first days of his visit he saw on the political horizon the dark clouds which threatened a British-Russian war; he made an offer to the Hon. A. P. Caron, Minister of National Defence, to form a Hungarian legion in the United States, which would be brought over to Canada quietly, in small detachments, and thence transported to the area of conflict.¹⁰ Before this offer, which had the support of the Minister, could be discussed with the Governor-General, the political tension in diplomatic circles died down, and more peaceful plans were resorted to.

After a personal audience with the Governor-General, the Count made his formal request on 9 May, 1885, for the formation of military settlements in the Canadian West; these would be colonised with Hungarians then living in the United States, who while being trained farmers had also had military experience and could be used in case of rebellion or invasion to defend British interests.¹¹ The proposal was highly interesting to the Government and especially to the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. F. H. Pope. The Department was willing to extend some financial assistance, as its officials had long been interested in finding suitable settlers for Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

⁹ The organisation for colonising Austro-Hungarians was called "Elso Magyar Gyarmatosító Társaság" ("The First Hungarian American Colonisation Company), New York. See correspond, Agric. Deptmt. No. 48,870, P.A.C.

¹⁰ G. Series, Governor-General's Corresp., No. 395, P.A.C.

¹¹ The outlines of the Governor-General's reply to Esterházy is enclosed; see *ibid.*

Count Esterházy, after completing his arrangements with the Department, left, upon the invitation of the Government, for the North-West. It was his desire to inspect the lands offered for settlement in the company of his assistant, Géza Dóry, an agricultural expert, in order to be able to give a description to his people at home of the lands reserved for his colonisation project.¹² Recognising the value of the rich prairie soil,¹³ and having a promise of financial aid from Sir George Stephen, the president of the C.P.R.,¹⁴ the Count threw all his energy into the accomplishment of his plans. At last, after so many failures and discouragements in North America, he saw on the horizon some prospect that his desire to free his compatriots from the slavery of the coal mines would be realised. Knowing the character of his race, he realised that his fellow nationals would only be respected for their virtues, for the possession of the quality upon which for a thousand years they had based their hegemony; and they must demonstrate their worth by creating a garden in the wilderness of the west, as their ancestors had done in the midst of the Carpathian mountains.

The Count was no dreamer or adventurer; but he foresaw clearly in 1885 the great future of the Canadian West.¹⁵ His impressions of Manitoba and the North-West, together with the call to his compatriots to build a "New Hungary" in Canada, were set in type. At once, from Winnipeg, hundreds of circulars, printed in the several vernaculars of Austria-Hungary, were mailed to the principal centres of Hungarian settlement in the United States. These circulars, signed by one so well and favourably known, awakened the liveliest interest, and when he returned to the mining towns of Eastern Pennsylvania, he was received as a liberator who delivers his people from the slavery of contract labour. It looked for a time as if at least one half of the 400,000 Hungarians in the Union would follow him in an exodus to the "promised lands" of the Canadian North-West.¹⁶ But cowardly enemies, tools of an unknown power, set themselves to work irreparable injury. A German news-sheet in New York, the *Oesterreichisch-Amerikanische Zeitung*, published an article with the intention of damaging Esterházy's

¹² *Ibid.*, letters received, filed No. 456, but later enclosed to No. 395, P.A.C.

¹³ See Esterházy's report of 25 June, 1885. Dom. Sess. Papers (No 10A), 1886, pp 117-118.

¹⁴ Gen. corresp., Dep. of Agnc., No. 48,672.

¹⁵ See Esterházy's report, already quoted, pp. 121-5.

¹⁶ See Esterházy's letter from Pennsylvania to the Department of Agriculture.

position in Canada, and called him "a common swindler," a "doubtful character," whose real name was supposed to be John Baptist Papp. For the purpose of greater effect the same story was smuggled into the pages of the *New York Herald*.¹⁷

This miserable attack was made at a time when Esterházy's family was griefstricken by the sudden death of one of his children and when he was financially unable to prosecute the authors for libel and malicious persecution.¹⁸

The Canadian Government, especially the Hon. F. H. Pope, was very much disturbed about the matter, fearing an open scandal. Very shortly, the whole of this persecution was proved to be without foundation through the inquiries made by the C.P.R. agents in New York (and documentary evidence provided by Esterházy himself)¹⁹; and he was informed that the Department of Agriculture would fulfil its obligations under the agreements and that he possessed the full confidence of the Minister.²⁰ It must be said to his credit that he was able to surmount all these difficulties, and within a short time to organise out of the racial conglomerate originating from Austria-Hungary, and scattered through the mining towns of Pennsylvania, a group which definitely decided to follow him.

By the end of July the first band of settlers, which, owing to the delay, had been reduced to thirty-five families, left for Manitoba under the leadership of Géza Döry²¹ and with the assistance of the Manitoba and North-West Railway Land Co. settled west of Minnedosa.²² At the end of August a second group left for the same place.²³ This ideal location, good grazing land with the forest near by, was named "Hun Valley." Its success, which seemed to be clear to everybody from the first moment, must partly be placed to the credit of the experienced and agriculturally-trained Döry, whose education and tact became a blessing to the settlers of the whole colony.²⁴ Döry, as a leader, understood the psychology of the members of his colony, who belonged to the landless peasantry of

¹⁷ The Viennese *Fremdenblatt* published the report on 27 July, 1885, under the heading "Der Falsche Graf Esterházy."

¹⁸ See gen. corresp., Dep. of Agric., No. 48,837.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Book No. 53, pp. 212-216.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Book No. 29, pp. 16-17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 48,936, 48,906, 48,938.

²² Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 10) An. 1886, pp. 119-120-121.

²³ Gen. corresp., Dept. of Agriculture, No. 49,590.

²⁴ This opinion was expressed on several occasions by the agents of the Departments of Immigration and of the Interior, as well as by the Commissioners of the Manitoba N.W. Railway Co.

Upper Hungary. By settling in their midst he encouraged them and taught them how to make use of the great fertile lands of which they took possession.

Only one who has examined a list of the names of the first "Hun Valley" settlers can form any idea of the racial composition of this group and understand Döry's great and beneficial work. Here were representatives of Magyar, Slovak, Ruthene, Czech and South Slav origin,²⁵ and Döry not only showed them how to break the land and level the forest, but was their teacher of the English language. The satisfactory reports reaching the Department of Agriculture, the admiring descriptions reaching Montreal from the C.P.R. agents in Winnipeg, gave the authorities more confidence to assist Esterházy.

The winter of 1885-6 was not passed in leisure. Several trips were made to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, where the bulk of the Hungarian emigrants to the United States were living. Personal contacts were made with intending settlers, lectures on the prospects in Manitoba and the North-West delivered, damaging reports about "Hun Valley" contradicted and newspaper articles written by the opposition in the Hungarian news-sheets of the Union were refuted. By January, 1886, the 400,000 Austro-Hungarian subjects in the Union were not the only ones discussing the "pros" and "cons" of the Canadian colonisation project. This movement threatened the mine owners with the loss of their cheap labour, the grocers and saloon keepers with the loss of their patrons, and the clergy of their faithful and deeply-religious supporters.²⁶

Moreover, the first letters which arrived from Hungary expressed the joy and sympathy with which the news was received in the old country. The circulars sent to the districts where land shortage had been a problem for many years²⁷ were received as a promise of salvation direct from heaven. The news of a free homestead of 160 acres distributed under a Hungarian nobleman in "New Hungary" spread as swiftly as the wind, and where the printed words of the "message" could not be read, the preachers disseminated it from the pulpit at the Sunday service. The following is a transcript, in condensed form, of the matter of these letters

²⁵ *Ibid*, No. 49,590.

²⁶ See Esterházy's letter, *ibid.*, No. 52,667.

²⁷ From the correspondence it is evident that the first circulars distributed in Hungary were sent to the counties of Bereg, Ung, and Zemplen in Upper Hungary, populated by Slovak, Magyar, and Ruthene.

written from Szenne, Ung County, in Upper Hungary,²⁸ and addressed to Count Paul Esterházy:—

“The people at Szenne had been told that the pastor at Lelesz had given notice of Esterházy’s call for several thousand farmers, and that this news had been made known to the entire neighbourhood; that they went to Tegenye where it was said that they would see Esterházy’s letter and found it was no longer there, but could not get it because the Steward of the Estate of Count Paloczy, whose men had put their names down as intending immigrants, became annoyed and appealed to the police, whereupon Esterházy’s letter was confiscated and done away with; that in spite of this interference on the part of the police the people of Szenne and of the entire district have opened subscription lists to be signed by all who wish to emigrate and some of the people of Szenne are herewith sending their names for that purpose and have the earnest intention to emigrate.

“We therefore ask you our Honourable Father, gracious benefactor, the great son of his country, to answer immediately our prayers, let us know the truth of all this. We shall have no rest until we have heard from you, we shall not believe anything we may hear until then.”²⁹

Count Esterházy³⁰ realised, as early as 1886, that to lead such a growing movement the appeal to the patriotic instinct of the masses would not be sufficient; that there must be an organisation able to finance the project and to provide loans to the settlers in order to buy the necessary outfit to start farming. The chartering of the “Hungarian Immigration and Colonisation Aid Society,” with headquarters in Philadelphia and Hazelton, Pa., was intended to serve this purpose. Esterházy was elected as president, Theodore Zboray, a Hungarian Slovak of Hazelton, belonging to the clerical class, as vice-president, while Julius Vass, a young, restless Hungarian with a fair education, but with little knowledge of the English language, became the secretary and treasurer.³¹ A skilful propaganda was conducted, and the results were satisfactory.

On 1 May, 1886, Count Esterházy arrived in Ottawa, accompanied by Julius Vass. Mr Vass, as secretary of the organisation, formally tendered to the Minister of Agriculture the thanks of the Hungarian people of the United States for the gracious help and encouragement extended by the Canadian Government to the Hungarians already settled in the West and assured him of the

²⁸ Now the most westerly district of the autonomous province of Ruthenia in Czechoslovakia.—Ed

²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 51,907.

³⁰ By 4 February, 1886, Esterházy had the names of some 3,000 families from the above-mentioned counties in Hungary.

³¹ The hearing of the application for the charter was held on 26 February, 1886, and it was approved in the common police court.

gratitude of those settlers.³² With the assistance of Sir George Stephen, Esterházy succeeded in obtaining a loan of \$25,000 on behalf of the colonists, and the Department of Agriculture extended his temporary position as a special agent for another six months.³³ As a result, the first party was settled on 1 June, 1886, on C.P.R. lands near Whitewood, and named the Esterházy settlement, after its originator.³⁴ At the request of the Count, a post office was established and Julius Vass made postmaster. Encouraged by the year's success and seeing the progress of the "Hun Valley" settlement,³⁵ Esterházy returned to Ottawa and negotiated the incorporation of the "Hungarian Colonisation Aid Society" in Canada.³⁶

Money was needed for the future settlers, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had assisted the formation of the nucleus of the settlement, declined further assistance. Had the Count at this time had sufficient means of his own to defray all expenses and had he not been obliged to await instructions from the Department of Agriculture, which were usually delayed, he would not only have succeeded in placing a second group of settlers this year, but would have avoided the difficulties which caused the Department to sever connections with him during the winter of 1886-7. He left for Pennsylvania about the beginning of August, and under instructions from the Department gathered his next group. These people had been recruited from the mining towns of Phoenixville, Manch, Chunk, Hazelton, Yeddo, Schamokin, Mount Carmel and Tamayna in Pennsylvania, and had long been ready to leave.³⁷ The summer was already over, and the Canadian immigration authorities had not issued final instructions. By 1 October, Esterházy's immigrants refused to wait any longer and proceeded to Toronto on their way to the West.³⁸ He himself hurried to Ottawa and addressed a memorandum to the Government requesting a loan for the establishment of this group of settlers,³⁹ but without success.

Although he had influential political backing, no financial assistance could be arranged.⁴⁰ He left for Winnipeg, hoping to quarter these 130 men with the Esterházy colony for the winter, but "the misfortunes of Job" seemed to follow him. A few days before his arrival a prairie fire had so damaged the buildings of that colony that it was out of the question to winter the group there.⁴¹

³² See Dept. of Agric., No. 52,774.

³³ *Ibid.*, Box No. 30, p. 18.

³⁴ Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 12) An. 1887, pp. 237-240.

³⁵ Gen. corresp., Dept. of Agric., No. 54,442.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 54,088.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 55,028.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 55,417.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 55,534.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Book No. 31, pp. 186-187.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 55,881.

The energy with which the Count could overcome the hardest tasks did not fail him at this time. Before the men were aware what a rash step they had taken in leaving for the West so late in the season, the Count had arranged with Moore & Co., of Winnipeg, a contract by which these men could find employment in the firm's mine near Medicine Hat for the winter season. This he thought would provide for them until the spring, when they would be able to take up their homesteads. Esterházy now returned to the United States to continue his work.⁴²

Two weeks after Esterházy left the North-West, the contractors in whose charge the men had been left at the coal mine refused to abide by the agreement, raised the price of food and sought to take every advantage of these men, by methods all too common in the West at that time. Before Esterházy could take any step to remedy matters, the men left the coal mine in disgust. They returned to the immigrant shed at Medicine Hat in a half-starved condition and with no hope of getting work or food. After a lengthy correspondence the Department was forced, through fear of publicity in the opposition papers, with consequent injury to immigration, to supply food to the men.⁴³

The success of colonisation in the West at this time was not due to the efforts of the agents of the Government or of the land companies. These paid officials, living at the expense of the taxpayers, were much more interested in the success of their political organisations. This political clique upon whose reports and advice the administration had to rely and upon whose judgments the progress of the various settlement was rated in Ottawa, classified the people by their willingness to support a particular political organisation, and in some cases to patronise businesses of which the officials were the virtual, if not the nominal, owners.

Agents born in England praised settlers from Scandinavian countries who willingly lent them their support, and were critical of the English colonists for their independent and individualistic views. The success of the more capable individual could not be prevented, but all those requiring assistance from the Department or the Railway had to make peace with these politicians or suffer unendurable hardships.

Count Esterházy travelled to and fro, giving interviews and obtaining publicity, finding employment without requiring the assistance of the Dominion agents, giving directions without con-

⁴² *Ibid.*, No. 56,041.

⁴³ In these cases there was a lengthy correspondence between the agents who handled these immigrants in the sheds at Medicine Hat, Brandon and Winnipeg, and the Department.

sulting the clique. Esterházy's success created jealousy in the ranks of all those who looked upon the western territory as their "kingdom," from which the intruder must be banished.

To the hardships and difficulties arising from having to keep 130 Hungarians in the West until some work could be provided for them, another trouble was added in the East.⁴⁴ A few men and women, intending colonists, who had arrived during the winter of 1886-7 from Hungary, having been exploited by unscrupulous agents in Hamburg and robbed of their last cent, arrived in Montreal in a destitute condition.⁴⁵ The unfavourable reports emanating from the West, combined with these eastern difficulties, aroused the opposition of the Hon. John Carling, the new Minister of Agriculture, to the Esterházy projects. The only man who saw clearly how matters stood was Mr. John Law, Secretary to the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Law, having been in the Department many years, knew how much money had been wasted on barren immigration propaganda and he could properly appreciate the value of Esterházy's work, but he was powerless against the force which influenced Mr. Carling.⁴⁶

Largely owing to the influences of the western clique, on 21 January, 1887, the Minister informed Esterházy that after three months his services would no longer be required.⁴⁷

The severing of the connection with Esterházy did not portend the cessation of immigration from Austria-Hungary; rather the opposite. The real success of the experiment led to the extension of colonisation efforts in this area. It is true that Esterházy's method was too expensive and had resulted in very little profitable business for the railway and shipping interests, but he had accomplished the first and hardest part: he had laid the groundwork of the movement. "The Moor had done his work, the Moor could go." A new method had to be contrived which would not involve the Government in direct expenditure and would at the same time be more profitable for rail and shipping interests.

The stream of immigration of South-East Europeans found its way to the North-West Territories, and Canada became known in Austria-Hungary as a suitable field for settlement.

Theodore Zboray was chosen by the Allan Line and the Canadian Pacific Railway to go to Hungary and win settlers for

⁴⁴ The truth of this statement is clearly substantiated by the reports and correspondence from the Winnipeg agents of the Department of Agriculture and of the Interior of Ottawa.

⁴⁵ Dept. of Agric., correspondence between the agents in Montreal and the Department, 1 December, 1886, to January, 1887.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Book No. 53, pp. 212-16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Book 32, p. 148.

Canada. The Department of Agriculture, influenced by these interests, decided to contribute its share.

Zboray left on 7 May, 1888, for Europe, only to be arrested in his native country for conducting emigration propaganda, and he had to return to Canada without a single immigrant except his sister, whose fare had to be paid by the Government.

Count Esterházy, though no longer a salaried agent of the Canadian Government,⁴⁸ was so encouraged by the success of his efforts in the settlement of his people that he continued his work in the United States. Through his efforts, which were later recognised by the Department, a steady flow of Magyars, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Germans, Croats, and other races of Austria-Hungary, from the United States, as well as from Europe, poured into the Canadian West.

Had it not been for the triumph of the hostile political group in the West, which, between 1886-90, overlooked the damage being done by those in charge of the colony of Esterházy, the rapid development would have taken much larger dimensions.

By the end of 1891 the settlers of the "Hun Valley," "Esterházy," and the small Bohemian settlement of "Nove Cechy," had paid off all the debts incurred in former years, and were so healthy and prosperous that in the report of the Department of the Interior they were described as the most successful settlers of the West.⁴⁹ It was thus quite an easy matter for the Department of the Interior, when, in 1892, the Immigration Department was transferred to it, to induce the Ruthenes to emigrate here. Esterházy's call and the encouraging letters from the pioneers had borne fruit, and the shipping agents had only to reap the harvest.

All the immigration and colonisation efforts of the Canadian Government would have been in vain but for the individual leadership of such a man as Count Paul Esterházy, who just as Moses once led the children of Israel to the land of milk and honey, revealed to the people of South-East Europe the promised land of the Canadian West.

ANDREW A. MARCHBIN.

⁴⁸ It should be mentioned that Esterházy during his engagement with the Department received the small salary of \$70 per month and travelling expenses. It is also true that his financial position was so bad during the term of his engagement by the Canadian Government that he was obliged to sell his literary works in order to keep up appearances. While he accomplished a great deal but received very little for his work, his enemies thought that he was making money through his connections with the Department; and not only his American associates, but even those who had benefited through his connections with the Canadian Government, were his enemies.

⁴⁹ See report for 1891 in Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 7) An. 1892, pp. 200-201. At this time two post offices had been established, one at Kaposvár and one at Esterházy.

UKRAINIAN POETRY IN CANADA

THE Ukrainians form the fourth largest racial constituent in the polyglot population of Canada. Only the Anglo-Saxon, French, and German groups are numerically superior to them. Heavy Ukrainian immigration, chiefly into the sub-Siberian prairies of the Canadian West, began about the beginning of this century; and today they number at least 250,000.

That such settlers would make any impact on the cultural life of Canada was not anticipated by the older racial communities. The tendency was to look down, contemptuously or condescendingly, on these newcomers, mostly of illiterate peasant stock, who divided their lives between the grinding penury of frontier pioneering and the heavy toil of the lumber-camp, the mine, and the railway construction gang. More recently, grudging recognition has been given to their success in building up prosperous farms and villages, in breaking into the professions, and even in entering public life. The legal requirements of universal education have brought the second generation into Canadian schools, and ambition has led them on into creditable performances in the universities. The prospect of their speedy assimilation to the ways of the English-speaking majority is reassuring to the complacency of that dominant group.

Cultural activities of no mean order have, however, been developed by this quarter million of Ukrainian-Canadians, and that mostly in the tradition of their own language and race. Unheeded by the Anglo-Canadian, they have tenaciously cultivated their handicrafts, music, ballet, drama, fiction, and poetry; for their leaders are firm in their resolution to preserve their legacy of national culture. There is, to be sure, little disposition to work for a Little Ukraine in Canada; any such political dreams of an *imperium in imperio* have long since been relinquished in favour of full participation in Canadian life; but they feel, with perfect justice, that the traditions of English culture are only one version of the Occidental spirit and that their own nation has a distinct contribution to make.

It is the purpose of this article to survey (for the first time in the English language) one limited phase of this cultural activity, namely, the poetry in the Ukrainian language that has thus far been published in Canada.

However inarticulate the Ukrainians may have been on their arrival, they did not long remain so. Newspapers printed in Ukrainian sprang up, especially in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton, and became—as they still remain—the chief medium

merited popularity that the book was in its fourth edition by 1927 and has sold over 50,000 copies. So long as the Ukrainian language is spoken in Canada, there is certain to be a steady demand for such a genuinely human document.

• The following extract, a rendering into English ballad-measure of the opening stanzas of his "Pisnya Druha," will indicate the general nature of his work.¹

A wanderer here in Winnipeg,
I sadly celebrate
The first sweet Easter since I came
To find a migrant's fate.

All early on the Sunday morn
The holy bells resound :
" Christ is arisen ! " is their cry ;
And still the word goes round.

But when I look for Easter-bread,
My heart sinks down bereft ;
For ah, they know not Easter-bread
As in the land I left.

This Canada, this " land of wealth,"
Has lost one true delight :
The bread of rich and poor alike
Is all one ghastly white.

And so the poor folk cannot tell
Mere bread from Easter-bread—
It was not so in that far land
Where sleep my father's dead.

Fedik is still alive, and has his home in the city of Winnipeg ; but his poetic days are long since over. Labour and hardships have made him, at 60, a tottering, palsied, white-haired ancient, displaying in his manner something of the distinction of a retired general, yet evidently a mere ghost of the poet of 1911.

Back at that time, his most important poetic contemporary was Vasil Kudrik, whose *Spring* (*Vesna*), a volume of 128 pages, was likewise published in Winnipeg in 1911. Kudrik shows a much wider range both in craftsmanship and subject-matter. Less than one-

¹ *Note*.—This, and all other quotations in this article, are translated from the Ukrainian by Watson Kirkconnell.

third of his book deals with immigrant experiences, told in kolomyika-measure. In the rest of his volume he roams through a variety of metres and over such miscellaneous themes as history, politics, criticism, dreams, friendship, and nature. One feels in Kudrik potentialities not fully realised. He just falls short of creating first-class poetry; yet the root of the matter is in him. A short lyric entitled "The Dream" is a fair sample:—

Night . . . and in the south Diana,
 Mounting higher,
 Touched the river's crystal levels
 White with fire.

Silver radiance gemmed the tree-tops
 More and more;
 Half in light and half in shadow
 Lay the shore.

Softly down the bedded garden
 Slept the flowers,
 Peaceful dreams upon us brooded
 Through the hours.

Hearts that once were born to hatred
 For their foes
 Laid aside their bitter sickness,
 Soothed their wocs.

Still they dreamt of human welfare
 Glad and free;
 Loving, now, they pledged their foemen
 Amity.

Trembling, fain to grasp that concord's
 Joy supreme,
 I awoke—and found its beauty
 But a dream.

Still other poets of the pre-war generation were Semen Kovbel, better known as a playwright, Vasil K. Holovatsky, editor and part author of a small volume of *Workers' Songs* (Robitnichi Pismi, Winnipeg, 1911), Dmitro Raragovsky, another contributor to the same work, and Pavlo Krat, now a clergyman in Toronto.

The second category (the post-war poets of Ukrainian upbringing) shows a greater proportion of intelligentsia as compared with the pre-war days. From 1900 to 1914, the Canadian Government

had brought in large groups of peasants to settle marginal lands. From 1919 on, the unhappy collapse of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Europe led to an exodus of educated émigrés; and of these Canada received her share. They brought with them a greater measure of spiritual ferment, a more vivid sense of Ukrainian historical grievances, and a more self-conscious awareness of the Ukrainian attitude to the soil and to life. Many of this class have not yet adjusted themselves to the new country; some will never be able to do so; and it is a serious question whether the accident that such men write poetry in Canada really justifies their inclusion among Ukrainian-Canadian poets. Inasmuch, however, as many of them, through force of circumstances, are now farming Canadian soil and some are gradually ceasing to regard Canada as a very temporary boarding-house while awaiting a revolution in Eastern Europe, we may perhaps accept them here as incipient Canadians.

The chief names in this post-war generation are those of Vasil Babienko, P. B. Chaikovsky, Ivan Kmeta-Efimovich, Volodimir Kupchenko, Mikhailo Kumka, Katrya Novosad, Joseph Sayek, V. Tulevitiv, and T. D. Volohatyuke. The following poem by Katrya Novosad is a sort of seed-time incantation, indicative of a deep devotion to the soil:—

Rise into life, O wheat, in the springtime,
 Rise in this holy new year!
 Quicken, O field, the fair grain that we love so,
 Fill out its full, stalwart ear!

Rise into life, O wheat, in the springtime,
 Rise in our well-belov'd field!
 Pure you were sown, without cockle or danel;
 Ample and pure be your yield!

Then when the cutters come forth to the reaping,
 Swinging their sickles of gold,
 Songs shall resound in the field that we love so,
 Love-songs that never grow old.

Chantings of joy shall break forth at the harvest,
 Grateful and glad for the grain
 Sown by our race in the fields that we love
 And ripen'd to harvest again.

Most interesting of all, however, is the group of young poets, educated in Canadian schools and universities, who consciously regard themselves as Canadians yet are deliberately seeking to create

a Canadian literature in the Ukrainian language. Such writers are equally at home in English and in Ukrainian; they are widely read in the tradition of English poetry; but they do not wish to be mere literary step-children of that tradition. They feel that their spiritual roots are in the Ukrainian past and must remain unsevered if their poetry is to achieve successful fruition; but they wish to engraft on their poetry whatever force or inspiration may be available in their new country.

The two most important members of this group are Ivan Danilchuk (born 1901) and Onufry Ivakh (born 1900), two young alumni of the University of Saskatchewan, who are now teachers in Saskatoon and in Winnipeg, respectively. Danilchuk, in his first volume of poetry, *Day Dawns* (Svitaye Den, Winnipeg, 1929, pp. 55), sets forth his ideals in an illuminating preface:—

“The Canadian prairies make golden a sea of wheat-ears; they sway in the breath of the wind and with their rippling they sing a new song. Where a few decades ago summer nourished countless herds of shaggy buffaloes, where the red-skinned Indians roamed, there today the wheat surges in golden waves, surges and whispers a new tale, waiting for the great singer who may understand it and exalt it in mighty song.

“The Canadian Walt Whitman has not yet arrived. The sound of the golden sea has entered into our hearts, bringing yearnings of supreme beauty and radiance. It incites us to sing, but it has not betrayed its secret, for it speaks the Indian language. The Ukrainian prairies gave us our souls, but the Canadian prairies have stirred us up to sing. These influences have united, and we do not grasp them; in the sound of the storm we hear tales of Hiawatha, and in dreams we see Zaporogian Perebrynys. We sing, and our strange songs, in which we cannot match tones of equal force, are not wholly akin either to the golden Canadian prairies which have reared and inspired us or to the Ukrainian prairies from which we derive our spiritual past.

“Thus the expression of our poetry has been shaped among the sounds of the prairie sea of wheat. It has been spontaneous and without encouragement. We have not been merged in the literature round about us. The sound of literary enterprises has poured in upon us from New York, Kiev, Copenhagen and Paris, but it has been mere sound and nothing more. We have been impelled by our own inner impulses to unravel the meaning of this land in which we live. Therefore we say to capricious modern critics: Our reason tells us what the radios sing across the Canadian prairies and what the farmers undertake with their Fordson tractors, but our hearts see only the glory of the golden sea.

“The Canadian prairies grow golden and wait for the arrival of the prairie Sandburg. We sing, and listen to see whether he be still far off.”

There is a refreshing spontaneity about Danilchuk's verse. Although he is guilty of occasional flaws of over-sentimental fancy, one feels that he possesses genuine poetic power and is steadily maturing in thought and utterance. A fair example of his work, for good and ill, is the short title-poem of the above-mentioned volume —

Over the silent sea of shoreless green
The sun arises, radiant and serene,
And wakens music, ravishingly sweet,
Drawn from the whispering lute-strings of the wheat.
Erect in silken dress, the bearded elves
In dewy basons gaily wash themselves
With cheerful countenance. . . .

Watching the lord of light flood all the sky
With magic from the splendour of his eye,
I feel all sorrow from my soul is gone,
Here on the shining prairie, at the dawn.

Onufry Ivakh, who has been intimately associated with Danilchuk for many years, is at once more erudite and more mechanical in his poetry. He is easily the most learned of all the Ukrainian-Canadian poets. He has published long philosophical poems, long verse-narratives on Ukrainian history, lyrics, short stories, critical essays, and a volume of verse-translations. The following lyric, written in the so-called "epic foot" of five syllables, is an echo of "old, unhappy, far-off things" in the Ukrainian homeland :—

The cherry-bloom falls
On the highway dun,
And a mother yearns
For her prison'd son.

The willow-tree droops,
And the river sighs,
And a girl weeps low
Where her lover lies.

The peewit cries low
O'er her rifled nest
And the widow's son
In the earth at rest.

The periwinkle grows
A green living wreath
Where the heroes lie
In the earth beneath.

Other members of this newer poetic group are (i) Tetyana Kroitor, a young widow teaching in a school at Calder, Saskatchewan; (ii) Michael Stechishin, a young lawyer in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; and (iii) Elias Kiriak, a school teacher in Vilna, Alberta.

To some critics the value of all this poetic activity may seem very dubious. No poet of the first rank has yet emerged; and unless there are continual reinforcements of new immigrant stock, it is overwhelmingly probable that Ukrainian will have ceased to be written and spoken in Canada before another fifty years have gone by. Nevertheless, much of the verse already written does possess absolute poetic value, and is thus self-justified. Had these poets elected to write in English, it is unlikely that they would have been worth reading. And finally, we have in this work a spontaneous, moving, and profoundly illuminating portrayal of the emotional and intellectual reactions involved in a great modern migration of peoples into the midst of a strange land and an alien culture. Centuries hence, Ukrainian-Canadian poetry will be treasured as a record of human experience.

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JOVAN JOVANOVIĆ ZMAJ, 1833-1933

It was a hundred years ago last December that the most popular, if not perhaps the greatest, Serbo-Croat poet was born. In preparing a celebration of his centenary his immediate compatriots of the Vojvodina, who are most familiar with the poet's ideas, thought of it as a national fête in which almost all classes of society among both Serbs and Croats could be brought together, and therefore they spoke of the Zmaj centenary very much as the Germans spoke of Goethe's centenary of a year before. However, Zmaj's well-intentioned compatriots were disappointed; it became clear that the poet of uncompromising liberalism was out of fashion in a year of Bolshevism, Fascism and National-Socialism, when the *Duce* and the *Führer* were more popular than Dante and Goethe. All that this centenary brought was an unfinished edition of the poet's collected works; a first attempt to give readers the complete works of a man who for nearly forty years edited periodicals of which he was often also the proprietor.

I

Jovan Jovanović, in order to distinguish himself from other Jovan Jovanovićs, of whom there are many among the Serbs, added to his name the title of his best satirical paper, *Zmaj* (dragon). He was born during the reign of Francis I, some time before that sovereign had given his liberal-minded heir the advice to *change nothing* in the State which he and his most trusted "servant and friend" Metternich had organised. The poet was born on 7 December, 1833, in the south of Hungary, in a province which, contrary to the wishes of Francis and Ferdinand, had experienced many fundamental changes during the past century. Up to 1848 it formed part of the Crown of St. Stephen, and from 1848 to 1860 it was a separate "Serbian Duchy" (Srpska Vojvodina), of which Francis Joseph was Grand Duke. After a few years of provisional government it was incorporated with Hungary until, in 1918, it was once more separated in order to seek its fortune within the frontiers of Yugoslavia. Although this province, even today, does not constitute a separate administrative unit, it nevertheless possesses its own cultural and economic features; it has its own name, the *Vojvodina*, and its own centre of culture at Novi Sad.

Jovanović was born into the highest society of this city, which was formerly the cultural centre of the "Homeless Serbs," and which from 1748 had enjoyed the privilege of being a "Royal free

city" His earliest known ancestor in the male line was either a Greek or hellenised Aromun merchant and, since 1767, *civis* of Novi Sad. All the poet's ancestors in the female line were of Serbian stock, and thus the tradition of his Greek forbears had never reached him. These "Greeks from Macedonia" were particularly able merchants; his great-grandfather, after a successful commercial career, left a comfortable property in 1787, and had provided for his son, the poet's grandfather, to attend schools and learn Latin and German. It appears, however, that this kind of education unfitted him for commerce, for, having obtained the *litteras armales* of a nobleman, he lost all his property and became a stipendiary magistrate. This career was also adopted by the poet's father, who was first a lawyer, then a senator of Novi Sad, and finally a sheriff. Following his father's wish, the poet followed the same path; he completed the usual course at a Lycée, studied law at Vienna, Pest and Prague, and became vice-notary of the magistracy at Novi Sad.

II

It was his kind and happy father that the poet had to thank for a joyous childhood. It was perhaps because of this happy youth that, as a poet, he was not very profound, but without it the human side of his literary work cannot be explained. More important than his ancestry was the fact that he belonged by birth to a very interesting generation of the Yugoslav intelligentsia. It is not difficult to describe this generation, at least as it appeared in the *Vojvodina*. While the preceding generation had regarded the great French Revolution and the July Revolution as events strange to them, the new generation, which began to express itself between 1842 and 1846, saw in Danton and Saint Just its ancestors and models. It knew of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and it accepted the slogan of liberty, equality, and fraternity. They were mostly jurists and all were interested more in natural right than in the positive right which is so unsuitable to a people without a State of their own. Because this generation was on the offensive, it wished for a change and a new order. The previous generation was a dumb witness of events and changes; it had studied at school little more than languages and grammar: Latin, German, Church-Slavonic, Hungarian. By reason of the changes which the *Vojvodina* had experienced, it had used officially all four languages, while clinging feverishly to its official posts. The new generation, on the other hand, was interested in political science and sociology, and was consequently indifferent to questions of grammar and spelling.

Its members entered the government service only when such a step was in harmony with their principles, but gave it up as soon as it interfered with their convictions

The leader and idol of the new generation was Svetozar Miletić¹ His strong sense of logic, his fighting spirit, and above all his mode of life, made him their mouthpiece and champion. They also made the best of the young men follow him with complete confidence, and no one was more devoted to him than the poet Jovanović, about eight years his junior, who justly called himself the Homer of the Yugoslav Achilles—Miletić

Miletić and Jovanović met in 1852, in Vienna, where each had studied law, but Miletić was eight years older and had taken part in the revolution of 1848, in which he had several times risked his life. Dissatisfied with its results, he took up a course of law in order to prepare himself for a struggle in the constitutional field. Jovanović only registered at the Faculty of Law, but studied no legal subjects; he was interested more in the manuscripts of his first poems. Although shy, he showed them to Miletić who, being pedagogically disposed, and wanting to use every talented man in the service of the poor, read the manuscript carefully, and thus discovered in Jovanović a gift for poetry. Nevertheless, he advised him to study in order to further his general education and his sense of beauty.

Later on, the poet was to follow the advice of the national tribune in everything; at the moment he did not do so. Jovanović was not keen on study, but he liked to lead the life of a joyous and care-free undergraduate. In this he no doubt followed the example of Branko Radičević, his model in the art of poetry, who had spent ten years as an undergraduate, and died as such. Jovanović, too, spent many terms at the university without passing any examination, sitting most of his time in the cafés, up till the death of his father. At one time the philistine group of students regarded him as having gone to the dogs, but his gift for poetry and his second meeting with Miletić saved him in time, for he realised then that he was henceforth to serve his people and liberty.

The politician and the poet met again, probably in 1857, or perhaps in 1858, at Novi Sad. Encouraged by Miletić, Jovanović already began in 1852 to publish his poems in various periodicals. In 1858 he had the reputation of being the foremost Serbian lyric poet. He was then the author of the first serious "Programmdichtung" expounding his view that art was not an idle play, but an

¹ See *The Slavonic Review*, Vol. V, p. 106.

instrument of national service According to this poem, the source of poetry lies in the strong feelings of the poet, and its object should be to murmur like a brook, to wash away uncleanness from human souls, to satisfy those who hunger and thirst for beauty, light and justice. Afterwards, he sang more often of wine and drinking, of the East, like Goethe and Bodenstedt, of the young Icarians who, because they possess uncountable wealth, raise head and heart towards Heaven and ask God whether He has need of anything. And, of course, he sang of youthful feelings of love, of amorous couples conversing with each other by means of deep sighs which, passing from one lover to the other, experience several metempsychoses : a hyacinth absorbs them, then a nightingale sips them from its flower, becomes intoxicated and expresses its own sighs in a song which only those who are in love are able to understand.

Describing such mysteries of the human heart in light verse, Jovanović had a good reputation, both among Serbs and Croats. His fame, however, was to rise much higher after Magenta and Solferino, when Bach's dictatorial régime was overthrown and Francis Joseph promised to rule constitutionally.

In 1861 the poet Jovanović began to co-operate closely with the politician Miletić. From that time onwards, the politician almost uninterruptedly edited a political journal, while the poet edited a humorous periodical. The aim was identical : freedom The difference was in the weapon used The freedom was that of conscience, consequently both were anti-clerical, and the party that gathered round them was equally so Otherwise it appears that in their religious programme there was nothing positive. The period of deism was over, and materialism had not yet reached the Serbo-Croats. The Church was expected only to help in the national revival and to assist the national culture ; nothing more.

National liberation, the freedom of the Balkan peoples, a federal Austria, an " Eastern Switzerland " : these were the ideals that moved to action both the politician and the poet, as well as all their numerous collaborators. And when the Germans and the Hungarians, by the *Ausgleich* of 1867, rejected those ideals, Miletić and Jovanović pronounced the death penalty on the Dual Monarchy, declaring that they expected nothing from it, but everything from a " European conflict." For the conflict itself, which none of them lived to see, they were not waiting with folded arms, but were preparing something that was very similar to the present " Little Entente " : an alliance of the " degraded and oppressed " in the whole Monarchy.

To realise an alliance with the Croats, both Miletić and Jovanović were highly qualified. Croatia had never perhaps sent to the Hungarian Parliament at Budapest a more able representative than Miletić, who stood bravely for her interests in 1866 and afterwards. In 1854 Jovanović began to collaborate in Croatian periodicals, and continued to do so until his death. When Croat blood was shed in the fight with Hungarian soldiers Jovanović stirred up the feelings of the Croats by a patriotic song which was greatly valued in Croatia. He was at that time, more than anyone else, the common poet of the Serbs and Croats.

Miletić and Jovanović also collaborated with the Roumanians, and it was due to their efforts that, in 1869, at their congress at Temesvár, the Roumanians undertook "to support the Serbo-Croat national opposition party on the question of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia."

In 1869 the "Little Entente" was, indeed, not complete, although the Carpathian Ruthenes, represented by Dobransky, were among its members; for the Slovaks were unable to send any of their representatives to Budapest as defenders of their nationality. This, however, did not mean that they were defenceless, for it was Miletić and Jovanović who defended them, the former by his interpellations in Parliament, and the latter by many poems on the sad fate of the Slovaks, written for the Serbo-Croat public.

If we add that Miletić and Jovanović conceived the liberation of the Balkan peoples as a federal republic, then the ideal which they so zealously served is perhaps sufficiently defined. Meanwhile, in Austria, as elsewhere, secret funds were actively used, and the humorous paper *Komarac* (*The Mosquito*), of which he had been editor, but not proprietor, for nearly two years, was bought up in 1863, with the result that it now turned against its editor and his policy. Profiting by this experience, the poet started in the following year a new humorous paper called *Zmaj* (*The Dragon*)—hence his nickname—of which he was both editor and proprietor. For eight years this periodical published Jovanović's numerous chronicles in verse, which were full of wit and rhetoric, in the best meaning of those words. Later on the poet became editor of yet another humorous periodical, the *Starmali* (*The Precocious*), for twelve years, but this period was not so happy as that in which he had collaborated with Miletić. These years, from 1878 to 1889, followed upon the Congress of Berlin, which for Miletić was a personal and political *débâcle*; consequently his Liberal party began to disintegrate. First imprisoned for three and a half years, then seriously

ill, Miletić was no longer the national leader. There remained, however, the poet who had learned to write poems on the dreams and desires of a people resigned to its fate. He remained alone, and he tried both to save the programme and the party that was breaking up, and to bring about harmony between the semi-socialistic new generation and the old liberalism. When this proved impossible, the poet became estranged from his former friends and followed the current, in the belief that he would thus better serve the freedom he had loved from his childhood. He died on 14 June, 1904. He was then a member of the governing body of the Radical party in the Vojvodina.

III

At the very outset of his political career the poet learned to listen to a recital of his failings. The great Slav scholar Jagić wrote in 1866 that it was a great pity that so gifted a poet should be pre-occupied with humour, for otherwise literature would have benefited more greatly. Later on Laza Kostić, a friend of the poet, and a well-known propagator of Shakespeare among the Yugoslavs, regretted that in this case, as in the second poem of the Iliad, the "dragon" (Zmaj) had swallowed the bird: the politician had swallowed the lyric poet.

It is time that, thirty years after the poet's death, someone should speak as a historian, asking not what would have become of him under different circumstances, but how he fulfilled the mission entrusted to him by his *δαίμονιον* and what he did where he was placed, as by Plato's Socrates, *ὅτι τασσομενος*.

If the question be put thus, then the answer is to the poet's honour. As a lyric poet also Jovanović holds a high place in Yugoslav literature. He has his own book, containing the poems of love and death, *Djulići* and *Djulići uveoci* (*Roses* and *Withered Roses*). In the love songs he does not deal with passion, but with love as conceived by pure-minded people in their family circles: the love that he writes about is the love of a young man for a girl who is to become his wife. His attitude toward love was the same in his private life; on 5 December, 1861, he wrote to his Rose the first letter which, in a very discreet manner, told her of his love and, should it meet with her approval, also of his desire to marry her; and already on 14 January, 1862, they were married. In his book on love and death, Jovanović describes the happiness and misfortunes of his family. Naturally, happiness comes first: love for his kind wife and for his sons, who are to avenge Kosovo and witness the liberation of his enslaved people. After the death of his beloved

wife and of all his five children, he brought into his Elyseum also the memory of his father and mother; then of a distant relative who in his childhood had entertained him with folk-tales and popular ballads; and also of his only sister, who died in exile in 1849.

Jovanović therefore said his say on that mystery of love and death which always veils human life. At a later date, on the occasion of the death of his great friend Djura Jakšić—another distinguished Serbian poet—he wrote the verses *Svetli grobovi*, by which he showed once for all the heritage of generations and the value of their efforts to posterity.

Jovanović not only transformed his family happiness into poetry; he, a rationalist, made loaves for his people out of the stones which Fate threw at him. Visiting the graves of his children, it seemed to him that he heard them tell him that his love for them should be transferred to all the children of his people, and Jovanović has been the best friend of Serbo-Croat children for the last sixty years. All of us have passed through the school of his children's paper; and all of us have received from him our first education, as the French received it from the Fables of La Fontaine. All criticism of the songs which Jovanović has written for children and about them has proved futile.

However, the hypercritical Serbs, judging Jovanović in comparison with the European masters, do not consider him a great poet. They think that he relied too much upon his gift, which he did not perfect by careful theoretical study, and that he wrote too easily and too much.

Jovanović spoke of himself as a dilettante in literature. None among the Serbo-Croats of his day could live by writing, and this still holds good. Jovanović, when a married man, began to study again, and completed a course in medicine. He depended for his living more on his medical practice than on his prolific writing. Not until he was nearly sixty, in 1892, did the Serbian Skupština vote a pension to make his old age easier.

In saying that, when an undergraduate, Jovanović did not care for study we have also admitted the failing of the middle-aged Jovanović. He did not possess the gifts of a Goethe to perfect his personality into a rare example to humanity, and further, he neither sought nor found that competent literary culture which would raise higher the formal value of his works. With his natural gifts he threw himself into the service of his people, propagating a love for schools and enlightenment, advocating physical cleanliness, the growing of fruit, the formation of agricultural co-operative societies;

in one word, advocating everything necessary to a backward southern people.

But, the defect in artistic culture being admitted, it should be added that it was no drawback for Jovanović to have written—besides his lyric poetry and children's songs—the patriotic and even partisan songs; on the contrary, this was a gain to his work, for in writing such songs he performed the honourable duty of a citizen and a good son of his people and his time. A pure-blooded Liberal, he always demanded the equality of all people, and trod on the poisonous flower that grew "on the rubbish heap of chauvinism." Moreover, for his service to the ideas of humanity he was rewarded by persecution on the part of the State authorities—a fact so far scarcely recognised.

Having always been in the front ranks of Miletić's party, he was able to furnish his people with a regular chronicle in verse of all the events that took place between 1860 and 1900. Of this chronicle it cannot be said that it was painted with the party brush, for from 1872 onwards the whole Serbian people of the Vojvodina belonged to the party of Miletić and Jovanović.

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that Jovanović was very active also as a translator of verse. Among other poems he translated Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*. The Serbs have commented much on the value of his translations, but the whole question of translation is still an open one. Benedetto Croce has endeavoured to solve it by a witty comparison: the translation of verse, like a woman, is either faithful or beautiful. Jovanović aimed at beauty; his chief object was that a translated song should remain a song that would carry the reader away, and whether such a song should be regarded as the author's or the translator's was for him immaterial.

If, therefore, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj lacks the stature of a Victor Hugo, he is nevertheless a big figure among the Serb-Croats, a figure out of a period when this people prepared and fought for independence, and he is in no way to blame for the fact that a flower is always more beautiful than its fruit or seed.

VASA STAJIĆ.

LANGUAGE AS A FACTOR IN POLISH NATIONALISM

POLAND began to emerge as a nationality at the moment she ceased to exist as a nation.¹ Nowhere in history has been demonstrated more strikingly the truth of Professor Toynbee's observation that "the awakening of the national idea is usually the result of compulsion."² Out of the agonising compulsion of the Partitions was born among the Polish gentry a "will to live" that raised them for the first time from a mere national group to the level of a nationality. From gentry to peasantry ran that impulse, creating in spite of dispersion and captivity a Polish national consciousness. The paradox of a nationality arising upon the ruins of a nation has cast a romantic glow over the Polish renaissance of the 19th century.

In pre-Partition Poland a true nationality did not exist. A nationality is, according to Professor Hayes, "a people who speak the same language, or closely related dialects, cherish a common tradition, and constitute, or think they constitute, a distinct cultural society."³ But in Poland before the 19th century only about a tenth of the population, the gentry or *szlachta*, felt the stirrings of even an embryonic national consciousness.

Neither did the Poles "cherish a common tradition" The time-honoured tradition of the gentry was to rule, to maintain its God-given supremacy, and to preserve its "golden freedom" even at the expense of the State. The peasantry, moreover, were from their very origins cut off from participation in the cultural heritage of the State. Only in their common devotion to the Roman Catholic Church did all classes find a cultural bond of union, but this alone was not sufficient to break down the barriers of birth and breeding that made Poland a State without a national consciousness.

Neither did the Polish people "constitute, or think they constituted, a distinct cultural society." The gentry alone felt that mystical sense of belonging together which is the clearest token of national

¹ The author's thesis as expressed by the opening sentence might easily be debated; its development, however, in the course of the article applies the generalisation more narrowly to the social conditions of the closing centuries of the old Poland. It would lose much of its sharpness if the earlier centuries had been taken more into account, when the peasants had more freedom and the nobles fewer privileges. The subsistence of this national feeling despite later social inequalities is, perhaps, another thesis, complementary to that which the author so interestingly presents.—ED.

² Toynbee, A. J., *Nationality and the War*, p. 283.

³ Hayes, C. J. H., *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 5.

consciousness. The old Polish Republic did contain, then, a "distinct cultural society," but it was confined to a single class. That class alone felt a responsibility for its preservation and bore arms in its defence. In such an atmosphere of exclusiveness the Polish race could not achieve nationality.

There were, however, certain forces that never ceased to operate throughout Polish history toward the creation of a national consciousness. Among these forces was the bond of a common language, the requirement for nationhood which Professor Hayes places first in importance. The Polish race possessed from the beginning a distinct language of its own.

Early, then, the ancestors of the Polish race were bound together by language, and at the same time set apart from their neighbours by the same sign. Language accomplished at the beginning of Polish history what geography left undone.

In the 10th century Latin culture reached Poland through missionaries of the Christian Church. From that time until the 16th century Polish and Latin existed side by side,⁴ Latin as the language of the written word, of the schools and of the Church, Polish the language of common parlance among all classes of people. Even the Church, that strong bulwark of the Latin tradition, became through necessity bilingual in order to accomplish its mission. Priests who wrote their sermons in Latin were forced to preach them in Polish. Songs of native origin like the Bogurodzica, of which we shall speak later, were introduced into the service of the Church in order that the worshippers themselves might have a part in the service. In the 14th century much encouragement was given to the native Slavonic tongue by the Benedictines,⁵ whom Queen Jadwiga had established near Kleparz, and whom she told to recite their daily service in the Polish language. In her desire to enlighten her adopted people, Jadwiga ordered a translation of the Scriptures into Polish and encouraged the use of Polish in parts of the worship. These influences, though scarcely tangible, constituted one of those hidden forces that were steadily preparing the vernacular, which at first accommodated itself with difficulty to the Latin alphabet, to become the literary medium of the national spirit in the 16th century.

By the 14th century the Polish language came to symbolise the Polish cause. As long as German and Pole had fought side by side under the universal banner of the Christian Church against their common enemy the pagan Lithuanians, it made very little difference

⁴ Brückner, Aleksander, *Dzieje języka polskiego*, 1925, p. 242.

⁵ Kellogg, Charlotte, *Jadwiga, Poland's Great Queen*, p. 250.

what language each spoke. But by the 14th century German and Pole, having despaired of Christianising the Lithuanians by force, were flying at each other's throats and the native language of each had come to symbolise the national cause of each. We read in Bielski's *Kronika Polska* how the Master of the Knights of the Cross haughtily rebuffed the chaplain of a Polish monastery who begged him to spare the holy spot, with the retort, "I do not understand Polish,"⁶ whereupon, inflated with Teutonic superiority, he set furiously upon the Polish shrine!

By the time the Hundred Years' War between the Poles and the Teutonic knights was in full swing, the Polish knight hurled himself into battle with a song on his lips that had its roots in the very earth of his native land:—

"Mother of God, Thou Virgin,
Blessed of Heaven, Thou Mary,
Gain from Thy Son, our kind Ruler,
Thou chosen Mother, Mary,
Gain absolution from sin for us,
Kyrie eleison.

For Thy Baptiser's sake, dear Lord,
List to our words, and fill all our thoughts,
Hear now the prayer that we bring,
Grant what we seek,
On earth a godly sojourn,
After death to dwell in Paradise,
Kyrie eleison."⁷

Sprung from the devout hearts of the Polish people, this *Bogurodzica* (*Mother of God*) had forced itself into the service of the Church as an embellishment to the strange Latin liturgy. The simple fervour of its lines warmed the hearts of the knightly host, intent upon their crusade of ridding the Polish lands of the German taint, and they quickly adopted it as their battle anthem. On the battlefield, therefore, national zeal and the homely, spontaneous native tongue were united. Whatever devotion to a national cause moved these Polish knights, whatever notion of a *patria* fired their imaginations, clung to and was symbolised by their Polish speech.

If it be true, as Jakubec asserts, that "linguistic efforts are the strongest impulse for all kinds of constructive nation-building,"⁸

⁶ Bielski, *Kronika Polska*. Warsaw, 1829, II, p. 42.

⁷ For the text of the *Bogurodzica* see Łoś, Jan, *Bogurodzica*.

⁸ Jakubec, J., *Dějiny Literatury České*, p. 416.

the 16th century must then be considered, along with the 19th, of supreme importance in the development of Polish nationalism. For it was in that Golden Age that the Polish tongue completed its struggle upward from the fruitful depths in which it had long been nourished and became a recognised literary language. For the first time language ceased to be the unconscious bond among all classes of Polish people and became for a brief day the conscious instrument of national culture. Professor Rose says: "The writing of charming poems in what had before been a despised vernacular is a landmark in the national life. A people cannot attain to its full powers until its thoughts and aspirations are wedded to the mother tongue, until that mother-tongue ceases to growl or stammer and learns to sing."⁹ In the middle of the 16th century Polish ceased to growl and stammer and learned to sing.

When Jan Kochanowski, a true gentleman of the Renaissance, deserted Latin and by an "effort of will" chose the speech of Cracow as his medium of literary expression, he accomplished for Polish what Dante did for the Tuscan dialect and Chaucer for the English tongue. The story goes that Kochanowski sent home from Paris a poem commencing, "Czego chesz od nas, Panie," which so delighted his friends that it aroused a perfect *furor*. Nicholas Rey, who had himself experimented rather unsuccessfully with Polish verse, cried out on the spur of the moment:—

"To him the prize for learning doth belong,
And unto the Slavonic goddess I submit his song."¹⁰

Kochanowski had learned abroad that "the future belonged to composition in the vernacular."¹¹ He came home to teach his contemporaries that, "what had formerly seemed inexpressible in the Polish language could now be expressed in it." It became, as Professor Krzyżanowski points out, "his self-appointed mission to mould that poetic instrument [the vernacular] to a perfection like that which distinguished Latin poetry, and this ambition he was to realise in complete fulness."

At once the vernacular became the vogue, and a considerable school of literary men writing in Polish flourished. The names of Szarzyński, the sonneteer; of Klonowicz, the townsman; of Orzechowski, vigorous and hot-blooded prelate; of Górnicki; and finally of the Jesuit priest, Peter Skarga, are reminiscent of the best that

⁹ Rose, W. J., *Nationality in Modern History*, p. 13.

¹⁰ Chrzanowski, *Historja literatury niepodległej Polski*, 1920, p. 155.

¹¹ Krzyżanowski, J., "Poezja Polska w Wieku XVI" in *Kultura staropolska*. Cracow, 1931, p. 25.

the Golden Age produced in Polish literature. The service of these men to the Polish language and to Polish nationalism can scarcely be over-estimated. Not only did they conserve the most perfect idiom of the language in permanent artistic form, but they provided for future generations that glorious literary past which is the indispensable foundation of a cultural tradition. Even when it became evident that language and the Polish national spirit, joined in a pact of death,* had set their feet toward the abyss, the literary treasures of the Golden Age remained, a well-spring of refreshment for the thirsty prophets of the new nationalism.

While the Polish speech was threatening the Latin supremacy in literature, it was becoming at the same time in daily life the symbol of the polonisation of the enormous German element that had taken possession of Polish towns after the Tartar invasions. By the late 14th century Polish appears in the archives of even those cities on the western frontier where the land war between German and Pole was most intense. In the city books of the City of Posen for the years 1386 to 1399, for example, we find the cases recorded in Latin, but the oaths written in Polish. Thus case 191: "Nicolaus Swekotka testes ducit contra dominam Katherinam de Pleviska: primo Stassek Kamen, Wincencius Meczewsky, item Jacusius Pogalynsky, sic jurabunt: *Czso Katherzyna crowe zastala to nebila yey ale Micolayewa.*" The city of Cracow, moreover, is a striking example of the progress of urban polonisation. In the early 14th century Cracow had been practically a German city, administered under Magdeburg Law. Led by their German mayor, Albrecht, the citizens of Cracow had succeeded for a time in setting up the Duke of Breslau as their ruler and deposing Lokietek. But by the time of Sigismund I, the German population had become so thoroughly polonised that the King himself suggested giving to the Germans for their own worship the tiny church of St. Barbara, which stands at the back of the more magnificent St. Mary's on the Rynek in Cracow. German sermons had been abandoned in St. Mary's in 1537¹² for want of listeners and Polish sermons had taken their place. Here, as in every case, the visible evidence of polonisation was the universal adoption of the Polish speech for common use.

It would be pleasant at this point to record a full and uninterrupted flowering of the Polish language and its complete eclipse of Latin. But history reveals no such high consummation. The vernacular continued to survive throughout the 16th century side by side with Latin as a literary language. Latin itself began

¹² Lepszy, L., *Cracow, the Royal Capital of Ancient Poland*, p. 82.

seriously to modify the Polish tongue. It was, indeed, in the final years of the 16th century that the Latinisms which to this day characterise¹³ the Polish language began to creep in, and kept creeping in with increasing numbers for a century. Whereas Sigismund II (1548-72) had considered Polish sufficiently honourable to be spoken as the official language of the Polish Court, the new King, Stephan Batory (1576-87) could himself scarcely speak a word of Polish. With his reign began the period of horrible macaronic when Polish was miserably interlarded with Latin to the indignity of both languages. It is curious that at the very moment when Polish was ready to march forward with the vernaculars of western Europe toward increased perfection, at the moment when humanism was dealing the death blow¹⁴ to Latin as a living language in France, in Germany, and in England, the evolutionary process in Poland was peremptorily checked. Forced to speak Latin with their King, the gentry began to mix their Polish with decadent Latin and eventually to lose the pure Polish of the Golden Age. Latin retained its old rôle of literary medium, a rôle which had been seriously menaced by the rising vernacular; and in the early 17th century, when the Bishop of Płock in Mazovia rebuked the gifted Horatian poet Sarbiewski, his grievance was not, as we should expect, that the bard wrote in Latin, but that he failed to celebrate Polish saints!¹⁵ National enthusiasm of a sort existed, but it had become divorced from the national language.

The world languages of the west, however, eventually did for Latin what the Polish vernacular was not strong enough to do. They drove it out of common speech and into the classroom, where it lingered in faded glory as a dead language. On its heels came, not the Polish tongue, but French and German. With foreign queens (1646 *et seq.*) and foreign kings (1697-1733) were imported foreign languages, and Polish was allowed to slip into semi-disuse among people of importance. Kołłątaj's account of *The State of Enlightenment in Poland in Recent Years* is one long lament at the decline of Polish culture and the Polish language. At Court scarcely a pretence was made of using Polish. The speech of the gentry when they were forced to use Polish reeked with foreign artificialities. Even among the submerged population, where the native speech had always flourished, dialectic differences were increased, which made it difficult for a Podolian Pole, for example, to converse with

¹³ Brückner, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

¹⁴ For the effect of Humanism upon Latin as a living language see Fife, R. H., in the *Germanic Review*, July, 1931, VI, p. 220, note.

¹⁵ Chmielowski, *Historja literatury polskiej*, 1914, I, p. 349.

a Mazovian. Unchecked by the beneficent coercion of a contemporary literary standard, Polish became again what the Golden Age had found it, a despised vernacular. The decline of the language had at length reached the end toward which it had long been advancing, an almost complete divorce of gentry and peasantry. Never before had the language tie that bound prince and peasant together with a bond of sympathy so nearly snapped. Sadder than all, national zeal had died out among the only class in Poland that had ever experienced its moving power. Both the Polish language and the Polish State were on the point of death.

Upon this dismal stage appeared the Piarist priest and reformer, Stanislas Konarski. The mission of Konarski, so far as we are concerned, was to arouse the gentry to think clearly and to phrase their thoughts in the trenchant, lucid Polish of Kochanowski and Skarga. He preached the doom of stuffy Latin and hodge-podge Polish and the foreign affectations which they symbolised. In his Gentleman's College, established about 1740 in Warsaw, he laid the foundations for the rebirth of the native language by establishing Polish as the medium of instruction in at least the three lowest classes. The history of Poland he caused to be taught in the native tongue, and for the first time in a century or more, Polish schoolboys were invited to explore their own national literature. The vitality of Konarski's message lay in his approach to education through the native tongue. But his was only a voice crying in the wilderness, preparing the way for other leaders of the future.

In the midst of the political and spiritual darkness through which Poland was groping came a brief interlude of light. During the reign of King Stanislas Augustus (1764-1795) a brilliant literary constellation shone for a few years, and Polish again became a literary medium in the satires of Krasicki and Wegierski, the fables of Trembecki, the stinging political pamphlets of Staszyc, and the various writings of Niemcewicz. The glaring light of the age of rationalism was directed upon the crumbling Polish commonwealth, and if a literary revival could have saved her Poland might have been spared the final disaster. But political and spiritual decay had eaten too deeply into the national structure to be checked by words, however potent.

After the horror of the first Partition a true regeneration began. Sensitive and enlightened souls were shocked into action. Among these was the priest Hugo Kollataj, whose most familiar claim to immortality lay in his reformation of the University of Cracow. From top to bottom he purged it of the Latin tradition, and insured

for Polish its rightful place. Because of his efforts this ancient and honourable university remained throughout the whole period of captivity the fountainhead of culture for a dispersed people. But a more far-reaching task was accomplished by Kollataj and his associates in the work of the Commission of Education. When the property of the Jesuits was confiscated in 1773, it was turned over by the Partition Diet to this newly-created Commission. Guided by the precepts and practice of Konarski and by their own practical common sense, these Commissioners created a national system of Polish schools which, as Professor Lord says, "ranked among the best in Europe at that time and may claim, indeed, an honourable place in the history of pedagogics."¹⁶ Polish was, of course, the language of instruction, and the national spirit was tenderly nourished among the fortunate classes which the schools reached.

From the Commission schools came most of the characters in the final act of the Polish tragedy, the ill-fated Four Years' Diet and the patriotic uprising of 1794. The challenge which an aroused Poland threw in the face of destiny during these last years was foredoomed to impotence. The test came before Poland had achieved nationality, but not before the stirrings of national birth had begun. On the field of Raclawice, under the banner of Kościuszko, all classes of the Polish people, from prince to peasant, fought together for the first time in defence of the national cause. To all classes, moreover, the necessity for cherishing the native tongue as the basis for future regeneration had become so clear that even in captivity the Polish speech, far from being lost, was from year to year raised in prestige.

At the beginning of the 19th century the Polish language deserted its traditional rôle of passive agent in the development of Polish nationalism. It became, as soon as the dismembered State had shaken off the lethargy of despair, the supreme instrument for the conscious rebirth of Poland and the symbol of Polish awakening.

A national culture belonging to the whole people had to be created before Poland could become a nation, and national culture is founded upon a national mother-tongue. The dire state of the Polish language in the 18th century, lamented by Konarski and Kollataj, had been remedied only by such isolated projects of reform as Konarski's own writings¹⁷ and his Gentlemen's College, the Commission schools, and the literary revival during the reign

¹⁶ Lord, R. H., *The Second Partition of Poland*. p. 59.

¹⁷ Konarski, Stanislas, *De emendandis eloquentiæ vitiis*, (Warsaw, 1741) and *De arte bene cogitandi ad artem dicendi bene necessaria*. (Warsaw, 1767.)

of Poniatowski. But by 1800, in spite of Kołłątaj's prediction that Poland, "having ceased already to belong to the nations actually in existence, will shortly engage researchers in the field of interesting antiquities,"¹⁸ signs of a general intellectual awakening began to appear. In Wilno, where the university was being regenerated under Prince Adam Czartoryski, in the Lyceum of Krzemieniec in far-eastern Volhynia, and among the Friends of Learning in Warsaw, on widely separated fronts Poland was undergoing a genuine intellectual rebirth. Samuel Linde's *Dictionary of the Polish Language* which came out in 1807-1814 marked a serious beginning of the long task of reinstating and standardising the Polish language. The Commission schools became the nucleus for a rediscovery of the literary treasures of old Poland, and students were encouraged to look to these native masters for their inspiration. Polish students in the classical academies that had not been reached by the Commission read the native literature furtively, and it was not long before a strong sense of the importance of the Polish literary tradition was thoroughly disseminated among the educated class.

Not all at once, but with steady persistence as the century wore on, the Polish language became the means of creating a glittering galaxy of national heroes and giving them to the whole people. Up to the time of the Partitions the Polish people as a whole had no national heroes. After 1794 they had one hero whom all classes could worship and adore, Tadeusz Kościuszko, the hero of the uprising of the patriots. His banner alone had led peasant and prince alike against the foreign despoiler. With his romantic figure as a starting-point, a considerable pantheon was built up, and the time-honoured heroes of the gentry were made the property of the whole people. In farthest Galicia, in remote northern Lithuania, and far to the west on the German frontier, Polish boys and girls learned from their mothers and grandmothers, their teachers and their priests, to revere their national heroes as they learned to cherish their national Polish speech. The name of the Princess Wanda, who had preferred death in the chill Vistula to marriage with a German, became for the generations born in captivity a symbol of the patriotic Polish attitude toward the relinquishment of one's native language and culture. The "glorious history" of the gentry was made vicariously the "glorious history" of the peasantry as the names of the State-builders, Boleslav the Bold, Casimir the Great, the sainted Yadwiga, and the fierce Lithuanian Jagiełło, Batory, and Sobieski

¹⁸ Kołłątaj, H., *Korrespondencya Listowna z Tadeuszem Czackim*. Cracow, 1844. Letter of 2 July, 1802, p. 18.

were emblazoned on the minds of Polish youth in all parts of the divided country. For the first time in Polish history the heart of prince and peasant alike began to beat with pride in the same heroic tradition. And the miracle was accomplished through the medium of the Polish language.

With the failure of the Revolution of 1830, the Polish language began to be strongly censored at home. Only in the free air of a foreign capital was it able to proclaim its message boldly. In Poznań where Polish had formerly been used in the administration of local affairs and in the courts side by side with German, Flottwell's régime of painless but persistent restriction became the penalty for the participation of 12,000 Prussian Poles in the Warsaw revolution. The language was not attacked, as it was later by Bismarck's more aggressive policy, but it was set aside and discouraged, while Polish culture, which had begun to flourish around the landed nobility controlling the provincial assemblies in Poznań, was suppressed. In Russian Poland, where the revolution had been a direct challenge to the Tsarist régime, a programme designed eventually to annihilate the Polish language and culture completely was undertaken. A system of espionage had from the beginning of the Russian occupation been in force, the poet Mickiewicz himself having been arrested and exiled as early as 1824 for participation in a students' group in Wilno that discussed nationalistic doctrines. But in 1832 a direct attack upon the Polish language and culture was launched with the closing of the University of Wilno, which, since 1795, had been the outstanding nucleus of Polish national consciousness. Only in Austrian Poland was the native speech allowed to flourish unmolested, the Austrian policy being due not to any inherent love of the Government for the Poles, but simply as part of Austria's game of catering for the Poles in order to win their support against the arch-enemy of both, Russia. From Prussian and Russian Poland began, about 1830, that exodus of the intelligentsia which shifted the intellectual capital of Poland from Wilno and Warsaw and Cracow to Paris. These exiles were "like men standing on an elevation,"¹⁹ and to them the inarticulate people listened for a prophetic voice. The note they were to sound was enunciated by Casimir Brodziński. On 3 May, 1831, the fortieth anniversary of the famous Constitution of the Third of May, Brodziński proclaimed in a paper *On Polish Nationality*, vaguely, but prophetically, the messianic mission of Poland. This doctrine, preached with scriptural weight by Mickiewicz, elaborated by Słowacki, and purged of its

¹⁹ Słowacki, Julius, *Anielli*, tr. D. P. Radin, p. 27.

bitterness by Krasiński, ran like wildfire through the length and breadth of the Polish lands. From Paris and Italy came the poems of these spiritual fathers of modern Poland, to find their way through devious channels into the heart of every Pole, and to demolish irretrievably the artificial walls erected by Russia and Prussia and Austria to divide the race.

Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) is the poet who, above all others, employed the Polish language consciously and purposefully as an instrument for creating a national consciousness. His message was from the outset nationalistic. Not only did he delve deep into Polish tradition for his subjects, but even in certain cases, as in *Żywła*, he used the archaic language of old Poland. All his heroes are made to count devotion to country as the supreme loyalty. Grażyna faced death in order to serve both her country and her husband's honour, while Konrad Wallenrod, sacrificing even honour for his country, is held up as an example of the unhappy rôle that Poles may be forced to play in the drama of national rebirth. In *Pan Tadeusz*, Mickiewicz paints so glamorous a picture of that peculiarly Polish country life which flourished among the gentry as can scarcely fail to rouse his compatriots to a resolve that such a noble civilisation shall not ultimately be lost.

In his *Books of the Polish Nation* and his *Books of the Polish Pilgrimage*, Mickiewicz reveals most completely his programme for Poland. "And they martyred the Polish nation," says Mickiewicz, "and they laid it in the grave, and the Kings cried out. We have slain and we have buried Freedom.

"But they cried out foolishly, for the Polish nation did not die: its body lieth in the grave, but its spirit hath descended from the earth . . . to the private life of people who suffer slavery in their country and out of their country, that it may see their sufferings.

"But on the third day, the soul shall return to the body, and the Nation shall arise and free all the peoples of Europe from slavery. . .

"And as after the resurrection of Christ bloody offerings ceased in all the world, so after the resurrection of the Polish nation, wars shall cease in all Christendom."²⁰

Here Mickiewicz enunciated the messianic conception of Poland's rôle which he elaborated in the *Books of the Polish Pilgrimage*. Poland, Mickiewicz declares, shall one day be the cradle of universal freedom if only her people take care not to relax their pursuit of

²⁰ Mickiewicz, Adam, *The Books of the Polish Nation*, tr. Parish, Radin, and Noyes. Berkeley, Calif., 1925, p. 142.

Faith, of Love, and of Hope ²¹ He rebukes his brother Poles for the fratricidal discord among them that made possible the Partitions. "Make no distinctions among yourselves, saying: I am of the old army and thou art of the new army; I was at Grochów and Ostrołęka, and thou only at Ostrołęka; I was a soldier and thou an insurgent; I a Lithuanian and thou a Mazovian. For," says Mickiewicz, "the Lithuanian and the Mazovian are brothers" ²²

"Contend not over your merits and over precedence," he charges his countrymen, "Let each one lay up his talent for the Fatherland as a gift in the almsbox, secretly, and not saying how much he hath put in." These and other "precautions against the infectious on the Polish pilgrimage" Mickiewicz laid down, and to those who were inclined to squabble among themselves, he said: "Do not inquire as to what shall be the government of Poland; it sufficeth you to know that it shall be better than all that ye know of; neither question about the boundaries, for they shall be greater than they have been at any time," but "So far as ye enlarge and better your spirit, so far shall ye better your laws and enlarge your boundaries." ²³

Mickiewicz's conception of Poland's rôle in history is, of course, dated. Not even the most ardent Polophile believes today that Poland is destined to be the Christ among nations, the Universal Messiah. But in 1832 the Polish race waited mutely for a programme. This Mickiewicz gave them: Not only Poland, but the world, must be reborn. An extravagant ideal, worthy of the consecration of a race. But the poet knew that though his people failed to reach the triumphant goal of universal messiahship, they must at least attain to the desirable way-station of national consciousness. Mickiewicz's consecration of the Polish language to the cause of nationalism was wholehearted, and in his devotion to this cause lies the reason for whatever partial eclipse his fame has suffered in recent years. To the extent to which he became a nationalistic pamphleteer, Mickiewicz sacrificed high literary creation.

Julius Słowacki (1809-49), the second in the luminous trilogy which embraces Mickiewicz and Krasiński, never, like the older poet, sacrificed art in order to preach the cause of nationalism, though his country was as dear to him as to Mickiewicz. The nostalgia that threatened to paralyse the Poles after 1831, found superb expression in the poetry of Słowacki: "I will suffer, then, as of old; lo, my native tongue and the speech of man will abide in me

²¹ Mickiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

²² Mickiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

²³ Mickiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

like a harp with broken strings. But the horrors of the earth are nothing, my anguish for my fatherland is more horrible. What am I to do?"²⁴ cries the poet through the anguished lips of Anielli. To the groping aspirations of his people for rebirth, Słowacki replied with a gloomy note of despair. All too clearly he saw the faults and weaknesses of old Poland and the disaffection of his own generation. His highly-sensitive nature tormented by the problem of human sin, Słowacki was forced by the predicament of his people to look upon this problem from a nationalistic point of view. In the history of Poland he found a rich treasury of material for study of the problem that preoccupied him.

The nationalism, then, of the poets of the early 19th century in Poland, was of a lofty and unselfish kind. They were conscious of a mission that called them to consecrate their native tongue to the cause of enlarging the vision of their countrymen and preparing them for membership in a great commonwealth of nations. As Professor Krzyżanowski says: "Even the exaltation of Poland never had anything in common with the narrow nationalistic tendencies of the second half of the 19th century. On the whole, the highest ideal initiated by Polish romantic literature was the union of free nations without conquerors or conquered, the achievement of which they imagined would precede the ultimate stage in the advancement of the human kind, that of the appearance of God's Kingdom on Earth."²⁵

The fiasco of 1863 marks a change in the attitude of the Poles toward their national destiny. Revolution having three times proved its inutility, the Polish people settled down to the grim business of building a civilisation so solid and so superior that it must ultimately triumph, while the Polish language became an aggressive and practical, no longer a romantic, instrument of the national cause. Whereas Karpiński (1741-1825) only lamented that "the mother is forced to teach her children the language of the conqueror," Sienkiewicz (1846-1916) sought definitely to stem the subtle tide of Germanisation in western Poland by portraying in *The Knights of the Cross* (*Krzyżacy*) the ruthless conquest of Polish lands by the German knights in the 13th and 14th centuries. In *The Lighthouse Keeper* (*Latarnik*), furthermore, he proclaimed the doctrine, "Once a Pole, always a Pole," by describing the re-consecration of a Pole in America to his native land. In *From the Diary of a Teacher* (*Z Pamiętnika Nauczyciela*) he showed a group of

²⁴ Słowacki, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁵ Krzyżanowski, J., *Polish Romantic Literature*, p. 302.

Polish school children in Poznań whose sorrow at the death of a playmate was tempered by rejoicing that he would no longer be terrified by Herr Inspektor, but could rest from the oppressive torture of the German schoolroom.

The German *Drang nach Osten* through State purchase of Polish land aroused more than one Polish writer to fortify with his pen the determination of his compatriots to hold on to every Polish hectare. In *The Outpost (Placówka)* Bolesław Prus (1847-1912) described the conflict between a loyal Polish peasant and her husband who was willing to sell to the Germans. Marja Konopnicka (1840-1916) sounded the same note when she cried:—

“ He who sells land
He is not of our faith.”

Whether it is Kraszewski (1812-1887) describing the death of a little Polish boy at the hands of the Russians in the last uprising, or Marja Konopnicka picturing the brutal whipping of Polish children by the Germans, the purpose and the message are the same. The romantic nationalism of the poets of the early 19th century had given way to a narrow nationalism that preached not only the elevation of Poland, but resistance and destruction to all who stood in its way. The message reached the most hidden corners of divided Poland through textbooks and newspapers, and, whenever that open method was forbidden, through the lips of teachers and priests, mothers and grandmothers by a sort of grape-vine telegraph. In the last half of the 19th century the Polish language became an aggressive instrument for creating a national consciousness among the whole Polish race.

The three partitioning Powers realised to the full the importance of the Polish language in holding the race together. Austria alone of the three allowed the native speech to flourish, and whatever pleasant memories of Austrian dominion still linger among the Poles arise largely from the fact that, although German became largely the language of administration in Austrian Poland, the Polish tongue was not banned in the schools and the universities. No effort was made to stamp out the Polish language in Austrian Poland. But as Russia and Prussia in turn entered upon a policy of depolonisation, the object of the attack in each case was first of all the language. The Roman Catholic Church, though closely identified with the cause of nationalism, was not after all the unique possession of the Poles because of its international character. Language alone was the sole possession of the Polish race that had not been stripped from them by the Partitions. It was the sole remaining

bond that united the whole race in a close freemasonry. Language became, therefore, the focal point of Russian and Prussian attack after 1863

In Russian Poland the Russian language was made the official language of instruction and administration in 1868, and in 1875 its exclusive use was enforced in courts of justice, except rural police courts. In order to make its policy of Russification effective, the administration began at once to play off the Polish peasant against his Polish landlord, and to bid for the attachment of the peasant to the Russian régime through tempting economic concessions. In 1864 every Polish peasant, whatever his status had been, had received his freedom. As the Russian policy of alienating the peasant from his fellow-countrymen of the gentry was perfected, the peasant was given land, taken by forced purchase from the gentry, and the right to use the pastures and forests of the landlord. But the gentry quickly took advantage of their linguistic identity with the peasants to circumvent this sly move by inaugurating a campaign of secret education. Polish women of gentle birth, aided by the priests of the Roman Catholic Church, became the self-appointed apostles of patriotism among the peasantry. Through them the whole cultural tradition of Poland, as well as the more immediate nationalistic message of the 19th century, reached the peasants of Russian Poland and held them faithful to the Polish cause.

In Prussian Poland the position of the Polish language was somewhat different. On that western frontier the struggle for land between German and Pole that had been going on ever since the German colonisation of Polish lands in the 13th century was renewed with nationalistic bitterness. During the first quarter of the 19th century the Pole, with true Slavic fecundity, pressed westward year by year with insidious persistence. Suddenly a German village would realise that it had been "conquered" by the Poles. The substitution of the sign *Sklep* for *Laden* on the shops became a token of a farther advance of Polish civilisation. At this early time "nobody foresaw the power of the popular movement which still lay buried in the Polish folk-soul"²⁶

Bismarck realised the tremendous importance which the Poles attached to their language during the captivity.²⁷ He told a group of his friends how when he visited Polish soldiers in the hospital and spoke a few words to them in Polish, they brightened visibly.

²⁶ Fife, R. H., *The German Empire between Two Wars*, p. 241.

²⁷ Busch, Moritz, *Bismarck, Some Secret Pages of his History*, I, pp. 308-9.

He urged the Crown Prince, who commanded the Polish troops, to learn Polish, insisting that it would be an excellent stroke for the consolidation of the Empire. But the shortsighted German attitude was enunciated by the Crown Prince when he retorted. "No, I don't like Polish and I won't learn it. I do not like the people." And when Bismarck recalled that the Great Elector and all his successors down to Frederick the Great had spoken Polish, the Crown Prince replied: "That may be, but I am not going to learn Polish. I do not like it. They must learn German." The same unwillingness to recognise the overpowering importance of the Polish language to the developing Polish national soul, hampered von Bülow in his handling of the Polish question. "We certainly do not wish," he said, "to deprive the Pole of his mother-tongue, but we must try to bring it to pass that by means of the German language he comes to understand the German spirit."²⁸

The gradual advance of the Polish language westward as a symbol of the advance of Polish culture went on until 1870. With the establishment of the Empire, Bismarck was relieved from foreign wars and left free to turn his attention to the problem of the Eastern Marches. Startled by the menace of encroaching Polish culture, Bismarck undertook the famous *Kulturkampf*. He says himself: "The beginning of the *Kulturkampf* was decided for me preponderantly by its Polish side."²⁹ Bismarck determined to destroy the Polish nationality. How did he launch the attack? Directly upon the Polish language.

In 1873 Polish was abolished as the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools. Immediately after this it was abolished in administration and in the law courts. In 1886, when Bismarck had become fully alive to the seriousness of the Polish national determination, all teaching in Polish, even private, was abolished. In 1900 the final blow fell, when religious instruction in Polish was abolished and severe measures were taken to see that all Polish children attended religious instruction in German.

The Polish language was attacked violently and simultaneously by the two strongest of the Partitioning Powers. What was the reaction? The Poles, having learned the futility of violence, became solidified into a compact angry mass, grimly determined to cling at all costs to their sole remaining cultural possession as a people, their language. In Russian Poland, when the Government forbade the sending through the mails of letters bearing a Polish inscription, the

²⁸ Bülow, *Imperial Germany*. London, p. 263.

²⁹ Busch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 139.

Poles boycotted the mails. In 1905 they boycotted the University of Warsaw and the secondary schools in which only Russian was allowed as the language of instruction. Private schools were hastily organised at a frightful expense to the Poles, and were maintained defiantly until the end of the Russian régime. Up to 1914 the boycott of the University of Warsaw had not been relaxed.

In Prussian Poland the resistance to German aggrandisement generally took the form, on the negative side, of refusal to sell land, and on the positive side, of constructive efforts to build up a strong, impregnable Polish civilisation, rich economically and culturally. "Not until we Poles have become better, more cultured, and richer than the Germans, will the dominion be ours," declared Count Raczyński³⁰ to his compatriots in Poznań in 1842. But with the prohibition of religious instruction in Polish in 1900 active revolt flared up.

At Września in 1901 Polish schoolchildren were beaten by their German schoolmasters for refusing to repeat the Lord's Prayer in German. And in 1906-7 a general school strike took place. The Government tried ruthlessly to suppress these strikes, its attitude being that of von Bülow, who declared: "In our policy with regard to the schools we are really fighting for Polish nationality, which we wish to incorporate into German intellectual life."³¹ Pole and German were deadlocked. The German looked upon Polish as only a peasant dialect; the Pole cherished it as the vehicle of a whole cultural tradition, the symbol of national regeneration. Therefore Polish peasants encouraged the strike of the schoolchildren, and paid huge fines when their children refused to pray in German. Fathers were dismissed from their posts, children were detained at school after passing school age, and corporal punishment was inflicted.

The linguistic situation remained tense on all fronts until 1914. During the Great War, Pole fought against brother Pole as the armies of Prussia and Russia clashed on the ancient battlefield of Tannenberg, or as the Austrian forces wallowed through the mud of Galicia to face the Russians. In the grim squalor of the prison camp many a "Prussian" or "Austrian" soldier found that the poor captive "Russians" whom he had been set to guard were none other than his fellow Poles! Through the common language, a reunion and reconsecration to the national cause would take place. Again the native speech became the vehicle for expressing common hopes, common memories, and common aspirations.

³⁰ Fife, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³¹ Bulow, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

The Congress of Versailles, in giving the Poles an opportunity to become a free and united people, laid out a great national task for them. A Polish national consciousness existed in 1918. The 19th century had accomplished its work of creating a sense of Polish national destiny among the whole people, for not only did the national spirit illumine the writings of the great poets of that country, but it breathed as fervidly in the whispered prayer of the Polish grandmother that she might live to see the Polish lands reunited. But a hundred years of disunion had left their mark. Professor Dyboski says: "In free Poland, united politically and uniformly organised with regard to administration, the older generation suffers from three kinds of divisive psychology."³² The task of the 20th century is to make independence permanent by achieving complete consolidation of the three sections of the Polish State. Three sets of law codes, three widely-divergent economic systems, three utterly different attitudes toward the administration, were the legacy of the Polish Republic from the period of the Partitions. Gradually these barriers and others no less real, though intangible, are being broken down by the force of economic advantage, a common religion, political unification, and a "will to live together." Among the forces making for permanent union of the Polish race is the most obvious one, a common language. From Volhynia to Poznań, from Cracow to Gdynia, Polish is the official language. In the far-flung universities of Wilno, Lwów, Poznań, and Cracow the culture of the centuries is being handed down to eager throngs of students through the medium of Polish. In the tiniest hamlet in the remote Carpathians as well as in the fine new progressive schools of Warsaw, children of all classes get their first taste of learning through the Polish speech. Through the Polish language the Polish race of to-morrow will have learned to "cherish a common tradition" and will have become a "distinct cultural society."

The Polish language, which had for centuries been the most natural and the most potent bond of union among the divided classes of the Polish race, became in the 19th century the instrument and symbol of Polish nationalism. Today it is the strongest factor among the many forces that are making of the Polish nation a nationality.

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³² Dyboski, R., "Przedmowa" to vol. XIII of *Wielka Ilustrowana Encyklopedia Powszechna, Wydawnictwa "Gutenberga,"* I.

A RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF PARADISE LOST

MILTON'S *Paradise Lost* had surprisingly little influence upon Russian literature, but this was perhaps to be expected. Until the early part of the 18th century, Russia was not interested in the artistic productions of the West, and when the new literature was established after the reforms of Peter the Great, most of the translations that appeared from the English were hack work, incorrect translations of French and German translations of the English authors. Under such conditions we could expect little comment or translation that was worth while.

The first serious translation seems to have been made by Ambrosy, Archbishop of Ekaterinoslav and Prefect of the Moscow Academy. The first edition appeared in 1780 and a second in 1785 (V. S. Sonikov, *Opyt Rossiyskoy Bibliografii*, Red. priim. vopolneniya i ukazatel' V N. Rogozhina, chast IV, S P B. 1905, pp. 123) This is probably the same book as the translation in the collection of Mr. M. M. Zolotarev in New York, which bears on the title page the inscription: "To the member of the Most Holy Regent Synod, the Most Reverend Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kaluga and Holy Archimandrite of the Holy Trinity-St. George Monastery, full Director and Protector of the Moscow Academy."

Since Platon was appointed Metropolitan of Moscow only in 1787, this volume must come from a later edition, but it is also signed M A P.A. (Moscow Academy Prefect Ambrosy).

The chief interest of the edition lies in the introduction, where the author attempts to correct and explain Milton and his ideas, and it may be worth while to translate this as an example of Russian criticism of English literature at the end of the 18th century.

"Before the reader comes to the poem, I consider it necessary to say something about the author.

"I do not intend to describe his life in detail; for that would take time and be of little use. It is enough to say in his praise that having commenced this poem at that age when the imagination, enriched by long experience, acts with the greatest fervour, he used all his knowledge even to excess and all his art in its adornment. Zealous reading of the Holy Scriptures, and especially Isaiah, the Prophet, gave him the highest thoughts. For this cause, it is filled with inimitable beauties, which seem not so much poetical as stamped out of the Word of God. Besides this, he loved of the Greek writers Homer especially and of the Latin the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. All this, being united with a poetic spirit

about which he spoke in the beginning of the Seventh Book, when he mentions some deity (for he actually believed in its inspiration), all this, I say, being united, poured out that splendour, power and attractiveness in all parts of his poem, which are rarely visible in other works of this kind. His judgments are deep, his thoughts keen, his similes great, his passions blazing, his descriptions living. For it he takes us to heaven, we seem to see the holy mountain, lighted with glory; we see the Throne of the Eternal and His Son sitting on His right hand; we hear their consultations, we see the gathering of all the angelic powers, their evening joy, we see the rebellious spirits, gliding away quietly at dawn to the north; we see the war, the terrible battle, then the coming of the Messiah, His thousands of lightnings flying from all sides on his enemies; we see the opened heavens, the terrible abyss and the falling headlong of the demoniac hosts. If we go down to Hell, he describes the deeds of the outcasts, their councils, their schemes and different seats; we seem, as it were, ourselves, fearing to move among them. If he shows us the flying Satan, if he depicts the site of Paradise, the appearance and condition of our ancestors, their conversations, their prayers, conversations with the Angels, their crimes and condemnation, all this is so touching and living that, as we read, we think that we are there. Finally an Angel comes to cast them out. That is a sad spectacle, from which the reader, touched with pity, would without doubt turn away his eyes, if Milton had not known how to soften the cruelty of this evil fate. He presents the Angel talking as a friend to our Forefather and then without any sternness taking them both by the hand out of Paradise, but consoled and walking through the fields of Eden, so that it seems as if we are following them further with our gaze. In a word, everywhere we see beauty, grandeur and splendour.

"It is true he includes in some places excesses and mistakes; but they, in comparison with the perfections, would be pardonable and endurable, for they are not noticeable to all; if he had not greater and more evident blunders. To warn the reader, I shall mention them here briefly, and especially those pertaining to the law, and (1) he nowhere says that the world was made from nothing; but he always assumes some substance, which was before creation; (2) in Book Four he introduces marriage into Paradise; but this is asserted by only a few, and those Jewish rabbis, but the Church teaches the opposite on the basis of Genesis iv, 1. The fact that he approves this action with such fervour and censures those who reject it as something unlawful is not surprising, for he was thrice married, yet he blames only heretics of that kind which Paul predicts in 1 Timothy, iv; (3) in Book Five, where Adam excuses himself to the Angel for the poorness of the cooking and the latter accepts, to show that he can eat this food too, and turn it into his own being, etc., in this book, I say, the writer places in the mouth of the Angel the language of the materialist. And these are his most important defects, to which I shall add the last—although not so evident, yet perhaps the greatest—

and that is, that he maintained the Arian heresy; but such expressions and some other passages have been changed. As regards other liberties, if any one wishes to condemn him, he must remember that he is a poet and not merely a story-teller.

"As regards the translations of Books Two and Ten, Sin is described in English as of the feminine gender, and Death is masculine; therefore Sin is called the daughter begotten of Satan, and Death is the son of Sin, in Russian the genders are reversed.

"In conclusion I must confess that I shall count myself happy, if the reader will find in this translation even a few of the beauties of the original."

The translation is exactly what we might expect from the preface. It is a conscientious but uninspired effort to give a prose rendering of the poem and to eliminate or modify any passage which was out of harmony with the teachings of the Orthodox Church. In general, most of the poetic imagery has disappeared and the work is considerably reduced in volume

Thus, for an illustration, our author renders the greeting of the Angel Raphael to Eve as follows (Book V, 377 ff) :—

They entered the village solitude which now charmed the eye, as the shadow of Pomona, adorned with flowers and sweet fragrances. Eve, more attractive in her beauty alone than Diana and more beautiful than any one of the three goddesses, in the tradition of the mythologer, who once revealed their charms on Mount Ida; Eve, to honour the heavenly guest, stood before him. She had no need of clothing, but she was sufficiently clad in her virtue. No licentious smile changed the colour of her cheeks. The Angel greeted her with the sacred kiss, which in later times prepared the Daughter of Jesse to receive within her womb the Eternal Son (p. 178 f).

Or we can take again the appearance of the artillery of Satan (Book VI, 517 ff) :—

So he ordered them to be in readiness; but they are already prepared; their ranks are drawn up. They come holding their weapons high in martial order. Our foes approached, heavily dragging many weapons, surrounded by serried regiments, hiding their cleverness from our eyes. We were looking at them, when Satan appeared before his regiments and gave a command.

Suddenly the first ranks of the army parted; the regiments were doubled on both wings. We saw a strange, new sight; a triple order of columns one above the other, lying on wheels; since these things were like columns, or hollow oaks or pines felled in the forests or on the mountains with their branches lopped off. Seraphim, holding in their hands a reed burning with fire, stood behind every weapon.

We made various guesses about these things; but soon the misunderstanding was decided; they stretched out their reeds and lightly touched them on a very small opening, suddenly the whole heaven appeared in fire, and at the same moment it was darkened by smoke, which came from the terrible throats of these death-dealing weapons; with a terrible roar they spouted out lightning and thunder (p. 226 f).

These passages will give a good picture of the methods of the translator. The poem, as it appears in this version, has lost all of its poetic clothing, and there is left merely a solid and substantial and fairly accurate representation of the skeleton, in so far as it was not repugnant to the ideas and customs of the Orthodox Church. Such a translation could not become popular, and perhaps its chief claim to consideration is the fact that it was probably the version through which the Montenegrin poet Njegoš came to know Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which serves as the basis for his poem, *The Rays of the Microcosm*. If this is so, it is clear what differences and difficulties there were in the way of securing a proper understanding of Milton among the Slavs.

It is impossible to speak of the literary value of this translation; but the introduction and a notice of the methods may serve to illustrate the contact between Russia and England, and this may be of value to those who are studying the spread of the Milton tradition.

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CURRENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

III. CONSTANTINE FEDIN.

IN my article on Leonid Leonov¹ I have mentioned Fedin's novel, *Cities and Years*, as the work from which one can date the revival of the novel as a literary genre in post-revolutionary Russian literature. It preceded by a year or two Leonov's first novel, *The Badgers*. Until that time (1924-25) the tendency towards the short story predominated in the young Russian literature. Overwhelmed by the great wealth, novelty and variety of events and impressions with which the Revolution supplied them, young Russian writers did not attempt to penetrate beyond their surface, to analyse them more deeply, to bring all these disjointed and varied impressions into line with each other; they contented themselves with portraying them as they saw them, trying to be ideologically impartial, objective, cool and detached, and yet unable to hold back their emotional agitation. The result was a rich crop of the so-called "dynamic" prose, reflecting the civil war and the first turbulent years of the Revolution, at once romantic and realistic, in which lyrical emotions and detachment verging on cruelty were strangely mingled. Two main literary influences could be perceived in the prose of that first period of the Revolution—those of Andrey Bely and Alexey Remizov, going in their turn back, respectively, to Gogol and Leskov, the least psychological, the most "ornamental" of the great Russian writers. An important part in the general revival of Russian prose which began towards 1921, after a period of an almost exclusive rule of poetry, was played by a group of young writers known under the name of "The Serapion Brothers" (an allusion to the characters of the famous German Romanticist E. T. A. Hoffmann). It was not a literary school held together by some definite programme or by any unity of manner or style; rather it was a literary fraternity, whose members were united in the first place by their youth, to a certain extent by their common training in the literary studio of the novelist Zamyatin, as well as by their interest in modernity and their wish to reflect it impartially, free from any political or ideological fetters. "We demand but one thing: that a work of art be organic and real, that it live its own peculiar life," said the literary manifesto of the "Serapions" in 1922. In their first almanac, published in 1922, writers of rather heterogeneous tendencies were represented. Several of them—

¹ See *The Slavonic Review* for July, 1933, p. 190.

Zoshchenko, Vsevolod Ivanov, Kaverin, Fedin, Tikhonov—have made their names since in Soviet Russian literature, and two—Fedin and Kaverin—have played a great part in the revival of the novel after 1924.

Born in 1892, Fedin was older than the majority of the "Sera-pions." He began with short stories, and in his early stories one sees the influence of Bunin's and Chekhov's manner, though perhaps in substance he is more dramatic than his masters. There is that quality of quiet dramatism in Fedin's first mature story, *The Orchard* (1920)—its clear transparent outline, its well-balanced prose especially remind one of Bunin, and its theme is reminiscent of Chekhov, even though it is revolutionary.² It is Fedin's favourite theme: the conflict of the old and the new in the Revolution. Its hero is the old gardener Silanty. His former masters, to whom he is devoted, have been driven away by the Revolution, and their manor house now shelters a children's colony; the new revolutionary songs sound so discordant in the old house; the orchard, after which Silanty looks, and to which he is also devoted, gradually falls into decay, and Silanty ends by setting the house on fire. The same tragic note is sounded in the story called *Stillness* (1924), relating the pastimes of an old dispossessed squire. The quiet realistic flow of the uneventful narrative is interrupted by the almost fantastic scene of the squire's battle with the rooks for the sake of the lady whom he once loved and betrayed—the last romantic impulse of a man beaten by life. But the story ends on a conciliatory note. *The Peasants* (1926), which tells some episodes in the life of a village shepherd and his daughter, reminds one of Bunin's *Village* by its sombre portrayal of the cruel and brutal aspect of peasants' life and psychology. And the note of cruelty and gloom and despair is sounded still more clearly in *The Chronicle of Narovchat* (1925) told in the name of a half-educated monk, and by its stylistic "skaz" manner reminding one of Remizov and Leskov. A new and original note was struck by Fedin in his *Transvaal* (1926), a somewhat longer story of a very curious character, Swaaker by name, a Boer who has somehow come to be settled in a Russian village and is a perfect embodiment of a cunning, enterprising, selfish and hard-hearted *kulak*, who gradually assumes almost dictatorial economic power over a whole rural district, marries the daughter of the former squire, and wields an absolute ascendancy over the peasants. This story,

² This story has been in part translated into English and included in the anthology of Soviet stories edited by Professor Kononov under the title *Bonfire* (Benn).

when it was published, called forth a lively controversy in the Soviet press, many critics accusing Fedin of counter-revolutionary "kulak" tendencies. Swaaker, they said, was an idealisation of the "kulak." Yet one must say that Fedin portrays him as rather unsympathetic.

All these stories of Fedin deal with "revolutionary" themes. There are a few others in which the Revolution does not come in at all. Such, for instance, is *Anna Timofevna* (1922), a rather long and slow-moving tale of a woman's way of sufferings and self-sacrifices, told against the background of gloomy, tedious and insipid provincial life. It belongs to a large progeny of Russian "provincial" tales and brings to mind the names of Gogol, Pisemsky, Leskov and, among the moderns, Remizov and Zamyatin. It is a bit loose in construction, but its concluding chapters are very well written. Of a different pattern, much more terse and economical, and slightly reminiscent of Chekhov, is another pre-revolutionary provincial story called *The Tale of One Morning* (1921). Its hero is a hangman, himself a former convict, a great artist of his profession, who in his non-professional life is a regular churchgoer and a sentimental lover of birds. There is a terse but extremely realistic description of the hanging of a murderer, and all the minor characters and their different attitudes to the execution are drawn with great mastery.

Such are Fedin's principal short stories. His first big novel, *Cities and Years* (1924) represented the first attempt made in Soviet literature to depict the Revolution not in a merely impartially descriptive or lyrically ecstatic vein, as did Pilnyak, Vsevolod Ivanov, and other writers of the dynamic prose period, but in a more deeply psychological manner. The orthodox Soviet critics reproached Fedin for having given a one-sided picture of the Revolution, for having chosen its side-aspects and for fussing too much about his hero, a backboneless and rootless "intelligent." Its theme is, indeed, the tragedy of a Russian Intelligent at grips with the Revolution. Its action covers a long period of time, beginning before the war and ending in 1922. Its principal character is Andrey Startsov. A young artist or student, he is caught by the war in Germany and remains there as a civilian prisoner. He returns to Russia after the peace of Brest-Litovsk and joins the revolutionary forces. But he does not find a real place for himself in the Revolution; he puts personal interests and values before the cause which he is serving, he is too sentimental, and this ultimately brings about his undoing. He is killed in the end by his friend, Kurt Wahn, but he is really finished, even before physical death overtakes him. Kurt Wahn is shown as a contrast to Andrey. He is a German, a gifted painter.

In pre-war days in Germany he and Startsov were friends, but the moment the war is declared there awakens in Kurt his dormant German patriotism and he breaks with Andrey. He is subsequently taken prisoner on the Russian front, and when they next meet in 1918 in Moscow, a radical change has been worked in him: he is now an ardent revolutionary and a prominent member of the Council of German Soldier Deputies. He is then sent to Semidol, a small remote provincial town, surrounded by villages inhabited by the Mordva, with a mission to supervise the evacuation of German war prisoners. Andrey goes with him. Here one of the important episodes of the novel takes place. A group of German war prisoners, exploiting the nationalist separatist tendencies of the Mordva, organises an anti-Bolshevist detachment led by a German officer, a certain Markgraf von zur Mühlen-Schönau, who plays an important part in the first half of the novel, where the action is set in Germany, and is connected both with Andrey and with Kurt, the latter having his own reasons to hate him and the former to be grateful to him. The rebels are defeated by the Soviet punitive detachment. During this short struggle Andrey lives through something like revolutionary enthusiasm, he almost feels to be at one with the Revolution; but this feeling soon subsides, and later on he vainly tries to call it back. Moreover, he betrays the revolutionary cause and for personal reasons helps von Schönau to escape, providing him with papers which he steals from Kurt's desk. Before anything is discovered, he is sent to Petrograd to take part in its defence against Yudenich's attacks. The girl who fell in love with him at Semidol follows him thither; another girl with whom he was in love in Germany comes all the way from Germany to join him, only to discover that she has a rival. She goes away, and this is a great blow to Andrey. He nearly goes mad, and wanders about Petrograd until much later Kurt's vengeance overtakes him.

The construction of this novel is very peculiar. It begins with its own dénouement, which takes place in 1922, after which the story goes back to 1919, to Andrey's arrival in Petrograd and the visit which von Schönau pays him there, in disguise, on his way to Germany. Many of these incidents remain somewhat obscure to the reader, they are intentionally covered with a veil of mystery, which is lifted only towards the end of the book. Havoc is played with the traditional chronological sequence of the narrative—one perceives here the influence of Bely and Pilnyak on Fedin's composition. It is only from the third chapter that the author takes up the exposition of events in the chronological order. We are shown

Germany before the war, Andrey's friendship with Kurt Wahn, their life in Nuremberg, the outbreak of war, Andrey's life as a civilian prisoner in the small Saxon town of Bischoffsberg, his unsuccessful attempt at escape. There is a whole chapter of digressions (and such is its title) relating the childhood and youth of the heroine of the novel, Mari Urbach, her love affair with von Schönau, her acquaintance and love affair with Andrey. Then the chronological order is re-established once more, and we are told about the Revolution in Germany; the return of the prisoners, including Andrey; his encounter with Kurt Wahn in Moscow; their life in Semidol and the events there. Here again there are some episodes interpolated in the main story and some excellently drawn episodic figures. One of these episodes, the story of the soldier, Fedor Lependin, who hails from a village near Semidol, is taken prisoner by the Germans and interned in the same town as Andrey, and whose end comes during the Semidol events, when he is hanged on a tree by the rebels of von Schönau, has even been published separately. It forms, indeed, a separate story within the general framework of the novel. The novel ends with a chapter which takes place in 1920 in Petrograd and the proper chronological place of which is between chapters I and II. There is a certain fragmentariness—partly deliberate—about *Cities and Years*, but on the whole it is a work of considerable originality and great literary merits.

Fedin's second big novel, *The Brothers* (published in 1928), has the same peculiarities of construction. It does not begin exactly with its own dénouement like *Cities and Years*, yet the real place of its first part is just before the last part. In the introductory chapters Fedin shows us, with the effectiveness of a good dramatist, all his main characters in a scene saturated with atmosphere of life and full of psychological dramatism. We are shown at once all the knots of the novel ready to be untied. Whereupon Fedin proceeds to show how these complicated and intertwined knots came into being, in order to undo them in the last part of the book.

The subject of the novel may be described again as the tribulations of the intelligentsia during the Revolution. In fact, it is a variant of the theme of Andrey Startsov. The principal character of the book is Nikita Karev, a composer, who becomes musician under somewhat strange circumstances and rather unwillingly. He comes from a Cossack family whose home is in Uralsk. Like Andrey Startsov he is caught by the war in Germany and on returning home after the Revolution finds his father and his youngest brother, Rostislav, in the two opposite camps. Old Karev is a counter-

revolutionary, his youngest son is a Soviet Commissary who commands a detachment for fighting counter-revolution among the Ural Cossacks and is ultimately killed outside his native house. There is a third brother, Matvey, a well-known Petersburg physician, who keeps somewhat aloof from the Revolution. So, after all, does Nikita, who is faced with the problem of reconciling his artistic vocation both with the demands of the Revolution and with his personal preoccupations, chiefly amorous.

The Brothers is without that fragmentariness which characterised *Cities and Years*; there are no such lyrical digressions and no such complicated plot, slightly reminiscent of a novel of adventures. The plot is woven round purely psychological moments, its centre is in the love intrigue, in the figure of Varenka Sherstobitova, who is loved simultaneously by several characters in the novel, who herself loves Nikita Karev, but marries a friend of his childhood, the Communist, Rodion Chorbov, only to leave him afterwards for Nikita. The main interest of the novel is in the figure of Nikita himself, and in the problem he has to face, in his inner conflict. The Revolution is given as a background and a psychological motive force, not as an object of interest in itself, but there are some rather conventional revolutionary figures. The manner of *The Brothers* is much more quiet and epic than that of *Cities and Years*. Fedin really returns here to the manner of a big realistic social and psychological novel, though he has certainly assimilated many of the formal innovations and developments bequeathed by the age of Symbolism.

Fedin's latest novel, *The Rape of Europe*, of which the publication was begun last year, is not yet finished. It was conceived as one of the Five-Year Plan novels, dealing with its international, outward aspect, namely, the trade relations between USSR and Europe. Its title was even originally to be *Dumping*.

Fedin is a typical representative of the so-called "Fellow-Travellers" in Soviet Russian literature, and of all the Fellow-Travellers he stands nearest to the spirit of the traditional novel, presenting an original blend of Russian and Western European traditions. He is one of those Soviet writers who manage to maintain a close contact with the cultural life of Europe and cannot be accused of any excessive Soviet patriotism (though his *Rape of Europe* is a tribute to "social command"). The reason is perhaps to be sought partly in the fact that he spent the war years in Germany as a civilian prisoner, like his two principal characters, Andrey Startsov and Nikita Karev.

GLEB STRUVE.

OBITUARY

ANDREY BELY (BORIS BUGAYEV)

WRITING in 1906 to a literary friend of his, Valery Bryusov said that the following seven poets formed the sacred "heptarchy" of modern Russian poetry: Constantine Balmont, Valery Bryusov, Vyacheslav Ivañov, Zinaida Hippus, Fedor Sologub, Andrey Bely, and Alexander Blok. Indeed, the whole of the Russian Symbolist movement is in those names. But when Bryusov wrote that, he probably thought that his own name would go down to posterity as the most important and significant. On the other hand, as early as 1906, he must still have had some doubts about including Blok in his list; it is quite possible that he would have left him out, if he had not to make up seven names. Posterity has judged otherwise. Of those seven leading Symbolists the name of Blok stands out as that of the greatest modern Russian poet; Bryusov's own, despite all his historical significance for Symbolism, has been relegated to the background. But if Blok was undoubtedly the greatest Russian poet since Tyutchev and Fet, Andrey Bely (by his real name Boris Nikolayevich Bugayev), who died in Russia on 7 January this year, was the most original and versatile genius among the Russian Symbolists. In his person modern Russian literature has lost one of its most remarkable representatives: poet, novelist, essayist, philosopher, theoretician of literature—he was all that. His name was often coupled with that of Blok, and at one time they were bound by ties of personal friendship. Both represented in Russian Symbolism its religious-philosophical current (as distinct from the æsthetic represented by Bryusov and Balmont), both, in their poetical and philosophical outlook, owed a great deal to Vladimir Solovyev and his mystical philosophy.

Born in Moscow in 1880, Bely was the son of an eminent mathematician, Professor Bugayev. His early work (up to 1910) included three books of poems which placed him in the foremost rank of the Symbolist movement (their titles were: *Gold in Azure*, *The Urn*, and *Ashes*), and four books of prose all bearing the generic title of *Symphonies*. Though in his poetry Bely was treading on new paths and opening up fresh formal possibilities before Russian poetry, here he shared those innovations with other Symbolist poets. In prose his innovations were much more daring and original, in fact, revolutionary, and they were also his and no one else's. His *Symphonies* were based on the principle of musically organised prose,

on a complex system of recurring themes and variations, and on a totally new method of notation of things. In a way, Bely anticipated the verbal and stylistic experiments of Mr. James Joyce. The *Symphonies* were decidedly an experiment, and as such of unequal intrinsic value. But the same principle, the same method, was applied by Bely in his later, mature novels—*The Silver Dove* (1910), and *Petersburg* (1916). *The Silver Dove* is perhaps the most successful of Bely's creations in prose. It proceeds from Gogol—Bely was the first to revive Gogol's tradition in modern Russian literature—and apart from its wonderful verbal texture, it is full of wit and humour, and of peculiar Gogolian realism. Its background is the summer landscape of Central Russia, the landscape of Bely's first book of verse *Gold in Azure*. There is movement in it and a well-constructed plot, in the centre of which stands a curious religious sect of "White Doves." Bely's second novel—*Petersburg*—is more unequal: at times he rises here to even greater heights, at times falls most ignominiously. A genius and a fool co-existed in Bely's soul, and nearly all his work is marked by that double personality. *Petersburg* has even a better and more thrilling plot than *The Silver Dove*. Its background is the revolution of 1905; some of its characters are very effective in their nightmarish symbolical abstraction; but its real hero is perhaps the elusive, nebulous, fantastic city of St. Petersburg, whose peculiar soul has been felt by so many great Russian artists, and this lends it a unique quality.¹

Of Bely's later works of fiction the most original and remarkable is the autobiographical novel *Kotik Letayev* (begun in 1915, published in 1922), a tale of childhood in which he devises new methods for rendering subconscious emotions and impressions; it is his most daring experiment in the Joyce technique. Much of Bely's later poetry and fiction reflects his infatuation for the anthroposophical doctrine of Dr. Rudolf Steiner, whose disciple he became some time before the war. Bely's sparkling poetical genius has revealed itself once more in his poem, *The First Meeting*, where he restores to us the atmosphere of his youth and that of the intellectual élite of Moscow in the early years of our century; it is a quaint mixture of peculiar realism, of wonderful musical effects and of most abstruse intellectualism—a thing no one but Bely could write. The same atmosphere in a different form is revived in Bely's *Memoirs*, of

¹ Harold Williams, one of the original editors of this *Review*, who had his own assured place among the élite of the pre-war Russian Intelligentsia, wrote a very striking sketch on the same theme: *Slavonic Review*, vol. II, No. 4, p. 14.—ED.

which several volumes have appeared under different titles. This, too, is an uneven work; some of its characteristics are excellent; some parts of it, as, for instance, his *Recollections of Alexander Blok*, are invaluable for the history of Symbolism; but some of it is marred by gratuitous semi-political or anthroposophical reflections verging on foolery.

Bely's attitude to the revolution lacked consistency. In its early stages he was carried away, like Blok and some other poets, by its elemental, Messianic aspect (the outcome was a rather poor poem *Christ is Risen*); he identified it with Russia, which he loved passionately; much of his poetry, especially in *Ashes*, is about Russia, and it is a curious Symbolist interpretation of Nekrasov's themes. Yet in 1922 Bely left Russia and for a time became a virtual émigré, only to go back a year later.

As a literary influence, Bely counted for very much in post-revolutionary Russian literature, especially during its first period. Pilnyak and many other contemporary writers are inconceivable without Bely. His studies of the Russian prosody, included together with his philosophical criticism in the volume entitled *Symbolism* (1910), also made a mark and proved very fruitful.

None of Bely's works have been translated into English, but he was well known in Germany

GLEB STRUVE.

EVGENY FRANKOVICH SHMURLO

ON 17 April, Professor E. Shmurlo, one of the best known Russian historians of the old Petersburg school, died in Prague. Only three months before, on 11 January, the Russian Historical Society in Prague, of which Shmurlo was Honorary President, had celebrated his eightieth birthday and honoured his sixty years' work devoted to scholarship.

Born in 1853, Shmurlo studied under the famous historian Bestuzhev-Ryumin, one of the outstanding intellectual figures of the dark "eighties" in Russia, and it was with his blessing that Shmurlo began his career as Lecturer in Russian History at Petersburg University. Later (in 1899) Shmurlo dedicated to Bestuzhev-Ryumin one of his monographs: *Ocherki zhizni i nauchnoy deyatel'nosti K. N. Bestuzheva-Ryumina* (Essay on the life and activity of B.-R.). In learned circles in Petersburg, Shmurlo was in close touch with other Russian historians, such as Platonov, Druzhinin, Lappo-Danilevsky, etc.

Appointed to the Chair of Russian History at Dorpat (Yuriev, now Tartu in Estonia), Shmurlo stayed there twelve years, up to 1903, when he was transferred to Rome. Here he became correspondent of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences, charged with the study of relations between Italy, and particularly the Holy See, and Russia; he had already, during his work in Estonia, been on missions to Paris, Rome, Naples and Venice. Though his move to Rome marked an important moment in the spiritual life of Shmurlo, it did not substantially alter the course of his scientific activity, which had centred round the period of Peter the Great.

The four volumes entitled *Rossiya i Italiya* (Collection of materials and historical researches published by the Academy of Sciences), important though they were, especially for Italian students, were preceded by a long series of other studies which had already brought fame to their author. Among the most notable of these, we must mention *O zapiskakh Silvestra Medvedeva* (Memoirs of Silvester Medvedev, 1889); *Petr Velikii v russkoy literature* (Peter the Great in Russian literature) an historical-bibliographical essay published in the same year; *Kriticheskiya Zametki po istorii Petra Velikago* (Critical notes on the history of Peter the Great, 1901); *Opisanie puti mezhdu altaiskoyu stanitseyu i Kosh-Agach v Yuzhnom Altaye* (Description of the road between the Altai stanitsa and Kosh-Agach in the Southern Altai), the result of an expedition in 1898; and numerous other smaller works on Peter the Great and his times. In 1903 his studies of Peter the Great culminated in the big collection published under the French title: *Recueil de documents relatifs au règne de l'Empereur Pierre le Grand*. Shmurlo subsequently turned his attention on several occasions to the same subject, and his later studies resulted in a large work on Voltaire's history of Peter the Great: *Voltaire i ego Kniga o Petre Velikom*, published in Prague in 1929 (Publication des archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères).

In his later years, Shmurlo turned from particular to more general studies in Russian history. The first of these, published in Munich in 1922, was *Istoriya Rossii* (862-1917). Two years later came a small but valuable work of an educational character: *Vvedenie v russkuyu istoriyu* (Introduction to Russian history), published in Prague. Under the auspices of the Istituto per l'Europa Orientale in Rome, Shmurlo published a history of Russia, specially compiled for the Italian reader and to a large extent written in Italian by the present writer. A more lengthy course in Russian history, designed for the use of emigrant Russians, is being brought out in Prague; the first two large volumes cover the period 862-1613.

Shmurlo was a man of wide and deep literary culture, and he devoted a number of studies to the great Russian poet Pushkin. The first of these, published, if I am not mistaken, in 1899, was *Pushkin v razvitií nashego samosoznaniya* (Pushkin in the development of our self-consciousness). Other such studies (*Karamzin's part in the creation of Pushkin's "Boris Godunov"*; *The African heritage*; *First successes in the literary field*) were published in the *Pushkinsky Sbornik* (Pushkin collection) of the Russian Institute in Prague (1929).

We have only mentioned here a small part of Shmurlo's vast and learned activity, but we ought still to refer to a few others from among his works on various subjects: *The 16th century and its importance for history* (1891); *P. V. Postnikov* (1894); *East and West in Russian history* (1895); *The Curia Romana in the Russian Orthodox East*. In the last years of his stay in Rome, Shmurlo published also two interesting monographs, one on *Jurij Križanić*, in which he restated the problem whether Križanić could be considered as a Panslavist, and the other on *Russia in Asia and Europe*, a brief but spirited resumé of the various reasons advanced in favour of the two points of view, namely, of Russia as a European or as an Asiatic country, ending with an exposition of the Eurasian ideas.

A lovable and original character (physically he resembled Klyuchevsky), a vigorous conservative full of resource, a man of very vast and original learning, Shmurlo will be bitterly missed by all who knew him.

*Istituto per l'Europa
Orientale Roma.*

ETTORE LO GATTO.

JAMES YOUNG SIMPSON

THE sudden death of J. Y. Simpson on 20 May will be mourned by a wide circle of friends in two continents. A Scot of the Scots, a devoted son of Edinburgh, he came of stock which was unwearied in well-doing and which had already carried the name of Simpson across the world, wherever chloroform has served to deaden pain. His father, too, Sir Alexander Simpson, was one of the most eminent members of the Edinburgh medical faculty in its great days. He himself was well endowed with the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, but he was one of those to whom nationality is the solid and necessary ground beneath our feet, without which there can be no reaching out to the higher international ideals. He was an unwearied

searcher after truth, and fell early under the spell of Henry Drummond, whose biography he afterwards wrote and to whose memory the chair which he held is permanently dedicated. After graduating in arts at Edinburgh University, he had taken the divinity course at the New College; but though he did not enter the ministry, his prime interest in life lay in the reconciliation of religion and science, on which he was continually writing and lecturing. His best-known books are *The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature, Man and the Attainment of Immortality* and *Nature: Cosmic, Human and Divine*. Many will remember his contribution last year to the B.B.C. lectures on "God and the World through Christian Eyes." In all that he wrote there was a restrained optimism, and this was the dominant note in conversation and was reflected in his attitude to public affairs. The very opposite of a recluse, he was intensely interested in foreign problems, travelled extensively in Europe and America, and soon found himself attracted by the Russian problem in its pre-war phase. *Sidelights on Siberia* was written in 1898 and consists of travel impressions. The mystical element in Orthodoxy aroused his sympathetic interest, and this is seen in *The Self-Discovery of Russia*, written in 1916, when a section of British opinion was perhaps inclined to attach an exaggerated importance to the religious or emotional side of Russian life. Today it makes melancholy reading and belongs as much to the past as those mystic theories of "the Third Rome" once proclaimed in certain Slavophil circles. Coming as he did from a milieu which was keenly interested in temperance reform and the Scandinavian experiments in that field, he also published in 1918 a small book entitled *The State Sale, Monopoly and Prohibition of Vodka in Russia*, also reflecting an optimism which the Revolution was soon to dissipate. During the second half of the war Professor Simpson, with Mr. R. A. Leeper, was in charge of the Russian section of the Intelligence Bureau, under the War Cabinet, and remained there when it was temporarily transferred to the Foreign Office in 1918. At that period, immediately before and after the Bolshevik advent to power in Petrograd, his office in Victoria Street became a convenient unofficial centre for conversations with the London representatives of the new Power; and the present Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, M. Litvinov, and other revolutionary agents, might often have been seen there.

The logic of events gradually drove Simpson in an unforeseen direction, and during 1918 he established even closer relations with the smaller Baltic States, then emerging from chaos to statehood.

He won the confidence of the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian leaders, was actively engaged on their behalf during the Peace Conference, and in 1921 was even selected as President of the Commission of Arbitration between Latvia and Lithuania. His interest in the progress of the Baltic States remained active to the end, but, of course, his main work lay at the New College, and (after the reunion of the Scottish Church) within the University of Edinburgh. He was a frequent lecturer in the United States, to which he was attached by the closest ties of marriage and friendship, and he died only a week after his return from one of these lecture tours. The General Assembly was then in session, and during the funeral suspended its session as a mark of universal respect.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

MR. LITVINOV AT GENEVA (29 May, 1934.)

We would call the special attention of our readers to the very able and important speech delivered by Mr. Litvinov on 29 May, 1934, to the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

Mr. Litvinov said :—

There are two questions before the present session of the General Commission. In the first place, it has to state whether the direct purpose of the Conference—namely, to solve the problem of disarmament—can be achieved or not, and in the latter event to establish the causes of failure. I may be permitted to doubt whether all the delegations represented at the Commission can arrive at a common opinion as to the causes of failure, but in my view it would be necessary and very valuable for individual delegations, at any rate, to make their observations on this subject.

The second question, which will probably give greater concern to the Commission, is that of the fate of the Disarmament Conference itself. We shall have to decide whether it should continue at all, and if so for what purpose, or whether the Conference should voluntarily pass out of existence.

Without wishing to anticipate the discussion, I will permit myself here and now to start my remarks from the premise that it will be impossible at present to find a solution of the problem of disarmament, on account of the irreconcilable differences which have come to light. For the sake of brevity I will enumerate only the fundamental differences. From the very beginning of the work, not only of the Conference itself

but also of the Preparatory Commission, two basic tendencies made their appearance—one represented by the Soviet delegation, and the other by nearly all the other delegations. The Soviet delegation refused to consider disarmament as an independent or self-sufficient objective, serving merely economic, budgetary, propagandist or other ends. We desired to see in disarmament the most effective means for abolishing the institution of war, and the concrete realisation of that idea which later became the foundation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, accepted by every State in the world, for the renunciation of war as an instrument for the settlement of international differences. We considered and still consider that a genuine renunciation of war cannot be effective without a complete renunciation of armaments, and that so long as armaments exist peace cannot be ensured : that only one kind of peace is possible—a disarmed peace—and that an armed peace is only an armistice, an interval between wars, the sanctioning of war in principle and *de facto*, and the negation of the principle embodied in the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

The Soviet delegation therefore began by proposing total universal disarmament. The acceptance of this proposal would have eliminated beforehand the numerous differences which arose at the Conference on the subject of dividing weapons into defensive and offensive, on the criteria of security, on various formulæ for reduction of armaments, on equality in armaments and particularly on the subject of control, etc. Nothing is easier than to control the complete absence of armaments, and nothing more difficult than to ascertain the reduction or limitation of armaments.

The adoption of the Soviet proposal, I may add, might have prevented a number of regrettable political events which have occurred since that time in various countries, with the rising tide of nationalism, jingoism and militarism, and might have left its mark on the international economic situation as well. We made our proposal at a time when the so-called pacifist ideology was in full bloom, and leading many to believe that war was impossible, at all events in the immediate future. The Soviet delegation, however, even then foresaw and foretold that the coming of an era of new wars was inevitable and close at hand, and it therefore insisted on the most speedy adoption of radical measures to avert those dangers. I believe that if the peoples of the world, who at that time had more influence over the policy of their governments than they have today, had seen as clearly beforehand the development of international political life, they would not have allowed the Conference to get away so easily from the Soviet proposal for general disarmament.

Unfortunately, our proposal aroused the opposition of all the other delegations, with the exception if I well remember of the Turkish, and the basis of their opposition was the view that the question of war and peace was not pressing, and that history had placed decades at our disposal, in which the problem of the guarantees of peace might be solved by easy stages and homeopathic doses.

We are convinced as before, nay, still more firmly than before, that if the peoples—after possibly a further painful, disastrous experience—return once again to the idea of seeking out international methods for averting wars by means of disarmament, they cannot fail to recall the Soviet proposal for general disarmament, and this time take it up with all seriousness, since this guarantee for peace is the most effective of all while the present social and economic system is maintained in the non-Soviet States.

The difference of principle just mentioned by me could not, however, bring the work of the Conference to a standstill. The Soviet delegation had not put forward its proposals in the form of an ultimatum, and declared its readiness to co-operate with the other delegations also in working out a system for the partial reduction of armaments. But it was just at this point that real difficulties began. While the Soviet delegation declared its readiness to accept any measures of reduction applying to any forms of armaments, differences arose among the other delegations. The primary conflict was whether to reduce existing armaments, or to limit them to the present level. Although it seemed at one time that this dispute had been settled by a vote of the Conference in favour of the reduction of armaments, we now have before us once again a proposal only for their limitation.

As to the reduction of armaments, we have no unanimity up to this day as to the degree, the principles or the criteria of such a reduction. There is no single opinion as to whether reduction should embrace all forms of armaments, by land, sea and air, or only some of those forms. A decision appeared at one moment to be approaching for the complete prohibition of aerial bombardment, from which there logically followed the necessity of abolishing the instruments of bombardment themselves. But here, too, we came up against a proposal for the maintenance of these instruments, but with a limitation of their activity to definite regions and particular objects—as though we could be satisfied with fixing destination-boards to our bombing planes, as they do to railway carriages, marking them “Ostend-Interlaken.” The question of supervision is also in a far from satisfactory state. I shall abstain from enumerating the many other differences. It is sufficient to say that not on a single question raised at the Conference have we either concrete decisions or even general formulæ on which all the delegations have come to agreement.

I must add that in the meantime political events have not waited on the end of discussions at Geneva, and have pursued their course. In various countries governments have changed, parties in power have changed, the ideology of parties and governments has changed, and their methods of dealing with international questions have changed. In spite of the adoption by all States, in virtue of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, of an international undertaking to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, we have witnessed the method of furthering national

policy precisely by the development of warlike activities on the territory of neighbouring States. Some States which as yet are not in possession of sufficient forces to carry out such a policy confine themselves for the time being to verbal and printed propaganda of the idea of expansion and the seizure of other people's lands by force of arms. Can we be surprised that States which are interested in the maintenance of peace have seriously taken the alarm, and are displaying still greater hesitation than before on the question of disarmament?

Similarly the principle of equality in armaments, which had already been adopted by the Conference, has been seriously shaken. No one can object to equality when all States show the same active interest, even though it be in words and by adopting suitable international obligations, in the maintenance of peace. But the question has now arisen, what is to be done with States whose rulers have quite openly sketched out a programme of conquest of foreign territories (of course by means of war, since no one voluntarily gives up his territory); and when the abstract principle of equality comes face to face with quite real perils involved in its application?

I am not saying this in order to draw conclusions as to the equality or inequality of all States in respect of armaments. The Soviet delegation is not faced with this question, which arises from documents to which the Soviet Government was not a party. Furthermore, such a question when discussed in the sense of rearmament, cannot concern a confidence for disarmament or for the reduction of armaments. I only desired to point out the new atmosphere which has arisen as a result of certain political events, and which has considerably complicated the work of the Conference, involved as it was in sufficiently vast difficulties already. And today, summing up more than two years' work of the Conference, we must openly say that the difficulties which made their appearance at the very dawn of its existence have not been allayed as time went on, but on the contrary proceeded crescendo, and brought us in the long run to a blind alley.

For, after all, what way out do we see ahead? There was no way out when the last session of the General Commission closed, and indeed it was closed because there was no way out. There were some who pinned their faith to the conversations which had begun within the narrow confines of a few States, but no agreement was arrived at even in that limited circle. At all events, we have before us no draft decision by all those who participated in those negotiations. And even if such an agreement had existed, it would be hardly likely to receive the endorsement of the vast majority of States which took no part in the negotiations I referred to. We know, too, of the statements made by some States—and those far from small, far from suffering from an excessive love of peace—to the effect that they will not accept any measure of reduction of armaments whatsoever. These statements alone are sufficient to

register the complete failure of the Conference, so far as disarmament is concerned.

Delegations may perhaps be found here to suggest to us that we be satisfied with crumbs, so to speak—with measures which, though they have little in common with disarmament, were nevertheless touched upon at the Conference. For example, we might once again confirm what has already been adopted as an international obligation, such as the prohibition of chemical warfare; or we might again undertake not to increase armaments above the existing level. But who can believe that such obligations can really be universally fulfilled under present conditions, and that the fulfilment of such an obligation can be effectively supervised? This being so, will it not be politically more honest and courageous to admit that international life, and particularly political events in some countries during recent years, have prevented the Conference from carrying out its direct task of drawing up a disarmament convention?

I do not want to be misunderstood. The Soviet delegation has not altered its attitude to the cause of disarmament in the very least, and continues to attribute the greatest importance to that cause. We do not in any way propose to abandon the further discussion of the problem of disarmament. Even less do we raise any objection to schemes of disarmament which may be put forward. On the contrary, we declare in advance our consent to any scheme of disarmament acceptable to the other States, and in particular to our nearest neighbours. Let anyone produce such a scheme likely to receive the support of all the delegations. But there is none. Neither our respected President nor the previous speaker gave any indication of a scheme of that kind. I have no reason to expect later speakers to introduce new schemes or new proposals, or that such proposals will meet with a better fate than those which were discussed already. We are therefore obliged to record that the futility of such a discussion on disarmament, in the absence of any proposals whatsoever which have a chance of securing universal acceptance, has been demonstrated. After all, we cannot engage in discussion for the sake of discussion, or offer up prayers for disarmament. We don't want to close our eyes to facts, however unpleasant they may be, and we draw the inevitable conclusions from the situation which has been created.

From what I have said, it would seem logically to follow that the Conference itself should be closed down. This would be very well, if the question were to be approached only from the formal or pedantic point of view, taking into account merely the title of the Conference. But the Soviet delegation, as I have already mentioned, continues to have in mind a wider conception of the Conference, as intended by means of disarmament to bring into being one of the guarantees of world peace. Consequently the question is not of disarmament itself, since that is only a means to an end, but of guaranteeing peace. And since this is so, the question naturally arises, cannot the Conference feel its way towards

other guarantees for peace : or at any rate may it not increase the measure of security for at least those States which, cherishing no aggressive designs, are not interested in war, and which in the event of war may become only the objects of attack?

I may be asked, what guarantees have we that the Conference will be more unanimous on such questions than it was on the question of disarmament, and that the new activity of the Conference will therefore be any more fruitful or successful? To this I will reply that in order to achieve any degree whatsoever of reduction in armaments, the unconditional agreement of nearly every State is essential, and that the whole cause may be frustrated by the disagreement of even one more or less important State, let alone one of the Great Powers. But unanimity is not required to realise other measures of security. Of course the Conference must do everything in its power to induce every State to accede to these measures. I hope that that will happen, and that consideration for their own interest will induce even States which do not sympathise with these measures not to exclude themselves from the general system set up. But even if there should be dissident States, this should not by any means prevent the remainder from coming still more closely together to take steps which will strengthen their own security.

Questions of security are far from unknown to the Conference. The Conference even created a special political commission for these questions. More than that, the Conference has already discussed these questions, without it is true carrying the discussion on to its conclusion. I will remind you in the first instance of the Soviet proposal for the definition of aggression, which has already been approved by one of the commissions of the Conference, and which has since been embodied in a number of international treaties. The further increase of the number of supporters of the Soviet definition of aggression would considerably facilitate the application of other proposals dealing with security which have been made at the Conference.

Finally, there may be made new proposals of a similar character, as for example proposals for sanctions of various kinds against an aggressor in the meaning of the Briand-Kellog Pact. A graduated scale of such sanctions may be established, without pursuing it to the point of military measures not acceptable to all States. Independently of a more or less universal or European pact, there might be concluded in addition separate regional pacts of mutual assistance, as proposed upon a former occasion by the French delegation. There is no question of military alliances, or of the division of States into mutually hostile camps, or still less of a policy of encirclement. We must not create universal pacts which would exclude any State wishing to participate, or such regional pacts as would not admit all those interested in the security of the particular region concerned. In measures of security of this kind, the principle of equality of all States without exception cannot arouse any doubts or hesitation.

If we proceed along these lines, the time and energy spent of the

Conference will not have been lost, and we shall not return empty-handed to the peoples who sent us here. And who can say whether the reinforcement of security, and the effect which it will have on aggressively inclined governments, will not create conditions enabling us to take up once more the problem of disarmament with greater chances of success?

As you see, I do not by any means speak of security in contrast to disarmament. Nor do I propose to exclude disarmament from the programme of work of the Conference. Everything that bears upon a system of guarantees of peace, and consequently disarmament likewise, must receive the careful attention of the Conference. But every question ought to be raised when it has some chance of a satisfactory solution. Today it may be security, tomorrow disarmament. I ask forgiveness for so frequently using the word "security," which, in the eyes of so many of us, is an antagonist of disarmament. But I find no more suitable term to express that which is understood by the word "security."

But I am far from wishing to put a limit to the Conference, either of scope or of time. I propose something much more, much wider, namely, the transformation of this Conference into a permanent body, concerned to preserve by every possible means the security of all States and safeguard universal peace. In other words, I propose that this Conference be transformed into a permanent and regularly assembling Conference of Peace.

Hitherto peace conferences have mostly been called on the termination of wars, and have had as their object the division of the spoils of war, the imposition on the vanquished of painful and degrading conditions, the redistribution of territories, the refashioning of States. But the Conference which I have in mind should sit for the prevention of war and its terrible consequences. It should work out, extend and perfect the measures for strengthening security, it should give a timely response to warnings of impending danger of war and to appeals for aid, to SOS from threatened States, and it should afford the latter timely aid within its power, whether such be moral, economic, financial or otherwise.

I can foresee objections pointing to the existence of the League of Nations, which is bound by Articles 12, 15, 16 and other of its Covenant to pursue the same objects as those to which I would like to see the work of this Conference directed. But, in the first place, the League of Nations has a multitude of tasks, it is occupied with a great deal of business, both great and small, it was created at a time when the peril of war seemed to many to be eliminated for years to come. Today when the peril of war stands before our very eyes, we might consider the creation of a special body with all its activity concentrated upon one objective—the preventing or the lessening of the danger of war. Secondly, the League of Nations is too straitly bound by its statutes, appeals to its authority and the taking of decisions are too stringently regulated, while the tribunal of the Conference might be made more accessible, more free, more responsive to the needs of the moment. Let the Conference continue to be considered an organ of the League, using the services of the League: let

it be far from replacing the League, which will maintain its prerogatives in their entirety. I am fully aware of the difficulty of setting up a new international organisation entirely divorced from, or competing with the League of Nations; and such a proposal is foreign to my intentions. But, after all, the very summoning of this international Disarmament Conference proves that the framework of the League is inadequate for such great problems as disarmament, while my proposal treats of a still greater problem—the permanent safeguarding of peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, I see no other alternative. The Disarmament Conference was called at a time when to many war seemed only a theoretical or an historical possibility. Can the Conference, must the Conference close down completely and disappear without a trace, can we peacefully disperse to our homes with the consciousness that we have not done our duty—just now of all times, when the peril of a most bloody war, or rather a series of such wars, overhangs every continent and the whole of humanity? There are few States nowadays which can consider themselves removed from such a peril. It may affect some earlier, others later, but it is not to be escaped.

I know there are politicians whose sum-total of wisdom consists in beating out a track for this peril away from themselves, in the hope that, having selected one direction, the peril will never seek another. Vain hopes! History knows of no case in which imperialist States, being inclined to conquest and to the extension of their power, displayed affection for only one part of the globe—south, west, east or north. Consolidated in one direction, they hurled themselves with renewed and increased energy to new conquests in other directions, and most frequently in all directions. In face of such a danger, not a single State—if only in the interests of self-preservation—has the right to wash its hands of responsibility and refuse to participate in the common international cause of averting this terrible peril. We shall thereby do a service not only to our own peoples, but to those peoples who, against their own will, and for purposes which are foreign to their desires, may be thrown into the furnace of sanguinary and adventurist experiments.

The Soviet Government looks back, not without pride, to those measures of security which on its initiative have been adopted during recent years in that part of Eastern Europe with which it is particularly concerned. By means of pacts for the definition of aggression, pacts of non-aggression and their prolongation for the maximum periods possible, the Soviet Government has succeeded in strengthening mutual confidence with the vast majority of its neighbours, and in reinforcing their feeling of security. It has thought out a new variety of pacts and declarations which, I trust, will in the future find widespread practical application—namely, pacts and declarations by stronger States which guarantee the independence of weaker States lying between them or close to them. Not on all occasions has the Soviet Government succeeded in these its efforts, and not always has it found a response from those States which it approached. But

even in such cases the Soviet proposals have done their service to the cause of peace, by helping to bring out into the light of day the points at which a breach of the peace might be expected.

But the Soviet Government is prepared to add its contribution to even wider measures for the safeguarding of universal peace. And the co-operation of the Soviet Government in an international cause, or with any international organisation, brings with it the tremendous moral force of an increasingly powerful State of 170,000,000, which has finally broken with the common past—of military conquest, plunder and annexation—and during the sixteen years of its new existence has given abundant proof of its sincere devotion to peace.

SOVIET LEGISLATION (X.)

(Selection of Decrees and Documents)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the remission of arrears in respect of grain deliveries and on granting of delay in repayment of grain loans for the period of three years.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR resolve :—

1. To remit the arrears in respect of grain deliveries for 1933 to all kolhozy and individual peasant households in all provinces, regions and republics.

2. To grant, for the whole of the USSR, three years' grace to the kolhozy in respect of repayment of grain loans—seed as well as food loans—which they had received from the State before 1934, as well as in 1934, on the condition that one-third of all grain loans should be repaid in the autumn of 1934, one-third in the autumn of 1935, and the last third in the autumn of 1936.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),

J. STALIN.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 27 February, 1934, No. 51-5299.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the organisational measures in the sphere of Soviet administrative and economic reconstruction.

In order to ensure a concrete direction of all branches of the Soviet administrative and economic work in correspondence with new

complicated tasks of the reconstruction period, to strengthen the close and permanent connection between managers and the local links of the economic and administrative apparatus, to overcome bureaucratic methods of management, to increase the personal supervision and responsibility of directors for the business entrusted to them and to liquidate complicated and multiform management, which was the result of the functional construction of the whole economic and administrative apparatus, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree :—

1. To liquidate the functional system in all the Soviet and economic organisations and to reconstruct them, beginning with the lower links and ending with the People's Commissariats, on the basis of economic and territorial principles; to organise Chief Departments in the People's Commissariats in correspondence with the above principles; these departments have to bear responsibility for and possess authority over all matters concerned with the direction of subordinated organisations and institutions; the remaining functional departments are to be limited in their authority and are to be forbidden to interfere with the work of the lower links of the administrative system without permission of the Chief Departments.

2. To augment the authority and duties of local, provincial, regional and republican administrative and economic organisations in the sphere of development of local industries and agriculture, to concentrate in the Chief Departments of the People's Commissariats direct management of only such undertakings as are actually of national importance; to transfer to the authority of local organisations a number of undertakings which are now subordinated to the federal and republican organisations.

3. To liquidate amalgamations existing at present in the economic administrative apparatus; to cut down the number of trusts; to increase the direct contact between central economic organisations, beginning with the People's Commissariats, and the most important of the undertakings subordinated to them.

4. To impose on managers and directors of all Soviet and economic organisations the duty of carrying out a constant and perpetual personal supervision as to the strict fulfilment by organisations subordinated to them, of decisions and instructions issued by central and local authorities; the directors must be forbidden to shift these duties on to subordinate officials; to liquidate in all the links of the soviet and economic apparatus the special sections which have hitherto been entrusted with the task of supervision and control.

5. To impose on managers and directors of all Soviet and economic organisations the duty of personal supervision as to the selection and distribution of economic and technical workers; a considerable number of engineers and technicians should be moved from offices to factories and other undertakings.

6. To instruct managers and directors of all soviet and economic organisations to issue a smaller number of various orders and instructions and to increase the constant and practical guidance, instruction, training and assistance to officials entrusted with the task of running the subordinated organisations of the soviet and economic system

7. To instruct managers and directors of economic organisations and undertakings to make a thorough study of the basic technical principles of the business entrusted to them; to achieve this, it is necessary to fix, for each branch of industry and agriculture and for all branches of the national economy, a minimum standard of the technical knowledge which is to be attained, in a certain minimum period of time, by all responsible officials.

8. To liquidate the *collegia* in all the branches of soviet and economic administration, with the exception of elected soviet organisations (soviets, executive committees); at the head of each People's Commissariat should be placed the People's Commissary, assisted by not more than two under-commissaries.

9. To form, at each People's Commissariat, Councils of People's Commissariats; these councils should hold sessions once in two months, and their membership should include not less than 40 and not more than 70 members, not less than one-half of the Councils should be composed of representatives of local organisations and undertakings.

10. To establish that the chairmen of Republican Councils of People's Commissaries and the chairmen of provincial and regional executive committees should have not more than two vice-chairmen.

11. To increase the mass control over the work of administrative organisations and to ensure the participation of the people in the fight against bureaucratic pestilence and deficiency of the State institutions; to increase the network of soviet sections and representative groups in industrial undertakings and in the villages and to organise in large towns district and sectional representative groups, women-activists, working women and women members of kolhozy should be especially recruited for this work.

12. To transfer to the trade unions the right of control at the factories and the supervision of the organs of control in the departments of workers' supply, close factory co-operative shops, district consumers' societies and town consumers' societies, and to ensure honorary surveillance by factories over the work of State institutions, and to apply more widely socialist principles of simultaneous participation in menial work as well as in the business of government.

13. In accordance with the above principles of reconstruction of the soviet and economic system :—

(a) To instruct the People's Commissaries and heads of the Central Boards attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

(the Central Board of Paved and Unpaved Roads and Automobile Transport, the Chief Board of Civil Aviation, etc.), to liquidate, in two weeks' time, their *collegia* and to submit to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR the names of candidates for the posts of under-commissaries, and to the Council of the People's Commissaries of the USSR the names of candidates for the posts of assistants to the Heads of Central Boards attached to the Council of People's Commissaries.

(b) To instruct the People's Commissaries and the Heads of Central Boards attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR to prepare, in one month's time, on the basis of the above principles and to submit to the Council of People's Commissaries the new scheme and regulations concerning the reconstruction of the People's Commissariats and of the Central Boards attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR. While preparing this new scheme, to take into account the necessary reorganisation of the local organs of the industrial People's Commissariats, instead of the plenipotentiary representatives of the People's Commissariats in the provinces and regions, provincial and regional boards of heavy, light and other branches of industry should be formed; these boards should be entrusted with the management of the local industry and with carrying out orders and instructions issued by the corresponding People's Commissary.

(c) To instruct the People's Commissariats of Heavy, Light and Timber Industries and the People's Commissary of Supplies, in two months' time, to prepare and to submit to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR lists of the undertakings which are to be directly subordinated to the People's Commissaries of the USSR and lists of those undertakings which are to be transferred to the direct management of the republican, provincial and regional organs.

(d) To instruct the People's Commissaries to supervise personally the preparation of the minimum standard of technical knowledge which is to be attained by each responsible official in every branch of administration, and to submit, in one month's time, to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR a first report regarding the work which is to be done in this respect by the People's Commissariats.

14. To instruct the Executive Committees and the Councils of Peoples' Commissaries of the allied and autonomous republics to liquidate, in two weeks' time, the *collegia* in all republican People's Commissariats, to appoint under-commissaries and to form Councils of the People's Commissariats on the basis of the principles formulated in this Decree.

15. To carry out during 1934 a curtailment of the staffs in all Soviet and economic organisations to the extent of not less than 10 or 15 per cent. in comparison with the staffs set up for them in 1933, and also to diminish severely the existing forms of statistical and other returns in all the links of the administrative and economic system; the Commission of Soviet Control attached to the Council of People's Commissaries, is to

be entrusted with the special task of watching over the carrying out of the relevant measures.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 15 March, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 16 March, 1934, No. 64-5312.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the calculation of wages in correspondence with the quantity and quality of production turned out by workers.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree:—

1. In case a worker, thanks to his own negligence or slackness, fails to turn out the amount of goods fixed for him, he shall be remunerated in correspondence with the quantity and quality of the output without any guarantee as to the minimum wage. If the non-fulfilment of the task has occurred owing to some other cause, he is entitled to at least two-thirds of the normal wage fixed for his grade.

NOTE.—If the task has not been fulfilled owing to a stoppage of machinery or to faulty raw materials, the rates of wages are to be regulated in conformity with the Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR of 30 December, 1931: "On the Measures regulating the Rates of Wages owing to stoppage of machinery, and/or faulty raw materials in industry and transport" (see *Collection of Laws of the USSR*, 1932, No. 2, § 11, and No. 23, § 144).

2. In case of a systematic non-fulfilment of the task under normal conditions of work the guilty worker may be dismissed or transferred to some other kind of work.

3. The governments of allied republics are instructed to correct the Labour Codes in conformity with this Decree.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 17 March, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 20 March, 1934, No. 67-5315.)

Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the overburdening of school children and pioneers with civic and political training.

In a number of schools and pioneer organisations children are overburdened, to an inadmissible extent, with the study of resolutions passed by the XVIIth Party Congress, questions of Marxist and Leninist theory and the policy of the Party.

Children of 8 to 12 years of age are requested, in schools and in the pioneer organisations, to answer questions which are beyond their understanding or which are so abstract that they antagonise the children even against such phenomena of social life and socialist upbuilding as are within their power of understanding. Scholastic "questionnaires" are circulated among the children, "political contests" and "political lotteries" are arranged, as well as other artificial and harmful tricks. An animated account of the most outstanding social events which may entertain and interest children is replaced by dull hackneyed instructions and inadmissible senseless coaching.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) considers all this to be a perversion of the problems of communist education of children and an infringement of the resolutions of the Central Committee on the work and tasks of school and pioneer education.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolves :—

1. To instruct the Commissariats for Public Education of the allied republics and the Central Committee of the All-Union Lenin's Communist League of Youth (with reference to pioneer organisations) to stop immediately the study of resolutions of the XVIIth Party Congress and questions of Marxist and Leninist theory.

2. The Central Committee of the All-Union Lenin's Communist League of Youth and the Commissariats for Public Education are to order that no directions of the Central Bureau of Young Pioneers regarding the work among pioneers in the schools should be issued without the approval of the Commissariats for Public Education; in the provinces—without the approval of the directors of the Public Education Departments; and in the schools—without the approval of the schoolmasters.

3. Not to allow the overburdening of children in secondary schools with civic and political tasks.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

23 April, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 24 April, 1934, No. 97-5345.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).

On the system of elementary and secondary schools in the USSR.

1. In order to ensure a clear organisational system and order in schools, to establish for the whole of the USSR common types of general schools, the elementary school, the incomplete secondary school, and the secondary school.

2. To have four classes (from 1st to 4th, inclusive) in the elementary school, seven classes (from 1st to 7th, inclusive) in the incomplete secondary school, and ten classes (from 1st to 10th, inclusive) in the secondary school.

3. To rename the groups existing in schools as classes and to count them consecutively from 1st to 10th.

4. To rename the so-called "O" group existing in a number of schools for children of seven years of age, as the preparatory class.

5. To instruct the State-Planning Commission of the USSR to submit for the approval of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR a programme of expeditious development of the system of secondary schools.

6. To establish that graduates from the incomplete secondary school have a preferential right of admission into technical schools, and that graduates from the secondary school have a preferential right of admission into universities and high schools.

7. To appoint to teaching posts in elementary schools only those teachers who have successfully graduated from pedagogical colleges, have completed three years of educational work and have been properly attested by the relevant local departments of the Commissariat for Public Education.

8. Headmasters in elementary schools should be appointed by the commissariats for public education of the allied and autonomous republics on the recommendation of the local departments of the Commissariat for Public Education.

9. Headmasters in incomplete secondary schools and in secondary schools are to be called "directors."

10. To appoint to the posts of directors of incomplete secondary schools and of secondary schools only such teachers who have successfully graduated from higher pedagogical colleges and have had three years of teaching experience.

11. Directors of incomplete secondary schools and of secondary schools should be appointed by the Commissariats for Public Education of the allied and autonomous republics.

12. To forbid the appointment of persons who have special pedagogical training to any other posts not connected with education.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),

J. STALIN.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 16 May, 1934, No. 113-5361.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the teaching of civic history in schools of the USSR.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) state that the teaching of history in schools of the USSR is unsatisfactory. The textbooks and oral instruction are of an abstract schematic character. Instead of the teaching of civic history in an animated and entertaining form with an exposition of the most important events and facts in their chronological sequence and with sketches of historical personages, the pupils are given abstract definitions of social and economic formations, which thus replace the consecutive exposition of civic history by abstract sociological schemes.

The decisive condition of a permanent mastery of history is the observance of historical and chronological sequence in the exposition of historical events, with a due emphasis in the memory of the pupils of important historical facts, the names of historical persons and chronological dates. Only such a course of historical teaching can ensure the necessary understanding, fidelity of presentation and a real use of historical material; correct analysis and correct explanation of historical events leading pupils to the Marxist conception of history, are possible only on this basis.

In accordance with this, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decree :—

1. To prepare by June, 1935, the following new historical textbooks :
(a) history of the ancient world; (b) history of the Middle Ages; (c) modern history; (d) history of the USSR; (e) modern history of dependent and colonial countries.

2. To approve the following list of members of groups entrusted with compiling the new historical textbooks : *History of the Ancient World*—Prof. S. I. Kovalev (principal), academician N. M. Nikolsky, A. S. Svanidze and Prof. A. V. Minulin; *History of the Middle Ages*—Prof. E. A. Kosminsky (principal), Prof. A. I. Gukovsky, O. V. Trachtenberg and A. I. Malyshev; *Modern History*—academician N. M. Lukin (principal), Prof. G. S. Friedland, Prof. V. M. Dalin, Prof. G. S. Zaidel and Docent

A. V. Efimov; *History of the USSR*—Prof. N. N. Vanag (principal), Prof. B. D. Grekov, Prof. A. M. Pankratova and Prof. S. A. Piontkovsky; *Modern History of Dependent and Colonial Countries*—K. B. Radek (principal), K. Z. Gabidulin, Prof. N. I. Konrad, A. S. Mukhadzhi, M. S. Godes, M. D. Kokin, L. I. Madyar, P. A. Mif and F. A. Rothstein.

3. In order to train qualified specialists in history, to reopen as from 1 September, 1934, faculties of history in the Moscow and Leningrad Universities, with the contingent of students to be admitted in the autumn at 150 for each faculty, and to fix the course of training at five years.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki),

J. STALIN.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 16 May, 1934, No. 113-5361.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).

On the teaching of geography in elementary and secondary schools of the USSR.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) state that the teaching of geography in elementary and secondary schools is suffering from serious deficiencies, of which the most important are: abstractness and dryness of exposition, insufficiency of physical and geographical material, poor reading of maps, overburdening of oral instruction and geographical textbooks with statistics, economic data and general schemes; owing to this, the students very often leave school without the possession of an elementary knowledge of geography.

In order to remove the above deficiencies, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) think it necessary to revise the programmes of geographical instruction and geographical textbooks for elementary and secondary schools and to instruct the Commissariats for Public Education of the allied republics to be guided by the following principles:—

1. To ensure, in the course of geographical study in elementary schools (3rd and 4th classes), fixing in the memory of the pupils the principal geographical names (countries, rivers, seas, mountains, towns, etc.), and a permanent knowledge of geographical maps, within the limits of the established programmes; to attain a higher standard of fidelity of presentation, easiness, popularisation and interest in the exposition of geographical knowledge.

2. To introduce the following changes in the geographical instruction in secondary schools: (a) to instruct the students of the 5th class in the knowledge of physical geography, and to preserve the existing extent of the programme, but to simplify the matter and to adapt it to the age of the students in the 5th class; (b) to concentrate the attention of the 6th class students on a physical and geographical survey of the parts of the world (Europe, Asia, America, Africa, Australia), with the addition of basic information on the most important countries in each part of the world (political order, national economy, etc.), cutting down and simplifying the material in accordance with the age of the students in this class; (c) to leave the general physical and geographical survey of the USSR in the programme of the 7th class, while considerably increasing its extent, and also the survey of republics, regions and provinces of the USSR, in such a manner as to simplify and free the material from economic and statistical details, and at the same time to emphasise in this survey the geographical features of each republic, region and province (description of rivers, lakes, seas, climate, flora and fauna, characteristics of population, important towns, railways, roads, etc.); (d) to instruct the students of the 8th class in the economic geography of the USSR in such a way as to give them detailed economical and geographical descriptions of each district, preceded by a general survey of the productive forces of the USSR and of the state of the national economy; (e) to introduce into the programme of the 9th class instruction in the economic geography of capitalist countries.

3. To prepare new geographical textbooks by June, 1935, and to appoint the following authors: (a) P. G. Terekhov and V. G. Erdeli—textbook of elementary geography for the 3rd and 4th classes in elementary schools (in two parts); (b) Prof. A. S. Barkov and Prof. A. A. Polovinkin—textbook of physical geography for the 5th class, (c) Prof. N. N. Baransky—textbook of physical geography of the USSR for the 7th class; (d) Prof. N. N. Baransky—textbook of economic geography of the USSR for the 8th class; (e) S. L. Varzhansky—textbook of geography of the parts of the world (without the USSR) for the 6th class; (f) I. A. Vitver—textbook of economic geography of the capitalist countries for the 9th class.

4. To instruct the People's Commissariat for Public Education of the RSFSR and the State Publishing Office to publish for teachers of geography a geographical selection of classical authors, a manual of geographical instruction, a bibliographical list of books and a geographical journal for teachers.

5. To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Education of the allied republics to publish a small selection of books, starting publication in 1934, for entertaining reading by students (biographies of famous explorers, tales of different countries and peoples, popular descriptions of the most important travels, etc.).

6. To instruct the State Publishing Office and the Map Trust to ensure the publication of geographical maps, atlases, pictures, tables and other geographical material in accordance with the requests of the People's Commissariats for Public Education.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist
Party (Bolshevik),
J. STALIN.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 16 May, 1934, No. 113-5361.)

On supplementing the Code of Crimes against the State (crimes against the order of government counter-revolutionary and especially dangerous for the USSR) with clauses on high treason.

Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR decrees:—

To supplement the Code of Crimes against the State (crimes against the order of government, counter-revolutionary and especially dangerous for the USSR) with the following clauses from 1 (1) to 1 (4).

1 (1). High treason, i.e. acts committed by citizens of the USSR, with intention to damage the military power of the USSR or to violate its State independence or the integrity of its territory, such as: espionage, betrayal of military secrets, desertion to the enemy, escape or flight abroad—are to be punished by the supreme criminal punishment—shooting—with confiscation of all property, or, if there are mitigating circumstances, by imprisonment for a term of ten years with the confiscation of all property.

1 (2). The above crimes committed by persons on active military service are to be punished by the supreme criminal punishment—shooting—with the confiscation of all property.

1 (3). In case of an escape or flight abroad of a person on active military service the adult members of his family, if they, in whatever respect, have aided in the preparation or in the carrying out of the act of high treason, or if they knew of such an act but failed to inform the authorities, are to be punished by imprisonment for a term of from five to ten years, with confiscation of all property. The remaining adult members of the family of the traitor, who have lived with him or were dependent on him at the time when the crime was committed, are to be disfranchised and exiled to the remotest districts of Siberia for a term of five years.

1 (4). Failure on the part of a person on active military service to denounce an act of treason, whether in the course of preparation or actually committed, is to be punished by imprisonment for a term of ten years. Failure to denounce, on the part of all other citizens (not on active military

service), is to be prosecuted in conformity with clause 12 of the present Code.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
M. KALININ.

Assistant Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

A. MEDVEDEV.

Moscow, Kremlin, 8 June, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 9 June, 1934, No. 133-5381.)

CHRONICLE

RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

Foreign Policy.

THE policy of the consolidation of the Soviet Union's international positions in the West is being further developed. During April and May at the Soviet government's proposal the pacts of non-aggression with the Baltic states, Finland and Poland were prolonged till 1945. The rapprochement with France received fresh impetus in the speeches of public men in both countries and in an official visit paid to the USSR by a representative group of French academicians and scientists. At the time of writing, persistent rumours are afloat of the possible conclusion of a security pact between France and the USSR for which M. Litvinov is said to be assiduously working. Relations with Germany are proportionally deteriorating, and considerable mutual irritation is displayed on both sides.

The admission of the Soviet Union to membership of the League of Nations appears to be merely a question of time. The tone of the Soviet Press towards the League, which had greatly moderated for months since, has now become definitely favourable.

In the Far East, the tension apparently remains the same, and according to the testimony of eye-witnesses the Soviet's armed forces concentrated near the frontier are both large and well equipped with all technical war appliances. The dispute which arose with Japan over the rate of exchange of the bids for the Kamchatka fisheries is still unsettled, and frequent reciprocal protests over minor frontier incidents continue to maintain an atmosphere of acrimonious irritation in the relations between the two countries.

The Harvest.

The spring sowing, which owing to an early spring is considerably in advance of last year's corresponding figures, is officially declared to be proceeding most satisfactorily, and the harvest prospects are announced to be good. However, a decree published late in May raising employees'

and workers' wages to meet the rise in the price of rationed bread due to "a partial deterioration of crops owing to drought in certain districts" seems to belie such official optimism. Indications that in some places, at least, crops have perished from drought appear here and there in the press. Thus, at a conference of the heads of the "political sections" of the central Black Soil Territory it was stated that some of the autumn-sown crops owing to "late sowing and a dry spring" had perished and their areas had been re-sown. In other districts areas sown "in excess of the spring plan" were attributed to the enthusiasm of the collectivised peasants, but as such acreage ran into hundreds of thousands of hectares, it would seem that so large a surplus of land could only be available where previously sown crops had failed. The outlook therefore, while still uncertain, gives ground for anxiety.

Industry.

The quarterly figures for the heavy industries show a considerable increase in the output, together with a decline in the cost of production and a rise in labour productivity. Nevertheless production is still below plan, particularly in the oil, timber, rolled metal and agricultural machinery industries. The heavy metal industries show considerable improvement in the amount of output, the figures being only slightly below plan.

The Rescue of the Chelyuskin.

A truly epic episode was the rescue by Soviet airmen, under conditions of extraordinary difficulty, of the crew and passengers—over 90 in all—of the steamer "Chelyuskin," which had perished in the Arctic Ocean, north-west of the Behring straits. The crew were marooned on an ice floe for two months, while aeroplanes were rushed to the nearest point on the mainland and steamers despatched to the extreme north of Kamchatka. The former were continually delayed by severe snowstorms and fogs, and the latter became icebound in the Behring sea. Finally, after many heroic exploits, the entire population of the sunken "Chelyuskin" were transported by air to the mainland without a single loss of life or damage to the aeroplanes, and were transferred by dog teams to the steamers. These had been released by the ice-breaker "Krasin," after her own voyage from Leningrad *via* the Panama canal to the Behring sea, and the explorers are now homeward bound.

REVIEWS

Iz Moego Proshlago (Out of My Past: Reminiscences, 1903-1919). By Count V. N. Kokovtsev. I, pp. 512, II, pp. 510. Izd. Zhurna a "Ilyustrirovannaya Rossiya," Paris, 1933.

THIS book is simply invaluable for the study of the fall of the Russian monarchy. The author, now in the eighties and in the fullest possession

of all his powers, has felt that he had no right to leave the world without a record of all that he could tell us at first hand bearing on this tremendous and extraordinary story. He has been throughout life a man of affairs, a "day-to-day worker," as he put it to his sovereign on the day when he handed over his office, with a family tradition of hundreds of years in modest service to the State, mostly in the provinces, and himself Minister of Finance for ten years and Prime Minister for two and a-half, after which he had no other wish than to continue in work and service, and took little interest whether in the title of Count which was bestowed on him or in the offered grant of some twenty or thirty thousand pounds which he refused.

His mind and his outlook are the best of the type that is called bureaucratic; one can see in his record how he held on to every point of detail which possessed any importance until he had made clear to his sovereign all the issues which were at stake, and had secured from him a definite instruction on each of them. Count Kokovtsev, as he repeats in almost every given instance, wrote down word for word all that passed between him and the Tsar as soon as he had returned home; and in all my reading on this subject I have found no other picture to be compared to his of Nicholas II at his best. Precisely because of the complete objectivity of the narrator and of an insistence on clearness which must at times have seemed almost tiresome, he brings out in this word-for-word record a living portrait of the Tsar, with his absolute simplicity and charm, his modesty, his excellent good sense, his complete weakness. Time and time again, when Kokovtsev has had the courage to check him in decisions which he has even already taken, in sheer despair of countering the pressure brought to bear upon him by his innumerable irresponsible advisors, Nicholas says in the frankest way. "You are right, and I am wrong." It is even so in the last official audience, when it is already too late to rectify the wrong. For Nicholas, fearful of himself and yielding to an intrigue in which such different persons as Count Witte, Shcheglovitov, the Empress and Rasputin have combined against Kokovtsev, has put his decision into the form of a letter in order to make it final, and when Kokovtsev, at once accepting the decision, simply challenges the reasons which have been given for it and have no real foundation in fact, Nicholas holds his hand and stands gazing at him speechless, while tears fall from his eyes. Could there be any better picture of the main cause that brought about the fall of the autocracy, namely, the inherent and incurable weakness of the autocrat?

Count Kokovtsev, as he explained to the present writer in a recent interview, felt acutely, as every reader must feel with him, the two difficulties that faced him in the drawing up of this final record; on the one side were the demands of historical truth, and on the other the affection conquered from him by the man who let him go so easily. Still more difficult was the drawing of the portrait of the Empress which he has left us. He knew only too well that she was his inveterate enemy from

the moment when he succeeded in persuading Rasputin to leave the capital and return for a time to his peasant home. Up to that very moment, Alexandra, with a mind which one might describe as almost obsessed with the ideal of honesty and straightness, had shown him plainly that confidence which she naturally felt in an honest and loyal public servant. It was Rasputin who sought an interview with Kokovtsev, he tried his usual tricks of magnetism and confusion without any effect on the plain mind of the Premier, who told him that he was doing infinite harm to the dynasty by removing that "envelope" which the sovereign must possess in the eyes of his people. Rasputin did actually go for a time; and at a subsequent meeting, which was on the Empress's own birthday in her beloved country home at Livadia, she lingered obviously with his minor neighbours as she approached Kokovtsev, and eventually jerked out a hand sideways to him, withdrawing it almost at once, and dwelling long in her conversation with a subordinate who stood further on. Her rudeness was so pointed as to amount to a court scandal, most alarming to that good soul, the always well-disposed and well-meaning Minister of the Court, Baron Frederickz. From then onwards, as Kokovtsev well knew, his dismissal was only a matter of time, but it was two years before it came, and in every single audience of the Emperor he succeeded in carrying practically all his points, and retained to the end his absolute and affectionate confidence.

There are innumerable other questions on which this book is full of first-hand historical material of the greatest importance. In particular, there is a summary of what were unquestionably the most prosperous years in the economic history of Russia, during the whole of which time Kokovtsev was in charge of the national finances; and there is a most interesting preface to this period, dealing with such convulsions as the Japanese War and the revolutionary movement of 1904-7, during which Kokovtsev fought his way to the position in which such an exceptional advance became possible. To his brilliant predecessor and bitterest enemy, Count Witte, Kokovtsev is scrupulously fair; for here, too, he confines himself to an immediate record of the exchanges of conversation and communications between them, which leaves the most convincing picture.

It is pretty clear that Kokovtsev, in the sense which was possible for a man of his completely bureaucratic antecedents and in no other, was a friend of the Duma; and his enemies made vigorous use of this to drive him from office. Perhaps one may smile a little at the pleasure which he took in his constant skirmishes with his principal antagonist in its ranks, Andrew Shingarev, and his not infrequent references to the stenographic report of the debates with its punctuation of applause; but this simplicity only adds to the conviction which one feels in reading this book. Here is a man who signalled one by one all the grave dangers which threatened the monarchy, and fought for its preservation so long as frankness and persuasion could do anything to avert its fall. If Kokovtsev had been a

man of more compelling will, the issue might have been different; but this honest and documented record, which must be taken for just what it claims to be, will be of the utmost service to future historians.

BERNARD PARES

The Crucifixion of Liberty. By Alexander Kerensky. Translated by G. Kerensky. (Arthur Baker, Ltd) Pp. 368.

It may be that this title is not of the author's choosing, in any case it is a pity that the book should carry it, for it is the personal memoirs of a prime minister of Russia at a time of supreme historical importance. It is true that the catastrophe that has befallen liberty almost all over the world was the leit-motiv of that momentous period, and that Kerensky had given his whole life to the cause of liberty and fell with it and because of its fall. Had he been prepared to jettison that principle at a time when it was hopelessly out of tune with the conditions with which he was set to work, possibly his lot might have been different.

The book is, however, both a personal record and a plea for liberty. Russian history is full of fatal coincidences of detail; for instance, Rasputin had foretold to his imperial friends that they would some day see his village, which seemed almost impossible, and they passed it on the way to their death. There are two such coincidences in Kerensky's record. One is told in his striking description of the boyhood of Lenin, who was a pupil in the school of Kerensky's own father in the little provincial town of Simbirsk, and the headmaster's estimate of his pupil which is given on page 13 is a document essential to Lenin's history. It is interesting to read. "Religion and discipline were the basis of this upbringing, the fruits of which are apparent in Ulianov's (Lenin's) behaviour." But the report goes on. "Looking more closely at Ulianov's character and private life, I have had occasion to note a somewhat excessive tendency towards isolation and reserve, a tendency to avoid contact with acquaintances, and even with the very best of his schoolfellows outside school hours."

The other coincidence is more trivial, but the passage in which it is related is very striking. The young Kerensky, who like many Russian radicals was deeply sensitive to religion, was returning in the early morning in the mood of a Russian Easter from the traditional midnight celebration: "I cannot attempt to describe the enchanting spell of St. Petersburg in spring, in the early hours before dawn—particularly along the Neva, on the embankments. One must see these things to feel them. Happily aglow, I was walking home to the Vassilievsky Island and was about to cross the bridge by the Winter Palace. Suddenly, by the Admiralty—just opposite the Palace—I stopped involuntarily. On an overhanging corner balcony stood the young Emperor, quite alone, deep in thought. A keen presentiment: we should meet some time, somehow our paths would cross" (page 146).

There was a third coincidence. That remote province of Simbirsk was also the home of Protopopov, the miserable man who as the last and most favoured minister of the Empress Alexandra, brought about the actual revolution of March, 1917, and was later to make his amazing confession to the judicial commission set up by Kerensky, then Minister of Justice.

The Social Revolutionaries, or S R's, to whom Kerensky came to belong, were as typically Russian as social democracy was typically un-Russian. He writes on page 103 :

" In Marxism, the class has swallowed the human being. Yet without man, without the living human personality and its individual worth, without the liberation of man as the ethical and philosophic aim of the process of history--without these conceptions, there is nothing left of Russian thought : the whole tradition of our literature must be deleted from memory. In contrast with the orderly and compelling, but shallow unity of Marxism, the Narodniki teaching was indistinct, lacking in detailed scientific study, inconsistent, and eclectic. But it was the product of national thought, rooted in the native soil, it flowed entirely within the channel of the Russian humanitarian ideals "

The S.R.'s, of whom many have been my friends, were, when all is said, singularly like that daring generation of English Radicals whose energetic spadework lay at the back of the great Liberal movement in this country in the 19th century. Their socialism was largely a chivalrous altruism calling them to every sacrifice for the vast under-dog population of the peasantry. Their methods were very individualist, for they wandered singly or in small groups through that ocean of peasantry, and they took from it as much colour as they gave to it. And as all the best judges, including Lenin, have understood, the Russian peasant in his instincts and aspirations was really an individualist.

I can remember such a peasant, an old man with ragged beard and flashing eyes, explaining to me the moral effect when the Government quartered troops upon the peasants. " That was a university," he said. Kerensky received his diploma in this school from a short term of imprisonment in the troubled year 1905, and the task to which he set himself after his legal training was that of continually defending political prisoners, which was one of special danger and self-sacrifice. Anyone who has finished reading this book will be sure to feel that it is not so much a book as a speech, and one of singular eloquence. The " orator " is a pleader, one who speaks to convince, and the pleader who has chosen these clients is one who is speaking from his heart. That was the essence of Kerensky's great oratorical gift. Speaking was an art much more common in Russia than in England, and the short-lived Russian Duma produced three orators of the first order : Feodor Rodichev, Basil Maklakov and Peter Stolypin. But speech as a vehement urge to conduct and action, speech of a religious fervour in a

time of intense national danger was exemplified in this fourth and youngest of the orators of the Duma period, Kerensky.

The book has naturally most to do with the March Revolution and the short period of eight months that immediately followed on it. The monarchy had fallen of itself. "It was not the propaganda of revolutionary ideas—which did not even reach everybody," writes Kerensky on page 106, "that destroyed in us the traditional outlook. It was the degeneration of the autocracy, from the creative national force that it once had been to a nationally destructive anachronism, which forced us to seek such new ideas as would give a logical form to the mental revolution which was already ripe." And nothing could bear out this description better than the story of those two last deadly years when the Empress superseded her weak husband, and the choice of ministers and decisions on the most critical issues was determined by Rasputin.

As Kerensky has explained in this book and elsewhere, the Provisional Government of 1917, of which he was in the end the outstanding member, had three tasks to attempt, any of which might have exhausted the credit of any government. The administrative machinery of the country had collapsed under Tsarism and had to be replaced—for instance, there were now no police and there was soon to be no army. The task of building up a new state system had to take account of the enormous change that had come about and of all the instincts that lay behind it. Thirdly and lastly, if national honour was anything, Russia was bound to make every effort to continue in a war in which her ally, France, and her friend, England, had come to her aid. Thus, after devastating casualties, which by my reckoning at the Russian front must have practically wiped out the Russian army three times over before it broke, at that very moment was to be introduced wholesale into Russia—ignorant, benighted Russia with seventy-five per cent. of illiterates—the principle for which the leaders of revolutionary thought had been striving for generations, the principle of personal liberty. Such were the origins of that phantasmagoria which so many allied officers were to witness in Russia, when councils of the regimental rank and file sat down to debate whether they would accept the order to attack.

Of course, Kerensky's task was hopeless. But before we accept the condemnation which so many have passed upon him as a type of political weakness, we have to know more and think more. Probably anyone who was then present will agree that with the intense thirst for free speech and personal freedom of action which followed on the fall of the monarchy, no one could in those first days have set up a new dictatorship, and Kerensky knew perfectly well what he was doing when he refused to make any such attempt. As Minister of Justice of the March Revolution and the extreme Left member in the cabinet, he settled straight off that the Revolution should have no victims of revenge; and later, in controversy with the Bolsheviks, he definitely declared (page 146) "I will not be the Marat of the Russian Revolution."

book is really eloquent. This of itself stamps the distinction of the translation, which is the work of Kerensky's son Gleb, educated in England and now in employment at Birmingham. Direct and forceful Russian, in my opinion, translates into English better than into any other language; and the translator, with his mastery of the simplest terms of English speech, throughout seems able to reproduce the force of the original.

There are, however, certain misprints or other errors —Page 179, V. D. Nabokov was only a Member of the First Duma, not of the Fourth. Page 190, Aunt Miechen, the nickname of the elder Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, becomes "Aunt Minchen." Page 268, the Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich was the younger, not the elder, brother of Alexander I. Pages 315 and 316, M. Noulens, the French representative in Russia, becomes "Noulence." Page 345, Franco-Soviet is spelt "Franko-Soviet." On page 352, "inapplicable" should surely be "applicable."

BERNARD PARES.

England und der Aufstieg Russlands. Von Dietrich Gerhard Munich and Berlin, 1933.

ONE of the most vital changes in 18th-century Europe was the rise of Russia to the rank of a great Power under the guidance of Peter the Great, and to a dominant position in Europe in the reign of Catherine II. There were two great landmarks in the process: (1) the Treaty of Nystad in 1721, which finally transferred ascendancy in the Baltic from Sweden to Russia, and (2) the Treaty of Kutchuk Kamardji in 1774, which brought Russia into touch with the Mediterranean. To the first of these changes England was resolutely hostile, but internal conditions paralysed her forces at the moment, and the vital need of naval stores from the Baltic impelled her to seek a reconciliation with the new dominant State, which was effected by the commercial treaty of 1734. From that time it became the constant aim of English policy to transform this economic association into a political alliance. This seemed to be actually achieved by the conclusion of the treaty of 1742, but a revolution in Russia deprived the treaty of all practical value, and the conventions of 1747, which had the double aim of employing Russian troops to hold Prussia in check and of bringing some 30,000 of them to take part in a final campaign in the Netherlands, came too late to affect the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. After 1748, Newcastle still clung to the hope of adding Russia to that anti-Bourbon coalition which he strove to reunite. But the alienation of Austria, which prepared the way for the "diplomatic revolution" of 1756, forced England into the Convention of Westminster with Frederick the Great, and this had the effect of virtually annulling the Anglo-Russian treaty which Sir Charles Hanbury Williams had triumphantly concluded in September, 1755. In spite of this bitter disappoint-

ment, the commercial tie was still strong enough to avert any open rupture, diplomatic relations were unbroken during the Seven Years' War, and Pitt resolutely refused to send that fleet to the Baltic which Frederick the Great so persistently demanded. When the war ended, and with it the Russian alliance with Austria and France, England continued to be a suppliant for a political alliance with Russia. Her efforts however, proved futile, partly through Prussian influence at St. Petersburg, but mainly because British interests in the Levant precluded any joint action with Russia against Turkey.

One result of this prolonged and rather humiliating search for an alliance with Russia was that England rather welcomed than opposed Catherine II's first advances towards naval power in the Mediterranean. British complacency, however, diminished when the Empress began to free Russia from economic dependence upon England, and still more when she gave her whole-hearted patronage to the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Even then the first impulse was to buy her off by the proffered cession of Minorca and other favours, and it was not till the conclusion of the Triple Alliance in 1788 that England at last appeared as an open antagonist of Russian advance towards the south. But Pitt was not secure of popular support, the Ochakov quarrel fizzled out, and English relations with Russia, prior to the revolutionary wars, ended in another humiliation.

Dr. Gerhard has rendered a great service by his thorough survey of this tangled story of Anglo-Russian relations in the 18th century. His two years' residence in England enabled him to explore the sources in this country, and he has supplemented these by research into Russian and Swedish authorities. The result is a book which no student of economic or diplomatic history can afford to neglect. There are one or two slips which need correction. On page 9 the unfortunate Caroline Matilda, who married Christian VII of Denmark, appears as the "niece" of George III, whereas she was really his sister. And Robert Keith, who represented England at the Russian Court during the Seven Years' War, was not "Sir Robert" (page 16). To call him so tends to encourage the confusion, common to many continental historians, between Robert Keith and his son, Sir Robert Murray Keith, who was also a diplomatist of some note.

RICHARD LODGE.

Russian Mediæval Architecture. With an account of the Transcaucasian styles and their influence in the West. By D. R. Buxton. (Cambridge University Press.) Pp. 104, 2 maps, 5 pp. of plans, 109 plates. 25s.

THIS, apart from the excursion beyond the Caucasus, is very much the book I hoped to write a generation ago when I went to Russia and at once became interested in its architecture. But this book is much better than I should have achieved; Mr. Buxton is a competent photographer

with a happy knack of choosing the right point of view, and he has had guidance from Russian sources which was nearly lacking to me : Suslov, Pavlinov, Kondakov were pioneers quite superseded by Grabar, Kravetsky and Réau on whom he could base himself. But he sees things with his own eyes and judges independently, and he has set out the developments and the catastrophic interruptions very clearly. The mutual action and reaction of masonry and wood is a fascinating study, and the way that the builders got their effects in spite of patriarchs and canonical inhibitions. Yet the plates are the main thing. When I have seen the building, the view brings it back to me, when it is at Novgorod or in the Vladimir region it makes me regret that I had to leave Russia before I got there. Now Mr. Buxton went everywhere, to the remotest parishes of the White Sea, and that makes his book really complete and really his own.

A quarter of the plates are devoted to Armenian and Georgian churches. This is a greater architecture than the Russian, but I have never been in the country so it does not appeal to me in the same way; yet for picturesque position and the opportunities they give to the photographer these Caucasian churches are quite wonderful. And the technical problems of planning, construction and ornament are of very great importance ever since Strzygowski put forward his startling theory that the Armenians first applied to stone churches the dome on the square bay; and that to them go back half the peculiarities of Western Romanesque. I once showed Dr. Orbeli the tall Saxon tower-arch of St. Benet's, Cambridge, and he felt that this was something in which he was at home. Yet, with Mr. Buxton, I cannot accept so revolutionary a view. Let us all be pupils of Syria and Asia Minor.

The lack of tectonic sense is very queer in people who built really first-rate buildings; what one can excuse in the builders of Bradford-on-Avon is strange in the masons of Gelati, cutting arches and pillars in the general surface of the facing. Men who used these immense masses of masonry, this small proportion of voids to supports, can hardly be the ultimate teachers of the Gothic craftsmen. As to Curtea de Arges, which we are given as a final example of the later Armenian influence spread Westwards, the pictures make the same impression on me as those of the later Indian architecture—wonderful work, but an alien strain.

Whereas the delicious wooden churches of the north, with their marvellous outlines rising above the flat country, are what I am most sorry never to have seen, and I envy Mr. Buxton having seen them and having written such a delightful book.

E. H. MINNS.

Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst der vormoskovitischen Zeit.

Von Demetrius Ainalov. Pp. xv. + 96. Berlin and Leipzig (Walter de Gruyter & Co.), 1932. RM. 19.80.

THE present volume is the first of four in which Ainalov intends to cover the whole field of Russian "monumental" art. The second

volume will complete his survey of the architecture, frescoes, iconography, sculpture and embroideries of medieval Russia, for he describes all these arts as "Ausdrucksformen des monumental-dekorativen Stils." In the third and fourth volumes we are promised an account of the period since Peter the Great, extending even to the post-revolutionary years. The minor arts will form the subject of an appendix.

The writings of an investigator who first published in the last century, but who has been quick to profit by the researches of recent years under the Soviet régime, must carry unusual authority. A perusal of the text shows in fact that Ainalov has profound knowledge of his subject and, on controversial questions, a balanced judgment. The exhaustive bibliographies which succeed each chapter show that the most recent sources of information have been consulted.

A short note on the art of pre-Christian times is followed by the three principal chapters, dealing respectively with the architectural regions and periods of Kiev, Novgorod and Vladimir. The subject is treated historically, and the author attempts to trace in detail all the numerous foreign influences which came to bear on Russian art of each period. His discussion of the remarkable sculpturings on the walls of the 12th century Vladimir churches is of particular interest from this point of view. By virtue of their material—a white stone—these churches were receptive to influences from other styles of stone building in a way that the brick churches in other parts of Russia could not be. The very various subjects represented, including many biblical scenes, real and mythological beasts, etc., are traced partly to the romanesque styles of Europe, and partly to various countries of Western Asia, whence they reached Russia *via* the Caucasus as well as *via* Constantinople.

Those who know the standard Russian works will find many old friends among the plates at the end of the book. These are, however, well selected, and a certain number of original photographs are included. Frescoes are better illustrated than other aspects of the subject, by some forty monochrome and two fine coloured reproductions. The series of details of Vladimir stone carvings, taken from an old work of Bobrinsky, are likewise welcome. The text contains numerous plans. One regrets only the absence of a map.

This book will appeal more particularly to the specialist. The ordinary reader will miss such descriptive passages as might give him a general idea of the Russian styles, their relation to those of the outside world, and their place in the Russian scene. But to anyone who may wish to study the subject in detail, Ainalov's book is likely to prove the most useful, while it is also the least costly, of those published on the continent within the last two years.

Speaking of architecture in particular, one welcomes this scholarly and authoritative addition to the scanty literature on the Russian style, a subject of great fascination, but one strangely neglected.

D. R. BUXTON.

Agnets Bozhy : O Bogochelovechestve. By the Rev. Protopriest Sergius Bulgakov. Part I. (Paris : Y.M.C.A. Press, 1933.) Pp. 468.

IF any one feature is more marked than another in Fr. Sergius Bulgakov's thought, it is the juxtaposition of the Divine and the Cosmic Wisdom, of the Christological (Byzantine) and the Theotokan (Russian) Sophia; and for this juxtaposition he claims the support of a specifically Russian inspiration. The claim is not unchallenged. In a curiously erudite article Fr. George Florovsky has sought to prove that the Theotokan Sophia is either un-Russian or a mistake¹, but this provoking conclusion is reached by a method which would dissolve even the Russian conception of catholicity, *sobornost* itself, into "doubtful influences," although *sobornost* is one of the indubitable products of Russian thought. Nevertheless, it is a timely warning that "Russian" is a highly relative term and that Russia does not readily exhaust herself in any one direction. But, if the Russian contribution to dialectical theology is not a nationalist deity but a Sophian universe, it is a refinement of criticism to inquire whether the idea has been engendered spontaneously or through Western influences on an excited religious disposition. Be that as it may, the effect of the Theotokan interpretation beside the Christological is profound; this is not merely the juxtaposition of the temporal and the eternal, but their identical qualification as the Divine Wisdom, and, if the Blessed Virgin is the especial embodiment of the creature Sophia, then here is involved the recognition of an abiding reality in time and in history; the human ground of the Incarnation is prepared in the Old-Testament church. Florovsky acutely quotes this implication of return to the Old Testament from an old criticism directed, indeed, against the Novgorod icon of Sophia, which is not even Theotokan, but prophetic and potential.

Granted, then, the general character of modern Russian thought, it would be reasonable to expect from this, not the "historical Jesus" of Liberal theology, but a Christological realism of another kind, less empirical and more ontological and dogmatic. Moreover, the identical qualification of the Divine and the human throws into relief the Chalcedonian definition of the two natures in Christ, since it suggests the ground in the "wisdomhood" or "sopheity" (*sofinost*) of creation for an ontology which should not be violated but vindicated by the Incarnation. Bulgakov's answer to this central problem in his thought is now given in *The Lamb of God*, a fluent volume with an impressive air of settled direction, bearing on its title-page in Miss Julia Reitlinger's design the seven-horned Lamb of the Apocalypse.

On its formal side Bulgakov's thought is so supple and kneaded that its essentially paradoxical character is apt to escape notice. It is in effect a dialectical co-ordination of revealed truths. There is an ontological unity which requires a multiplicity. The transcendental Absolute postulates itself as God and therefore as the Absolute-Relative, since God

¹ *The Cult of Sophia, the Wisdom of God, in Byzantium and in Rus.*

already correlates to Himself the world in creation. The unity of the world rests in God, whose nature is omniunity, Wisdom. God furthermore reveals Himself in the Holy Trinity as a tripersonal consubstantial Godhead. Creation in time is the work of the Three in One; the Word of the Father goes forth in the Spirit over the void from which all things were made and the creature Sophia becomes the origin and meaning of the world. The world is made in the pattern of the divine omniunity, but is in a state of becoming and potentiality. This time and becoming are real, having an indefeasible reality from their divine origin; time is real because eternity is real. In this world is lived the life of the creature person, made in the image and likeness of God and called to realise himself as the world-person, to personalise in himself as his nature the world in general, in particular humanity and in the sum the creature Sophia. The realisation of the creature person is the work of love in perfect freedom, whereby the Fall becomes possible and so inevitable. But, as God could not but create the world, so He cannot but become incarnate in the world; it is impossible to understand either as an accident or caprice or a choice between two indifferent alternatives, since this would project temporal causality into the eternal miracle. The Incarnation was not brought about by the Fall, but because of the Fall becomes also a Redemption. And the essence of the Incarnation is this, that in the Divine person of the Logos are personalised two natures, one Divine, the other human, the Divine and the creature Sophia. The Incarnation is a miracle which realises, not violates, the nature of the world; it is the revelation of the God-man and through him of Sophia as God-mankind. This conception is considered in all its historical realism from the Gospels right through to the no less historical enthronement in the Apocalypse, since nowhere is it possible to say, here spake God and, lo, here man; in all spoke and acted the God-man. The *kenosis* of the Divine is the *theosis* of the human.

Who or what then is Sophia? To suggestions that she represents a heretical attempt to introduce a fourth person into the Holy Trinity, Bulgakov replies with severity. But without being a person Sophia stands in relation to a person; in other words, she is nature, which is hypostatized in a person, which as an independent unhypostatized entity cannot exist, but without which the person dissolves into abstraction. For a living spirit is personal, a spirit in which its nature, its personality, is realised. The Divine Sophia is the nature of the Godhead wholly and transparently realised in the Holy Trinity. But the creature or cosmic Sophia also is a power of concretion and personality in the creature person, in man; to whom, however, she is at once an ideal and a rebuke, because she is not completely realised in him to transparency, is a self-consciousness, but also a subconsciousness. This incompleteness engenders the tragedy and tension of the world, but not its activity; for it is a failure of activity, requiring to be creatively overcome. The triumph over sin and death is accomplished in the risen and glorified Christ and continued

in the world by the power of "enchurchment"; in the theanthropic nature of the Church is maintained the apotheosis of humanity.

Thus it is clear that, while formally the whole of Bulgakov's argument could be restated without a single reference to Sophia, to do so would eliminate Bulgakov himself, since she is not merely a name asserting the potential divinity of the human or the heavenly humanity of the Divine, but the intuition of the reality in these correlations; she is not the theoretical statement of the concrete universal, but its expression and its qualitative discernment. Bulgakov's sense of meaning and reality is expressed, if it is not actually determined by this sophicity of creation, which bears witness to its personal and human and therefore God-human nature, Sophia is discerned as the stuff of *sobornost* "The concrete universal is for us the necessary ontological postulate *both of thought and feeling*² in our relation to life, not, however, as something given, but as something set before us, as the œcumenical cosmic *sobornost* of concrete omniumity in divine love." This is in the full Russian tradition, which not only expresses its catholicity communally as identity in multiplicity, but seeks therewith the redemption of time itself, the transfiguration of the world. It is again the theme of Nicholas Feodorov, the earth is given to man as the potentiality of Paradise, its "project." "But this world was not given to one man in his unipersonality, even to our forefather Adam, but only to the whole human race in its multipersonality and in its *sobornost* according to the pattern of the Holy Trinity."

Is this not in the spirit of Russian Orthodoxy? The critics will be wise to suspend their judgment.

A. F. DOBBIE-BATEMAN.

Postanovka Angliyskogo Proiznosheniya (The Pronunciation of English—for Russian Students). By S. K. Boyanus. Moscow, 1932. Pp. 263.

THIS pioneer book makes available to Russians the outstanding facts of English pronunciation as expounded in the publications and lectures of the group of phonetic experts from University College, London. To their excellent work Professor Boyanus pays due tribute, but he rightly does not disclaim the contribution he himself has made to comparative phonetics, notably a comparison along broad lines of the English and the Russian sound systems. His observations here are as instructive for students of this country as for USSR readers. The short words of English with the consequent capital importance attaching to vowel length and the distinction of voiced and voiceless consonants, together with the slight part played in enunciation by the tongue, give to English, so Boyanus claims on mature consideration, a characteristic melody and rhythm. Russian sentences have the sonority of a passage played on the harmonium, while English, with its jerky preciseness and its staccato stresses, is more reminiscent of a finger exercise on the piano. The book

² My italics.

consists of a number of sections which partly overlap in the text, but are more clearly distinguished in the list of contents. The main divisions are :—

1. Phonetic theory with special reference to English, and a comparison with Russian. The pages at the end of the book devoted to the anatomical and physiological aspect of the question form a supplement to this division.

2. The sounds and pronunciation habits of English.

3. The relation between English sounds and their representation in spelling, with an excursus on the history of the language and its orthography.

4. A practical *vade mecum* of English sounds, illustrated by examples.

5. A detailed account of sentence intonation, followed by two extracts.

6. Numerous texts in prose and verse with phonetic renderings.

7. A Russian glossary of social and political terms with the English translation in normal and phonetic spelling.

8. A vocabulary to the texts.

9. A bibliography.

The result is a text-book which is at once practical and theoretical. The illuminating introduction is emphatic in demanding full recognition for the importance of phonetics. All too common is the view that if a foreigner is able to write the language he is learning with no spelling mistakes and can speak it with so-called "grammatical" accuracy (that is to say, following the stereotyped rules of traditional grammar), his reputation as a connoisseur will not necessarily suffer by a false pronunciation of every foreign sound and by a failure to realise that every language has its own special cadence. Against this still prevalent view Boyanus sets up the standard demanded by modern phonetic theory. He insists that a good pronunciation is not a fetish, a question of finickiness, but is of essential importance, and can be acquired by anyone under competent instruction.

The English pronunciation set forth for imitation by Russians is ably defined, and is illustrated throughout by numerous examples and by texts. It is that form of English which is called by its adherents standard or received or public school or army or B.B.C., and by its opponents affected or "Oxford" or "haw-haw." It would seem indisputable that if one type of pronunciation is to be recommended for foreigners, it should be the non-dialectical one found in Professor D. Jones' Pronouncing Dictionary, and reproduced by Myuller and Boyanus in their English-Russian Dictionary. In a work devoted to English pronunciation and its pitfalls it might have been well if readers had been informed rather more fully than is the case here of the varieties to be found, and been warned against the local or class usages which it may be considered undesirable to imitate. A summary account of the main divergencies between American-English and English-English would have been exceedingly useful (though the pronunciation of *r* and that of a few words, such as lieutenant, schedule,

trait, etc., are noted), besides perhaps some reference to the reactions of these two countries towards each other's speech. It might also have been well to give some attention to the characteristics of Scottish speech and, above all, to dialectical and vulgar English pronunciation. Little allusion to variations from the standard usage is made, no doubt for the sound pedagogical reason of not bewildering the learner. An indication, nevertheless, of the main varieties of English, with examples, could be inserted without danger of this in an appendix or after the introduction.

It is to be presumed that the majority of the native speakers of English in the USSR at the present time pronounce few words in the way prescribed by the text-book. The Russian user, if not warned of this, will naturally be disappointed when he finds his standard English sounds, taught by Professor Boyanus, "corrected" or even ridiculed by the person to whom he has confidently turned for corroboration. Any danger of this, and it is a real danger, would be an immense pity and would seriously affect the spread and sale of a valuable book. As for alternative pronunciations in the English of England, the details need not be numerous; it might be sufficient to discuss whether to use a long or a short vowel in the type of *cough*, *loss*, *cloth*, etc.; whether words of the *sewer*, *lute* type should contain *j*, whether to use a long or short vowel in *false*, *Austria*, etc.; the quality of the final vowel in *fountain*, *goodness*, etc.

So far as deviations from normal good usage are concerned, the following might be mentioned with suitable comments and warnings:—

1. The normal loss of the aspirate by the uneducated, and its addition under emphasis.

2. Northern and Midland dialectical or vulgar pronunciations, particularly (i) *a* for *æ* and often for *ɑ*: (*ant* for *ænt* and *ɑ*: *nt*, *baθ*, *baθs* for *bɑ.θ*, *bɑ:ðz*), (ii) *u* for *ʌ*, e.g. *butə* for *bʌtə* (and the opposite error, which occurs only in would-be correct speakers, e.g. *pʌlpit*, *pʌt*), (iii) *ŋg* for *g*, as in singing, (iv) the stress on pretonic vowels, (v) the long vowel in *book*, etc., (vi) isolated words (e.g. *wɒn* for *wan*).

3. Uneducated London (Cockney), particularly the faulty pronunciation of the vowels and diphthongs (type of *bate*, *but*, *boot*, *bite*, *boat*, *bout*), the glottal stop for *t*, the vocalisation of *l* (type of *bill*, *field*), the diphthong *ɔ*: *ə* for *ɔ* in final position (e.g. *lɔ*: *ə* for *law*).

4. The use of *tʃ* and *dʒ* instead of *tj* and *dj* in such words as *tune*, *dune*. Some indication might also be given of the growth of vulgar spelling pronunciations, such as *opposite* rhyming with *site*. In addition, reference might be made to the B.B.C. recommendations.

For the purposes of a new (third) edition it may be useful if some of the doubtful points noticed in the course of reading the book are listed, together with any observations which appear pertinent. The total number of slips is probably fairly large, but that is only to be expected in view of the typographical and, I imagine, the proof-reading difficulties.

Page 41. Professor Boyanus says that *b* must be clearly audible at the end of words, but this is hardly enough for Russians. It would be

well to discuss the degree of voice given to English final *b, d, g*, etc., in a separate paragraph.

Page 43. May I register a mild protest against describing the differentiation of *of* (ɔv) and *off* (ɔf) as being an example of Verner's law? It is a parallel phenomenon, but is separated by some two thousand years from the facts that operated in primitive Teutonic.

Page 44. To the list of unaspirated words beginning with *h* add *heir*, *honest*, and the old-fashioned *humour*. *Heir* without *h* is quoted on p. 56, and on p. 57 Mr. Hughes finds himself unjustly decapitated.

Page 45. Not only in Scottish-English, but also in the north of England, Ireland and America, the *h* in *wh* is pronounced. It is worth mentioning that some purists of standard southern speech also pronounce the *h* (or claim that they do!).

Page 57. A more detailed account might well be given of English *а*. It seems insufficient to say that it "often occurs in Russian, where it is represented by written *о* or *а* in unstressed position, as in *водѣ, садѣ*, etc.," particularly in view of the varying Russian. In Russian the distance away from the stress is of importance, as is recognised on page 59, where *говоритъ* is transcribed by *гавə . . .* (not, as one might expect, by *гəvə* or *гəvə*). The information given about English *ə* on p. 58 is, on the other hand, full, and attention is paid even to the minute distinctions in the initial sounds of *above* and *agree*.

In general, there is room for greater emphasis of one fundamental distinction between Russian and English unstressed syllables. In Russian the vowel immediately preceding a stressed syllable is comparatively strong, in English it is normally the weakest.

Page 64. The short warning not to palatalise consonants before *ɪ* might be expanded. It would seem advisable to deal at considerable length with the typical pronunciation errors made by unphonetically trained Russians in pronouncing English consonants followed by front vowels.

Page 79. "Sun upon them" is rather meaningless as a sentence in English. The page is devoted to accented and unaccented doublets and contains a short but excellent account of our phonetic grammar. It is a real service to Russians (and to many English speakers as well!) to insist on the difference between stressed and unstressed *of*, *and*, *can*, etc.

Pages 83 ff. The discussion of sentence intonation (melody, tune) is very complete and enlightening. Recognition of the excellent handbook by Armstrong and Ward is ungrudgingly given. The comparison between the melody habits of the two languages is instructive. Here and elsewhere one cannot help feeling that Professor Boyanus, whose English is almost impeccable, could do much for English learners by writing on Russian intonation. Owing to the comparatively small amount of phonetic studies by Russians on this subject there is a gap to be filled, which can best be done by scholars like him. The valuable book of Trofimov and Jones has made a most praiseworthy start, but there is still room for

investigation, when the preliminary spade work has been done in Russia itself and fuller information obtained, than is at present available, on standard Russian class and local variations.

Pages 186 ff. (Drawn up with the close collaboration of Mme. O. E. Svital'skaya.) The very frequent use of *the* before nouns, e.g. the currency, the import, the military science, etc., as a rendering of the Russian equivalent nouns is ugly and unnecessary. The translations are occasionally un-English, e.g. the armed seizure, the animal husbandry. Many of the Russian portmanteau words beginning with *соц* . . . should be translated by socialist not social, e.g. *соцсоревнование* should be socialist competition. *Working clothes* as a translation of *спецодежда* seems unsatisfactory.

Page 221. Read *sports-grounds* for *the sporting grounds*.

Page 226 Whatever pronunciation may crystallise out of "Yugo-Osetia," the area would seem still too unimportant to warrant inclusion; in any case it can hardly have any standard pronunciation yet.

To sum up, this is a vivid and informative work which is relieved by touches of pleasant humour and by considerable insight into English speech usage and habits. For those who are frivolously minded I would commend the drawings of a pussy cat and a porker on page 18.

N. B. JOPSON.

Španija i Dubrovnik u XVI v. (Spain and Ragusa in the 16th century).

By Jorjo Tadić, Beograd, 1932. Pp. 161. (Published by the Royal Serbian Academy in the series of the *Posebna izdanja*, Book XCIII, *Social and Historical Works*, Book 41)

THE author has succeeded in compressing into a small book a valuable and interesting account of the relations, chiefly political, between Spain and the Republic of Ragusa during, perhaps, the most difficult period in the long history of the latter. He has also vividly depicted the characters of the men who guided the destinies of this little republic at a time when the Turkish hordes stood at its gates on land, and the galleys of Venice threatened to occupy it in order to "save" it from the infidels.

The wits of the Ragusan patricians were never so severely tested as during the conflict between Turkey on the one side and the Christian League—Spain, Venice and the Pope—on the other, in the year of the Battle of Lepanto, 1571. Ragusan diplomats managed then, as always before, to preserve the Republic's neutrality and freedom, without estranging either Christians or Moslems.

A most interesting duel was fought between the Venetian ambassador at Rome, Soriano, and the Ragusan representative, Frano Gundulić, a young merchant who resided in Rome and who offered his services to

his country. He succeeded not only in persuading Pope Pius V—and through him Philip II of Spain—to refuse Soriano's demands that Venice should occupy Ragusa before the Turks did so, but also in winning the allies, Venice included, to the signature of a solemn promise, which was included in the Treaty, binding all the allies to respect Ragusan integrity. This was the first and only time in the history of the Republic that Venice, after her sovereignty over Ragusa had been transferred to Hungary in 1358, undertook to protect Ragusa's freedom and interests.

In this incident, Spain's support was by no means less important than that of the Pope, and it was perhaps more heartily given because of the very old relations and friendship that had existed between the Ragusan patricians and the Spanish people. These relations, especially with Catalonia and Aragon, dated from the early part of the 14th century. The Republic had enjoyed special commercial privileges from the time when Spain established her power in South Italy, with which Ragusa's connections were very close, and especially since the accession to the Spanish throne of Charles V, who supported Ragusa for forty years. His son, Philip II, confirmed all the privileges given to the Republic by his father, and took into his service many Ragusans, some of them extremely wealthy.

However careful the governments of Ragusa were in forbidding her ships to serve in the Spanish navy for fear of Turkish reprisals, it nevertheless happened that many of them took part in Spanish raids upon the lands of the Turks, especially in North Africa, either voluntarily or—more often—forced by Spanish admirals. It is known, for instance, that Admiral Andrea Doria seized a number of Ragusan ships at the harbours of Genoa, Naples and Sicily, and led them into battle against the Turks round the Poloponnese. On other occasions they had to fight Khairedin Barbarossa, and it is believed that a number of Ragusan ships were with the Christian armada at the battle of Lepanto, although they were not engaged in the actual fighting.

On all such occasions the Ragusan government had to use its wits with the Porte to show that it was in no way responsible. It had to display a yet greater diplomatic skill on other occasions, as in 1536, when the Turks asked for a loan of Ragusan ships, to be used against the Christians. By means of very clever answers, and perhaps still more by means of very generous "gifts" in gold ducats, the Ragusans always managed to outwit such requests.

Equal mental and financial skill was displayed on occasions when the Turks suspected the Republic of spying on them and reporting the movements of their navy to the Christians. On such occasions the Ragusan government did not hesitate to spy on the Christians and supply the Porte with secret information. Ragusa was amply informed of everything that was happening in both eastern and western Europe, owing to her numerous ships, sailing in every sea, and to her intelligence service, which was splendidly organised both on sea and on land.

By her happy geographical position and her constant neutrality, Ragusa was also able to render to the Christians some very valuable services, other than those of spying on the Turks. Thus, for instance, they were the only intermediaries between the Christian states and the Porte whenever negotiations were conducted for the release of the numerous Christian prisoners, mostly Spanish, taken either in sea battles or in the irregular raids by Ottoman pirates upon Christian cities and commercial vessels. When such prisoners were ransomed, most of them were transported either through Ragusa, or on Ragusan ships to their homes.

A considerable number of Ragusan ships were enrolled in the "Invincible Armada." Although there is no accurate information in the Ragusan archives relating to this matter, it is known that Queen Elizabeth complained to the Porte of the help which the Ragusans had given to the Spaniards. The Republic requested a Ragusan merchant who resided in London, in October 1590, to explain to the Queen that the Ragusan ships that had taken part in the battle had been seized in Spanish ports and led forcibly against England. It appears that this was true of some ships, but there is no doubt that most of them belonged to wealthy Ragusans who had been in the Spanish service. One of these, Peter, the son of Ivelja Tuhelj, possessed a fleet of twelve large ships. Some were in the Armada, commanded by his nephew, Stjepan Olsiti-Tasovčić. He succeeded, during the battle, in transferring the whole crew and all the heavy guns from his own ship, before it was set on fire, to another, thus winning the admiration of the Spaniards who had watched him.

By this time the Ragusans and their argosies were well known in England, though thirty years earlier the English seem to have considered them as Italians. When, namely, in 1557 England forbade all Italians to export English woven material through Flanders, and allowed them to do so only by sea, the Ragusans were mentioned as Italians. The Government of the Republic promptly took steps to assure the English Government—and also that of Spain—that they were not Italians, and that their language differed as much from Italian as it did from English.

D. P. SUBOTIĆ.

The Magyar Muse: an anthology of Hungarian Poetry, 1400-1932.

Edited and Translated (together with specimens from Ostiak and Vogul) by Watson Kirkconnell. Winnipeg (Kanadai Magyar Ujság Press), 1933.

A SMALL selection of translations from this anthology appeared in No. 27 of the *Slavonic Review*, and an article by their author, on Ukrainian poetry in Canada, will be found on p. 139 of the present number. This anthology is a very remarkable achievement, containing 131 pieces from no fewer than 71 Magyar poets, mainly from the last hundred years.

Under the circumstances, it is inevitable that the quality should be unequal, and some items (such, for instance, as the feeble effusions of Géza Gárdonyi) would have been better omitted, while in the case of some other poets a distinctly misleading impression is given by the poem selected. But, taken as a whole, it is a measure of the progress achieved in the art of translation since the first wooden versions of John Bowring were issued just over a century ago. Special attention is devoted to the post-war poets, and among them those born in the lost territories are specially singled out. Gyóni's poignant cry from the trenches, "For just one bloody night," recalls the best work of Siegfried Sassoon. Poems of Kostolányi, Aprily and Remények deserve the reader's attention; but on the other hand, Ady and Babits, whom Mr Kirkconnell quite accurately describes as the two foremost among the moderns, do not perhaps reveal themselves at their best in the poems which he has selected.

The book is printed by a Hungarian newspaper appearing in Winnipeg, its author being professor of English in Wesley College in that city.

R. W. S-W.

Romanian Furrow By D. J. Hall. 21 Illustrations. London (Methuen & Co.), 1933. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a fascinating account of how "Domnul Englez"—Mr. Englishman—lived for many months the life of the Roumanian peasants and drank in with sympathy and understanding their songs and memories. He has the true love of mother earth, of which the peasant is part, but also the sense of futility and helplessness in the face of a primitive race. "With the affection of these people, I could learn their customs, their language, even know themselves. But that other they, the unseen essence that was their soul, that I could never probe." With that point of view a man is more likely to reach the truth than is our modern highbrow who only knows the pavement and not the brown earth. And Mr. Hall adds to sympathy real powers of adaptation and observation, as well as a charming gift for descriptive writing—with the result that Nicu and Costica, the Greek doctor and the hermit boiar, the priestly epicure and the matron Paraschiva, are real flesh and blood moving before our eyes, against a vivid background of orchard and maizefield and mountain pasture or forest glade.

Mr. Hall's description of the wedding of Ilie and Ilinca, with the peasants chanting their primeval song of "Isaiah dancing before the Lord," deserves many readers. He has found, like other observers before him, a native intelligence that cannot easily be equalled, an instinct for beauty and colour that reveals itself in poetry of dress, and "a gently ironic look" which perhaps derives from a certain fatalist trait of character and helps to explain the history of the race.

R. W. S-W.

President Masaryk Tells his Story. Recounted by Karel Čapek. London (Allen & Unwin), 1934. 7s. 6d.

Ars est celare artem might well be the motto of this book, in which that tone artist, Karel Čapek, makes President Masaryk tell the story of his life, from boyhood to a ripe old age, and yet never allows the reader to suspect all the skill and patience and readjustment and diplomacy that were required, before the narrative could be made to flow so smoothly—with the calm, unhurried and unruffled tranquillity of a great river flowing through the plain. There is a delightful simplicity of statement, not a word is out of place. The hero, resting at the tent door in the cool of the evening, recaptures the moods of boyhood, puts to a new test the theories of middle age and recounts the great adventure—the modern Odyssey—which brought him to the presidential chair. Naturally enough, there are some details which were meant for the Czech reader and lie beyond the ken of the western public. But it is hard to believe that any reader—save those who are deliberately rejecting all the political principles which went to the making of the British commonwealth—will read this book unmoved. For it is, in a sense, the political testament of one who has proved by his own career and that of his resuscitated nation, that democracy and constructive statesmanship are in no sense incompatible, as is so glibly suggested in some quarters. And lest it should be imagined that the book is in any way a political tract, it should be added that it is above all a study in psychology, the revelation of a rare mind, breathing as it were a rarified atmosphere and infecting the reader with its own mellow optimism. R. W. S-W.

At the very moment of going to press we have received what is in effect a companion volume. In *Un Grand Européen*: Edouard Beneš (Paris, Paul Hartmann, 9 francs), our French colleague, M. Louis Eisenmann, gives a penetrating and sympathetic sketch of Masaryk's disciple and collaborator, who alone of all the signatories of the Peace treaties, still hold the portfolio of Foreign Affairs after fifteen years, and yet has only just celebrated his fiftieth birthday. This sketch deserves a wide public. R. W. S-W.

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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW.

VOL. XIII. No. 38.

JANUARY, 1935.

EVGENY ONEGIN

*Extracts, translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by
OLIVER ELTON.*

The young Evgeny Onegin, dandified, superficially brilliant, sick of the world of fashion and of light loves, disbelieving in love and in general prematurely disenchanted, inherits an uncle's estate in the country and settles upon it, still bored and restless. Another youth, Vladimir Lensky, a poet and enthusiast and idealist, nourished on Goethe and Schiller, joins Onegin the cynic. Lensky is in love with Olga Larin, the younger daughter of a neighbouring family, who keep house in the old Russian style. The elder sister is Tatyana, the heroine of the poem.

THE SISTERS

Charmed while a lad, without a notion
How hearts can suffer, he would gaze
On Olga with a new emotion,
And on her childish sports and ways.
Screened by a guardian oak, he shared them;
Their fathers, friends and neighbours, paired them
And planned the children's wedding-wreath.
There, in her lone retreat, beneath
The humble shelter, overflowing
With charm and innocence for dower,
The parents saw their Olga flower
Just like a hidden lily blowing
Unnoticed, in the thickest grass,
By bees and butterflies that pass.

Our poet found that Olga fired him
 With youth's first dream of ravishment.
 The thought of Olga still inspired him
 And drew his lute's first low lament.
 Gone, golden dreams of recreation !
 He fell in love with isolation,
 And with tranquillity, with night,
 With densest woodland, with starlight,
 With the moon's lamp in heaven shining;
 To whom we oft would dedicate
 Our stroll, on misty evenings late,
 And weep, to ease our secret pining.
 Now, a mere substitute she seems
 For our dim, tarnished lantern-gleams.

Always so modest, acquiescent,
 And cheerful as the morning skies;
 Frank as a poet's life :—and pleasant
 As lovers' kisses; and with eyes
 Of azure like the heavens, and tender;
 And smile, and flaxen hair, and slender
 Figure, sweet voice, and movements free,
 —All this was Olga; you may see,
 No doubt, her traits in what romantic
 Story you will; I vow to you,
 I loved them once myself, 'tis true,
 Yet soon they nearly bored me frantic;
 Bear, reader, with my taking next
 The elder sister for my text.

Her name, Tatyana, be it noted,
 Is by our will, and not by chance,
 By us for the first time devoted
 To usage in a soft romance.
 Well, 'tis a pleasant name, and ringing,
 Although inevitably bringing
 The times of old to memory
 Or the maids' attic. And yet we
 Must own that little taste has brightened
 Our choice of names (and as for verse,
 I hold my peace, for there 'tis worse).
 Skin-deep, no more, are we "enlightened";

And what is left us of it all
Is merely—to be finical.

Tatyana was her name—so be it;
She had not Olga's pretty face,
So taking, that all men could see it,
Nor her fresh colouring and grace.
She was mûte, shy, and melancholy,
Timid as woodland hind; and wholly
A stranger lass she seemed to be
In her own house and family.
And never could her sire, or mother,
Win her caress; she did not care
To join the children's mob, or share
Their sports and gambols like another;
But often by the window lay
And said no word, the livelong day.

And Reverie, her playmate daily
From infancy, brought many a dream
That tinted, to her eyes, more gaily
The country life's too leisured stream.
The needle, her unhardened finger
Knew not; and never would she linger
Bent o'er her frame, with some design
Of silk, to make bare linen fine.
A child betrays our love of ruling:
With her obedient doll will she
Prepare to play propriety
—The world's great law—in jest and fooling;
To dolly, gravely will repeat
The lessons learned at mammy's feet—

But Tanya did not care for nursing,
Young as she was, her doll, or choose
With dolly to be found conversing
On fashions, or the town's last news.
All childish pranks were foreign to her;
Rather would tales of horror woo her
And on her spirit lay their spell
When the dark nights of winter fell.
And when the nurse collected for her
Her little friends, she never ran

To play at " catch-me-if-you-can "
 In the big meadow. It would bore her
 To hear the ringing mirth, the noise
 Of giddy, romping girls and boys.

She loved the first anticipations,
 Seen from the balcony, of day.
 The choral dance of constellations
 On the horizon pales away,
 And the world's rim grows softly clearer
 And wafts announce that morn is nearer
 And the day slowly comes to birth.
 In winter-time, when half the earth
 Under the realm of night is shrouded,
 Longer and longer sleeps the dawn
 In sluggard idleness withdrawn,
 In presence of a moon beclouded.
 Aroused at the same hour of night,
 Tatyana rose by candle-light.

(ii. 21-28)

Tatyana, fed on the romances of the age, is passionately enamoured of Onegin at first sight. He is unaware and indifferent.

So she, love's quarry, sick and dreary,
 Goes in the garden to lament,
 And lowers her fixt gaze, too weary
 For walking, and too indolent,
 When, suddenly, her bosom rises ;
 A flying flame her cheek surprises ;
 Breathless, with dazzled eyes, she hears
 A noise of thunder in her ears.
 Night is at hand ; the moon patrolling
 Circles the skiey arch remote,
 And through the misty trees is rolling
 The nightingale's sonorous note.
 Tatyana, wakeful, and her nurse
 There in the quiet gloom converse.

" Oh, I am sleepless ; nurse, sit near me ;
 Open a window, or I choke ! "

—" What ails thee, Tanya ? "—" Tired ! 'twould cheer me
 If of the good old times we spoke."

—" What should we speak of ? I was able

Once to remember many a fable
 And deed of long ago; I had
 Stories of maids, of spirits bad.
 But all things now before me darken;
 I have forgotten what I knew.
 My turn has come; 'tis bad, but true:
 And I am stricken now"—" But hearken!
 Nurse, of thy youth I would be told.
 Wert thou in love, in days of old? "

" Stay, child; folk then were never given
 To hearing about love, you see;
 Why, my man's mother, now in heaven,
 Would just have been the death of me."
 —" But then thy marriage, nurse, how came it? "
 —" Why, God's plain will it was to frame it.
 Vanya was younger; I, my dear,
 Was only in my fourteenth year.
 For two whole weeks the dame was calling¹
 Upon us, to arrange the troth.
 At last, my father blessed us both,
 And I cried sadly—'twas appalling;
 They wept as they undid my hair,
 Took me to church, and sang me there.

To a strange household I departed;
 They took me—but thou dost not hear . . ."
 —" I am so weary and sore-hearted,
 I feel so sick—and nurse, my dear,
 I'm fit to sob, I'm near to wailing . . ."
 —" My child, my child, thou must be ailing.
 God save thee now and pity thee!
 What wilt thou that I do for thee?
 I'll sprinkle thee with holy water;
 Thou burnest! "—" Not with illness, no!
 Nurse dear—I am in love—'tis so! "
 —" Now may the Lord be with thee, daughter! "
 And with frail fingers, as she prayed,
 She signed the cross above the maid.

(iii. 16-19)

¹ The professional matchmaker, who goes between the families.

Tatyana now writes a remarkable letter to Onegin frankly avowing her love for him (this Letter, Canto III, 31, was printed in the Slavonic Review for July 1933, Vol XII, No. 34, pp. 2-4. In the same number were printed two other short extracts from the same poem, Canto IV, 40-41, and Canto V, 1-2, which do not relate to the course of the narrative). In reply Evgeny at their next meeting reads her an offensively kindly little lecture on discretion.

TATYANA AND FOLKLORE.

Tatyana, knowing not the reason
—For she was Russian to the core—
Adored our Russian winter season
In all its beauty, cold and hoar :
The sunny rime, the frosty morning,
The sledges, and the tardy dawning
When the snows gleam with rosy hue ;
The misty Christmas evenings, too :
For all the house were solemnising
Those evenings, in the ancient style ;
And all the serving-maids, the while,
Of the young ladies were surmising
And yearly promised each one, plain,
A soldier-husband, and campaign.

Tatyana trusted all traditions
Come down from simple folk of old ;
All the cards said, all dreams and visions,
And whatsoe'er the moon foretold.
By tokens she was agitated ;
All things she saw prognosticated
Something mysterious ; oft her breast
Was by presentiments oppressed.
If puss, upon the stove reposing,
Purred, washed her face with mincing paw,
'Twas a sure sign, Tatyana saw,
Of visitors ; and when, disclosing
Her twofold horn, the moon on high
Rode newly in the leftward sky,

Then Tanya was all pale and shaking ;
And did perchance a meteor flee
O'er the dark heavens, and fall, and breaking
Scatter to nought, then hastily

Would Tanya, flustered and excited,
 Before that star had yet alighted,
 Whisper the wish her heart concealed.
 And if a hare, amid the field,
 Should streak across her path like lightning,
 Or if a monk attired in black
 Should meet her on the way,—alack !
 Distracted by a sign so frightening,
 Full of misgiving and of fear,
 She knew calamity was near.

Yet, even while her fears abounded,
 A secret pleasure she must own
 (For so hath Nature us compounded,
 Nature, to contradictions prone).
 Yule was at hand,—and such enjoyment !
 Guesswork is flighty youth's employment :
 Youth has no cause for sorrowing ;
 For life lies far ahead, a thing
 Distant and bright, past all conceiving ;
 While spectacted old age must peer
 And guess, although the grave is near
 And all is lost beyond retrieving.
 What then ? With lisplings infantile,
 Hope still attends it, to beguile.

And curiously Tanya gazes
 Upon the wax that melts and sinks.
 The pattern, with its marvellous mazes,
 Announces marvels, so she thinks.
 The rings come out, in proper order,
 From the dish brimming to the border.
 She draws a ring ; she hums a rhyme,
 A ditty of the antique time :
*Riches are there for every peasant ;
 He shovels silver with his spade ;
 The man we sing to, he is made
 In wealth and fame.* But sad, unpleasant,
 The burden tells of something lost :
 The maidens love the *Pussy* most.²

² (*Pushkin's note*) : “ ‘ The tom calls his puss to sleep, to the stove-niche.’ A prediction of marriage ; the first song presages death.”

A night of frost ; no cloud in heaven ;
 The magic starry choir streams on,
 So calm, harmonious, and even . . .
 To the wide court is Tanya gone,
 Bare-headed, in a kerchief, bending
 A mirror on the moon ascending.
 Only the mournful moon, alas !
 Is quivering in the sombre glass.
 —Hist, the snow crackles ! Someone coming !
 She tiptoes to him, as on wings,
 And her low voice more softly rings
 Than airs upon a reed pipe humming
 “ *What is your name ?* ” ³ He looks upon
 The maid, and answers, “ Agathon.”

By nurse’s counsel, too, the lady
 Would tell her fortunes in the night,
 And in the bath-house bid make ready
 A table laid for two aright,
 All quietly. And yet Tatyana
 Was scared ; and, thinking of Svetlana,⁴
 I too was scared :—I know ; but see,
 Tanya told fortunes—not with me !
 The silken girdle soon untying,
 Disrobed, she lies upon the bed,
 Whilst *Lel* is hovering overhead.
 Her maiden mirror, though, is lying
 Beneath the downy pillow deep.
 All quiet ! Tanya is asleep.

(v. 4—10)

TATYANA’S DREAM

A wondrous dream she now is dreaming :
 —That she is walking in a glade
 Covered with snow, and swathed, in seeming,
 With melancholy mist and shade.
 In front, amid the snowdrifts roaring,
 A gray and gloomy flood is pouring.
 Unfettered now by winter’s hand

³ (*Pushkin’s note*) : “ This is how they know the name of the future husband.”

⁴ Herione of Zhukovsky’s poem, of that name.

It whirls and foams along the strand.
Across the torrent laid, united
By icicles, are two thin stakes,
—A bridge of death that thrills and quakes ;
And here, bewildered and affrighted,
Tatyana halts, before the hiss
And uproar of that dread abyss.

And at that plaguy, sundering river
Tatyana can but chafe and chide ;
And no one is in sight, to give her
A hand to reach the further side ;
When, suddenly, the snowdrift surges !
—Who, who is this that now emerges ?
A shaggy, a prodigious bear !
And Tanya screams ; he bellows there,
A needle-pointed paw extending
To help her. Gathering all her strength,
She leans upon him, now at length
Her timid footsteps she is bending
Across the stream, with hands that shake.
She's over—Bruin in her wake.

To look behind, her courage fails her ;
With quickened pace she tries in vain
To slip the hairy brute, who trails her
Just like a lackey in her train
And lurches on and growls, past bearing.
Before them is a pinewood, wearing
Its sullen beauty, motionless,
Laden with tufts of snow that press
The boughs to earth. The stars in heaven
Gleam through the birch and aspen crests
And leafless limes ; and now there rests
On bush and steep, by tempest driven,
The snow ; and it is piled and tost
So deeply, that the track is lost.

She gains the wood, the bear pursuing,
Up to her knees in crumbling snow ;
Now a long, sudden branch is screwing
About her neck, or with a blow
Plucks her gold earrings ; now the little

Wet slippers, where the snow is brittle,
 Clog her dear feet ; now lets she fall
 Her kerchief, has no time at all
 To lift it. Terrified, and hearing
 The pad of Bruin at her heels,
 With hands all quivering she feels
 Ashamed to lift her skirts. Careering
 She flees ; he follows, hard upon :
 —She flees no more ; her strength is gone.

She drops upon the snow, defenceless,
 And nimbly Bruin seizes her,
 And she, submissive now and senseless,
 Borne onward, cannot breathe or stir.
 With her by forest paths he rushes ;
 Soon a mean hovel through the bushes
 Appears, all buried deep and bound
 With desert waste of snowdrift round.
 One window there is brightly glowing,
 And the hut rings with cries and yells.
 “ *Here,*” saith the bear, “ *my gossip dwells ;*
Come, warm thee here awhile.” And going
 Straight in the passage, through the door,
 He sets her on the threshold-floor.

There she comes to, and falls a-thinking,
 And gazes :—vanished is the beast !
 Within, are shouts, and glasses clinking,
 As though at some huge funeral feast.
 No rhyme is here, nor reason ! Creeping
 And through a crevice softly peeping,
 What sees our Tanya now ? ah, what ?
 There, round a table, monsters squat !
 One dog-nosed creature horns is wearing ;
 One has a head like Chanticleer ;
 There sits a witch, goat-bearded ; here
 A skeleton, prim and proud of bearing ;
 A short-tailed dwarf ; and here, again,
 A thing that is half-cat, half-crane.

But see, more awful, more surprising !
 A crayfish on a spider ride ;
 A skull, above a goose-neck rising

Red-nightcapped, twists from side to side ;
And here a windmill dances, clapping
Its sails, and squatting, clattering, flapping.
Barks, whistlings, banging, song, guffaw,
Voices of folk, and hoofs that paw !
But what is Tanya's meditation
When, plain among the guests, is he,
The man she loves, yet fears to see,
The hero of our strange narration,
Onegin ! Seated there, askance
Upon the door he casts a glance.

He drinks—all drink, and howl thereafter ;
He makes a sign ; all fuss and hum ;
He mocks, and all explode in laughter ;
He frowns—and all the crowd is mum .
He is the master there, no error !
And Tanya loses half her terror,
And now in curiosity
Opens the door a thought, to see . . .
And lo, a sudden blast comes dashing
And quenches all the candle-lights ;
Confusion takes that horde of sprites ;
Onegin's eyes with wrath are flashing ;
All rise ; he rises with a roar
Up from the board, and seeks the door.

Then panic-stricken, in her hurry
Tatyana struggles to take flight ;
But she is powerless ; in her flurry
She writhes, and tries to shriek outright ;
In vain ! Evgeny slams and closes
The door, and that fair maid exposes
Unto the hellish phantoms' gaze.
A wild and violent cry they raise ;
And all those eyes, probosces crooked
And tufted tails and tongues that drip
With blood, and each moustachioed lip,
Horns, hoofs, tusks, bony fingers hooked,
All point at Tanya : one and all
Mine ! She is mine ! No, mine ! they bawl.
No, mine ! Evgeny answers grimly ;
And, presto ! all the gang are flown.

There in the frosty darkness, dimly,
 He and the girl abide alone.
 And softly then Evgeny sways her⁵
 Into a corner, and he lays her
 Down on a tottering bench, and stoops;
 His head upon her shoulder droops.
 Then, while a sudden light is flaring,
 Comes Olga, Lensky follows nigh;
 Onegin waves an arm on high
 And rolls his eyeballs, wildly glaring,
 Those guests unbidden to upbraid,
 While, all but lifeless, lies the maid.

The jangle swells—Evgeny quickly
 Grips a long knife—and straight he fells
 Lensky—the awful shadows thickly
 Cluster—insufferable yells
 Resound—and all the hut is quaking—
 And Tanya, horror-struck, is waking . . .
 She looks; already it is day
 There in her room; a morning ray
 Red on the frosted pane is dancing;
 And rosier than our northern light
 At dawn, and like a swallow's flight,
 Comes Olga, through the door advancing.
 "Well, well," she cries, "and tell me now,
 What of thy dream? whom sawest thou?"

(v. ii-21)

On Tatyana's "name-day" there is a great festivity at the Larins', and a dance. Onegin, sitting opposite Tatyana, is irritated at the sight of her distress, and in capricious revenge pays too marked attention to the innocent Olga. Lensky, enraged, sends him a challenge by the hand of Zaretsky, an old swashbuckler who has now settled down in the country. On the night before the combat Lensky makes verses.

THE DUEL

I have his poem; you shall read it;
 For, as it chanced, they saved the thing:

⁵ (*Pushkin's note*): "One of our critics apparently finds in these lines an impropriety, to us unintelligible."

—“ Ah, whither have ye now receded,
 Whither, my golden days of spring?
 For me, what is the morrow storing?
 How vainly is my gaze exploring!
 All, all is wrapt in misty night.
 No need; for Fate will judge aright.
 Whether I fall, a bullet through me,
 Whether it miss,—I still am blest.
 The hour to wake, or hour to rest,
 Will come—the hour allotted to me.
 Blest, if the day to labour calls;
 Blest also, if the darkness falls.

Yes, though the morning ray is sparkling
 And day dawns brilliant, yet shall I
 Be entering, perhaps, the darkling
 Grave, with its shadowy mystery;
 And tardy Lethe soon shall cover
 The name of the young poet-lover.
 The world will not remember me.
 —But thou, fair maiden, thou wilt be
 By my untimely urn, and by it
 Wilt weep, and muse, ‘ His love was great;
 To me alone was consecrate
 The sad morn of a life unquiet ’.
 —Friend of my heart, for whom I sigh,
 Come to me, come! thy spouse am I.”

This penned he, in the *dark, faint* fashion
 We style “ romantic ”—though I see
 No feature of romantic passion
 Therein—but it concerns not me.
 At last, before the dawn was gleaming,
 Upon the word *ideal* dreaming
 (The word in vogue) he drooped his head
 For weariness, and drowsed in bed.
 Scarce in oblivion was he falling
 Of blissful sleep—his neighbour broke
 Into the silent room, and woke
 Our Lensky from his slumbers, calling
 “ Time to be up! by now, be sure,
 Onegin waits; ’tis seven, and more.”

But he mistook : Evgeny's sleeping
As sleep the dead ; already far
The thinner shades of night are creeping,
And cocks salute the morning star.
The sun wheels high in heaven ; yet soundly
Evgeny sleeps,—and more profoundly.
A storm of snow is fleeting past
And glitters in the whirling blast.
Still, sleep above Evgeny hovers,
Still he's abed. But in the end
He wakes, the curtained panes uncovers,
And glances—sees that past a doubt
It is high time to sally out.

He rings in haste ; and in comes flying
Guillot, his lackey and a Gaul,
Slippers and dressing-gown supplying,
And change of linen brings withal.
Onegin swiftly then attires him,
And bids the man prepare ; requires him
To share his drive, and bring away
The case of weapons for the fray.
The sledge stands ready ; off he courses,
And in it to the mill they tear.
Behind him must the lackey bear
Lepage's⁶ deadly arms ; the horses
Are driven to a plot of land
Apart, where two oak saplings stand.

Lensky impatiently had waited
Long, as he leaned upon the weir.
Zaretsky low the millstones rated
(He was a rustic engineer).
Onegin comes, and brings excuses ;
“ But,” cries Zaretsky, “ where the deuce is
Your second ? ” —As a duellist
He was a pedant, would insist
On classic forms ; of all things dearest
To him was method ; he'd allow
Your man to drop—not anyhow,
But on the principles severest

⁶ “ A famous gunsmith.” (*Pushkin's note.*)

Of art, in old tradition's ways
(Which, in Zaretsky, we must praise).

" *Where,*" says Onegin, " is my second?
Monsieur Guillot, my friend, is here,
Whom I present. I had not reckoned
Upon demurs. He is, I'm clear,
—Though not a man of note, I grant it—
An honest soul. What more is wanted? "
Zaretsky bit his lip, and heard;
And then Onegin spoke a word
To Lensky: " Well, and what of starting? "
" Start," said Vladimir, " if you will."
And so they stept behind the mill.
The " honest soul," aloof departing,
Talked gravely with Zaretsky; fast
The foes now stand, with gaze down cast.

—Foes ! and how long had this estranging
Bloodthirstiness between them flared?
How long since, all their thoughts exchanging,
Their leisure hours as friends they shared,
Their meals, their doings? Evil-hearted,
As though by hate ancestral parted,
In calm cold blood, they now prepare
To kill each other, as it were
In some insensate, dreadful vision.
And why not part in friendship, ere
Their hands are red—and only care
To laugh the matter to derision?
—But false and foolish shame intrudes
Its terrors, in our worldly feuds.

Behold, the pistols now are gleaming;
The hammer on the ramrod knocks;
Down the cut barrels now are streaming
The bullets; once, have snapt the cocks;
And now the greyish powder scatters
Into the pan, as down it spatters.
The jagged flints, screwed safe below,
Are lifted still.—There stands Guillot
Behind a stump, in consternation.
The fighters cast their cloaks; the due

Paces, in number thirty-two,
Zaretsky, with nice mensuration,
Has taken. At the further ends
With pistols drawn he plants the friends.

“ Approach ! ”

—And regularly, coldly,
Not aiming yet, the combatants
Without a sound, but stepping boldly,
March on ; four paces they advance,
Four fatal paces these ! Not waiting,
And never his advance abating,
Evgeny is the first to lift
His pistol, quietly.—They shift
Five paces nearer ; Lensky closes
An eye, the left—begins to aim
Also ; Onegin at the same
Instant has fired.—Thus fate disposes,
And strikes the hour. The poet lets
His pistol drop—his hand he sets.

Hard to his bosom, never saying
One word, and falls—his clouded eye
No pang, but death itself portraying.
So on a mountain, from on high
A heap of snow we see declining
Slowly, with sunny sparkles shining.
Then, on a sudden stricken cold,
Onegin rushes to behold
The youth—all vainly on him calling.
But he is gone ; and he who sung
Has ended all too soon, too young.
One blast—and the fair blossom falling
All withered now, at daybreak, lies ;
The flame upon the altar dies !

He lay, he stirred not ;—what strange reading,
That peace and languor on his brow !
The wound, that still was steaming, bleeding,
Pierced clean below the breast. Even now,
A moment since, with inspiration
That heart had throbbed, with animation
Of hope, of love, of enmity.

The blood seethed hot, the life beat high.
 And now, just like a house deserted,
 All dark and still it had become,
 Had fallen for ever mute and dumb;
 The shutters up, the windows dirtied
 With spots of chalk. No host is there,
 His traces vanished—God knows where ! . . .

(vi. 21-32)

Evgeny, gripping pistol tightly,
 With pangs of sick compunction filled,
 On Lensky looks. His neighbour lightly
 Pronounces, " Well? the man is killed."
 " Killed ! "—As that hideous word is sounded,
 Evgeny shudders, welmed, confounded;
 Goes off, and shouts for aid, while there
 The ice-cold body, with due care,
 Zaretsky in the sledge is setting.
 He drives the ghastly burden home;
 The horses scent the dead; white foam
 The steely mouthpiece now is wetting;
 They rear and struggle, snort and blow,
 Then fly, like arrows from the bow.

(vi. 35)

LENSKY'S WOODLAND GRAVE

Come, where a brook is swiftly winding
 Through half-encircling hills, and past
 A lime-tree thicket, and is finding
 A river by green fields at last;
 Where chants the nightingale, spring's lover,
 All night, and where the blossoms cover
 The briar, and bubbling waters call.
 Here stands a stone funereal
 Between two pine-trees antiquated.
 The legend tells the passer-by
 " Vladímir Lensky here doth lie ";
 (The year, his age, are duly dated)
 " Too soon he died, as die the brave;
 Have peace, young poet, in thy grave ! "

Of old, above that urn so quiet,
An unobtrusive garland hung
Upon the sagging pine-tree by it
And in the morning breezes swung.
Of old, two friends, two women, thither
Would come, at leisure late, together
And in the moonlight vigil keep
And by the tomb embrace, and weep.
Now is that stone, forlorn and lonely,
Forgot; the trodden track is now
O'ergrown; no wreath is on the bough;
And, singing his old ditty, only
The frail, gray-headed shepherd near
Plaits shoes, his miserable gear.

(vii. 6-7)

HOW THE HOLY MOUNTAINS LET OUT OF THEIR DEEP CAVES THE MIGHTY HEROES OF RUSSIA

Translated by GLEB STRUVE and BERNARD PARES

EDITORIAL NOTE

We transmit this very interesting document to the reader in the form in which Mr. N. Misheyev has put it at our disposal. Closely connected with some of the byliny of the ancient cycle, it follows the traditional form and style, though with some traces of modern smoothness in its diction.

INTRODUCTION

NOR long before I left Soviet Russia in 1925, I happened to meet in an out-of-the-way village of a province of the extreme north an old peasant woman who knew by heart and recited thousands of verses of Russian heroic songs (*byliny*). In the Far North of Russia it was still possible, until recently, to find such peasant women, known as "reciters," who had a colossal memory and preserved piously the lays of the old Russian heroes, which had come down to them from their fathers and grandfathers.¹

The woman I met was over eighty, but she still looked quite strong, held herself erect, and had a lively though somewhat severe expression in her eyes. She seemed to enjoy a great prestige in her village. The peasant with whom I stopped for the night spoke of her with great respect. "She even chides all sorts of commissaries that come our way, and her tongue is sharper than a knife." The same peasant informed me that old mother P. knew plenty of songs about ancient heroes. "Every night," he said, "the old people of the village spend in her cottage, listening to her. We can drop in, too, if you like." Naturally, I seized this rare opportunity of listening in the Communist realm to the songs of old Russia, and we went to mother P. In her large, clean cottage, which smelt of mint, I saw about twenty elderly peasants seated on benches along the walls. The hostess herself was sitting by a small window, in a wooden armchair. A little to the right of her, above her head, in the corner, was hanging an icon of Our Lady lit by a reddish lamp.

She began to recite. Her recitative was wonderfully musical. The reciting went on for a long time, and she ended with the *bylina*, *Why the Heroes Have Vanished from Holy Russia*. When she stopped we all kept silent, moved as we were by the famous lay. Suddenly one of the old peasants sighed heavily and said: "Well, isn't it clear, my dears, why it is so hard to live nowadays in our Russia? You are pressed on all sides.

¹ This is all the more striking because these heroic songs originated in the South, in the old Russia of Kiev.—Ed.

Our heroes are no longer with us. They have sinned, just as we all, we accursed. Well, God has turned them to stone, petrified them, that is. Yet, I don't think they are dead. They are turned to stone. What do you think about it, old mother P.?"

"Certainly, they'll come to life," the old woman answered severely after a little pause. "They'll come to life," she repeated emphatically. "God is merciful. He will forgive, and Our Lady, if need be, will ask Her Son to forgive them. Most certainly they will come to life again," she repeated once more, this time raising her voice. "I think those heroes—our sustainers and intercessors never did get turned to stone; they have simply been shut up in dark stone prisons. Of course, their boasting was a great sin, yet not a mortal one."

She fell silent and seemed to have changed. She was sitting upright—as if she had thrown off her shoulders a superfluous burden. She screwed up her eyes and looked up as if she had seen something behind us, so that one had even a longing to turn round. Then, suddenly, she made the sign of the cross, which she did not do before—and started reciting in her strong, reverent, clearly-marked recitative.

Before long I was afraid even to stir. I forgot to take out my notebook, but I do not think they would have allowed me to take down any notes—it would have seemed to them "sacrilege." They all sat rigid in their places.

The old woman began reciting a new variant of the bylina *Why the Heroes Have Vanished from Holy Russia*, and then, after a little pause, she pronounced, in a peculiarly penetrating voice, the five lines of a remarkable incantation. After another pause, she passed on to a bylina which was quite unfamiliar to me. Soon it became clear to me that she was not just reciting, but *creating* this new lay, perhaps for the first time.

The next day I had to leave the village, but I had time to go and see her and to write down, after her, the whole bylina. Knowing no shorthand, I had to write hastily, shortening some words and even phrases. I had some difficulty afterwards in restoring certain parts of the bylina.²

At her own wish I entitled the bylina *How the Holy Mountains Let Out of Their Stone Caves the Mighty Russian Heroes*.

In order better to understand the contents and meaning of this bylina, it is necessary to know that the introduction to the Russian *Iliad*, as a cycle of heroic songs about Ilya (in Greek, *Ilias*),³ is formed by the song about the Hero Svyatogor, who symbolises the elements. Christ, having cured Ilya, "the peasant's son," and endowed him with great strength, forbids him, among other things, "to fight the Hero Svyatogor, whom Mother Earth can hardly carry." Having met Svyatogor and, together with his steed, got into the giant's pocket, from which Svyatogor himself

² It was only in 1933 that I was able, quite accidentally, to get some of my papers from Soviet Russia. Among them were my notes of the bylina

³ A curious phonetic coincidence with Homer's *Iliad*—from *Iliou* or *Troya*.

extricates him, Ilya, we are told, exchanges crosses with him and thus becomes a "sworn brother" of the mighty hero.

N. MISHEYEV.

Where thy reason fails thee, ask of thy sense,
Thy sense, good, quiet and wise,
Ever silent from conversing with God,
Strong and far-seeing, listening to the call of the heart,
Thy guardian, thine intercessor before God.

I

WHEN on the Safat⁴ River they had slaughtered the Tartar hosts,
The glorious Russian heroes started boasting—
Just because they left their sense
And trusted only to their reason—
That now it was time they fought the unearthly hosts.
And a bright unearthly force appeared before them,
Two heavenly warriors And the heroes mistook them . . .
Young Alesha, the first who had boasted, rushed forward,
And he cut these two warriors in twain,
But lo there were four of them, and no longer two.
Under Dobrynya Nikitich's sharp sword they fell,
The four warriors, but now eight rose up.
After old Ilya of Murom had cut them down,
And Vaska Buslayev had whistled,
And Ivan Gostinov had hurled his spear,
Four and sixty warriors arose.
The heroes flung themselves on the unearthly host,
Shoulder to shoulder they charged, like one,
And they started hewing and cleaving that host,
But that heavenly host went on growing and growing,
And waging battle against the heroes.
The heroes grew weary, retreating in fear,
And they ran to the great holy mountains
To seek the protection of their elder brother,
Their sworn brother Svyatogor himself,
The huge, ever-sleeping Svyatogor.
They woke up their brother,
And waking him they entreated him,
In their fear they entreated him, not uttering a word,
Putting Ilya the peasant's son,

⁴ A river in South Russia near Kiev which was probably the scene of combats between early Christian Russia and the heathen nomads.—ED.

Their ataman, in the forefront
Svyatogor rubbed his eyes, those bottomless lakes;
He gathered his eyebrows, those dreaming forests;
He shook with his yawn the stagnant earth;
And as he stretched himself, he touched a passing cloud;
And he stared at Ilya as if he were some great marvel.
He knew him for Ilya with whom he had changed crosses,
And he took to his heart the hero's bitter prayer,
And he seized the Russian heroes and their steeds with them,
And he pushed them in his pockets, those deep, deep caves,
And himself with a sigh he fell into a long, deep sleep.

II

And from that deep sleep,
From that heavy, leaden sleep,
A great torment fell on the heroes,
A torment of hell and torture.
For they themselves are not asleep,
They cannot sleep, and they cannot see in the dark,
But everything they can hear and understand :
How Falsehood goes roving through Holy Russia,
Falsehood, the heathen, the infidel,
How she eats up the Orthodox people,
And shuts up the churches of God,
And kills the men of Russia.
“ There is nothing on earth,” says Falsehood, “ that is stronger
than I ;
I am a match for any host,
Even Christ Himself, the King of Heaven.”
Thus says Falsehood in her boasting,
Scoffing at the Russian people,
And wherever it lives on Mother Earth,
And wherever it roams, it is like an orphan.
And then old Ilya, Ilya the peasant's son,
Shouted aloud in the darkness.
A great cry, come straight from his heart,
And from his heart it passed into his grey-haired head :
“ Oh Thou Mother of God, the wet Mother Earth,
Wilt thou pardon thy younger sons,
The ancient heroes of Russia,
Who through their shameful boasting,
Still sit imprisoned in the dark stony mountain.

They have been sitting and sitting for long prickly ages,
Long ages, sharp and splintered and prickly.
Raise us from our sleep, Mother of God, the wet Mother Earth,
Raise from his sleep thine eldest son,
Svyatogor, the greatest of the great heroes !
Give us our liberty, give us royal freedom,
That we may serve in faith and in truth,
In faith and in truth, the Holy Land of Russia,
Our own Russian Orthodox people . . .
Oh, thou, Mother of God, the wet Mother Earth,
Hearken to the prayer of thy younger sons,
The mighty Russian heroes ”

III

And the heartrending cry of Ilya, Ilya the peasant's son,
Went right through the stony mountains,
And it rose above the passing cloud,
And it flew up to the golden roof of heaven,
And there it fell and nestled like a poor little lump,
Like a poor little lump at the very throne of the Mother of God.
And the Mother of God caught sight of this poor little lump,
And she heard this heartrending cry,
And the prayer of Ilya she took to her heart,
She took it to her heart and sobbed bitterly,
And to the throne of her son, Jesus the Saviour,
By the azure steps with bowed head,
With bowed head she mounted, with soft steps,
And she entreats her Beloved Child,
With her tears pouring down like a heavy rain,
She entreats him to pardon the Russian heroes.
And the Saviour himself hastens to answer the All Pure One.
Christ himself speaks on His lofty throne :
“ Oh Mother Mine Beloved, blessed among all women,
Thou who intercedest before Me for every sinner great or small,
Through Thee is forgiven the boasting of the heroes,
The foolish Russian boasting of the heroes.”
And the King of Heaven Himself gives the order
To Michael the Archangel and George the Valiant
To gather the heavenly hosts and powers,
At the trump of the Seraphim and the cry of the Cherubim,
On the shrouds of the archangels and the wings of the angels
To float down with Our Lady to the Holy Land of Russia.

And numberless forces of mighty powers gathered there,
And the trumps of the Seraphim broke out,
And the glad voices of the Cherubim burst forth,
And the archangels unfolded their robes,
And the angels spread forth their snow-white wings,
And bore up Our Heavenly Lady, the Mother of God,
And with a royal flight they passed through all the seven heavens,
Till the Intercessor came down to that very Holy Land of Russia.
And then speaks the Mother of God, the wet Mother Earth .

“ Ho now you, my steep mountains,
My lofty mountains, my strong mountains, my holy mountains,
Part aside, make way, go asunder,
Let out my younger sons, the mighty Russian heroes.
They have been pardoned their sinful boasting,
That they would take the unearthly host in battle.
Wake ye up, my great mountains from your long, deep sleep.
Set free the Russian heroes,
The Holy Land of Russia is pining for them,
Holy Russia, my younger sister.”
And at that cry of the Mother of God,
At that call of the Mother, the wet Earth,
The stony mountains creaked and murmured and groaned.
They began shaking and rocking,
They opened up, they parted, they came asunder,
And the greatest of the great heroes,
That hero, huge Svyatogor himself, awoke.
He opened his pockets, those dark caves,
And out of those caves profound
Rode forth the glorious and mighty heroes.
The heroes of Holy Russia, one after the other,
Ilya of Murom, of peasant birth,
Dobrynya Nikitich, the merchant's son,
Alesha Popovich, the parson's boy,
Ivan Gostinov, the merchant's son,
Vaska Buslayev from the free city of Novgorod.
They rode forth, doffed their helmets and crossed themselves;
On all sides, on all four sides they bowed;
They tightened the girths of their good steeds, and sat firm,
And by nightfall they came to the Safat River.
Planting their white tent by the river, they prayed,
And when they had prayed they laid them to sleep,
Laid them to sleep all except their Ataman,

That old Cossack, the peasant's son,
Their beloved Ilya of Murom, who cared for all.

Heroes' sleep is deeper than the ocean's sea,
Heroes' snore is heard a hundred versts around,
'Tis not a viper from under a log, 'tis the dark night
That twines round Ilya with its soft whisper :
" Go to sleep, Ilya, lay thee down, lay thee down, sleep is dearer than
mother.

How without sleep canst thou wage battle and win victory? "
Ilya listens, he thinks his own thoughts, he laughs to himself.
He twirls his grey moustache and smiles.
" Ah, thou night, little night, thou stony jail,
Did not Ilya sit behind thy bars,
And listen to thy songs, to thy charms,
So that old Ilya should go to sleep and forget all and everything?
Ilya the peasant's son has neither slept nor dozed,
And through thy songs he has heard the groan of Russia.
He has heard and has called to her, and she has heard him.
Ilya has stayed on guard for the peace of his mother earth.
Ah, thou night, little night, thou stony jail,
Sweet are thy songs and they entice to sleep,
But if old Ilya falls asleep, then the end will come
To Orthodox Russia and to all her children."
And the dark night wrangled back with a fierce cold wind.
The witch, she poured rain on Ilya from a hanging cloud,
And, the snake, she set off on her journey, her far road ;
And on God's side, on the East there showed the red flowers,
And the bright gaze of dawn arose and played and smiled on Ilya,
All blushing before the shining sun, before the trusty soldier.

Ilya straightened himself up to his full hero's height,
He breathed out of his full breast,
He washed in the river, he bowed to Christ,
He bent down to his mother earth,
He stood up. " What is that noise, or am I mistaken? "
He looked round, and he sees toward the Safat River
There is creeping a dark black cloud, threatening, ever so great.
It is the host of Falsehood herself coming on, the infidel host.
And old Ilya cries out with his resounding voice.
" Ho, where are you, then, my captains, my sworn brothers?
Wake up, rise up, mount your swift steeds.

Come gallop to your Ataman, Ilya the peasant's son."
And the sturdy heroes woke up,
The captains rose up at that mighty call.
They prayed to Christ, they mounted their good steeds,
And all gathered about their Ataman,
And Ilya Ivanovich, the peasant's son, spoke out :
" Ho there and hail to you, my good captains,
The mighty, Russian heroes.
The old Cossack, Ilya of Murom, will himself attack Falsehood in
front
Thou, Dobrynya Nikitich, strike Falsehood from the right.
Thou, Alesha, break her cursed power from the left.
And thou press her hard from the rear, Ivan Gostinov.
And thou, Vaska, from Novgorod,
Wherever thou seest thy free force is needed,
With all thy will, revelling and invincible,
There strike home on Falsehood,
Ay, strike home in thy youthful vigour with shouting and whistling
That this Falsehood may take fright,
Take fright not so much of thy steel blade,
As of thy lusty shouting and whistling,
Lusty, free and revelling."⁵
It was not a flight of falcons dashing at a red beast,
It was the Russian heroes dashing at the host of Falsehood.
They began to hew and slaughter the army of Falsehood.
Not so much did the heroes hew it,
As the good steeds trampled it down.
As the steel blade of Ilya swings, a gap is seen.
The Muromets bore straight on the front of Falsehood.
There she stood all enormous,
Facing him with her one eye, standing lopsided,
Muzzle of hound instead of face,
And licks herself with her tongue a verst long.
The thousand-pound mace of Ilya went swinging.
His eyes grew dizzy, his foot stumbled.
To fight an empty space was beyond his power.
When he stood up, Falsehood was not there . . . yet everywhere in
the gaps
The black army stood full as full again.

⁵ The formidable traditional whistling of a Russian regiment has outlasted the Revolution, and whistling plays a noteworthy part in Cossack songs.—ED.

. . . For thirty days, three hours and three minutes
The heroes fought in so deathly a battle.
Their sturdy shoulders flagged,
Their good steeds gave way,
Their swords of steel were blunted,
And Falsehood still came on to the attack.
Always she brought new hosts into the battle,
And he fell there, Ilya the peasant's son,
He fell on his mother, the wet earth.
"Ho it is thou, Mother of God,
My Mother of God, wet mother earth,
Hearken now to Ilya, thy son,
Thy faithful son, the peasant boy.
Not to his eyes was it given to see,
Not to his ears was it given to hear,
'Twas to his heart, as he turned round, that his soul softly murmured,
That some force unearthly, not of heaven,
Not of heaven, but from the depths below,
Is standing by the side of Falsehood,
Is bidding Falsehood go on untiring with the battle."
Old Ilya raised himself from the earth to his feet;
He crossed himself with the cross of God, as it is written;
He started to call his captains, his comrades
To a last and secret council.
They ran up, all four, they stood around him,
Weary and faint, blackened and darkened.
No sooner Ilya spoke his word and sighed,
But he saw there were more of them, five in all.
Marvel of marvels, wonder of wonders
He wanted to ask, but as he looked he knew.
'Twas one of those warriors from whom he had run to the stony mountains.
All the heroes knew him, and when they knew him they hailed him.
It was their faithful brother, George the Valiant.
The heroes bowed their heads with burning shame
To whom had they boasted, with whom had they fought, of whom
were they afraid?
Forgetting their service to Orthodox Russia,
Where had they hid themselves, these braves?
For whom had they abandoned the Holy Land of Russia?

V

'Twas not the gentle morning breeze
Floating over the strong and lofty oaks,
Floating and rousing and raising
Their tops, which the dark night had bowed towards the valley
'Twas Saint George the Valiant, who approached,
Approached and raised the heads of the Russian heroes,
Raised them, embraced them and kissed them,
Saint George kissed them with a smile.
It was not the lark, God's bird, in the sky,
Sending up in the morning to the heavens
His clear note, ever warm with the sun,
To greet the day of work and toil, the peasant day,
It was Saint George with his voice,
With his clear, angel note,
Laughing and gently comforting the Russian worker-heroes :
" My brothers, never look at him who speaks of the past."
And at that kiss of George their brother,
At his warm and cheering word of pardon,
The heroes rose to their full gigantic height ;
They spread and straightened their shoulders ever so wide ;
They raised their invincible heads with their iron helms ;
With their right hands they gripped their steel blades ;
And through their veins poured their ancient Russian strength.
And they gazed and could not stop gazing at George the Valiant,
At Saint George, champion of the Holy Land of Russia.
George's feet to the knees were cased in pure silver ;
George's arms to the elbow were cased in red gold ;
George's head was all covered with pearls ;
His hair was bright chestnut and all in curls ;
And all over George stars were sprinkled
Young and vigorous, ineffably beautiful is Saint George,
And his eyes are alight with flames that come from his burning heart,
From his burning heart, from his love for the Holy Land of Russia.
And young Alesha, who was first to boast in the old time, speaks
thus :
" 'Tis for thee first to tell us, Saint George, our gracious George,
How did we not see thee that time on the Safat River,
On the Safat River with the stars thick in the sky ?
How did we not see thee in thy pure silver and thy red gold,
In thine ineffable beauty and with thine angel voice ?

Surely if we had seen thee, we should never have quarrelled and fought with thee."

And Saint George answers with his angel voice :

" My sworn brother, young Alesha, mighty hero of Russia,
To thee first is my lesson, and to the rest not a lesson but friendly counsel !

The boastful word is ruin,
Self-praise is man's undoing.

It darkens the understanding which the Lord God has given us.
And without that bright understanding, it is night, it is dark in the heart,

And can one see much, Alesha, can one make things out in the dark autumn night ?"

VI

And the kindly word of Saint George went home to the Russian heroes,

To the Russian heroes right into their burning hearts.

And they laid it to their hearts, and in their inmost understanding they knew it,

That in all ages and times, in all the long ages,
None must ever boast or pride himself before anyone.

And no sooner had they laid it to their hearts,

Laid it to their hearts and in their inmost understanding seen it,

But they saw by the side of Saint George the Valiant

Another warrior, bright, ever so bright, great and mighty,

And when they saw him, they knew that him too they had fought on the Safat River.

And when they knew him, all as one man dropped on their knees,
All dropped on their knees, to wet mother earth, all abased themselves.

The Russian heroes confessed their sin,

To Archangel Michael, Arch-General of the heavenly powers, they abased themselves.

And Archangel Michael, the Arch-General of God, spoke thus to them :

" Not to me servant of God, your fellow servant, should ye bow,

But to the Lord God, to Christ Jesus, to His Most Pure Mother,

To the Mother of God, our Intercessor, to Them should ye bow.

Bow down and rise up, stand up, ye warriors, heroes of old,

Seat yourselves on your swift and trusty steeds,

Begin the last battle, the deathly battle with Falsehood,

The deathly battle with Falsehood, for the defence of the Holy Land
of Russia.

Go round the pagan host of Falsehood on three sides,
And the fourth, the front I myself will take with George my sworn
brother.

And the heroes rose heavily, and a new force was in them.

Heavily had they pressed on the wet mother earth,

And they mounted their swift steeds and sat firm.

Their swift steeds with one leap made a hundred versts,

A hundred versts they made, and surrounded the host of Falsehood
on three sides,

And the fourth, the front they left to Archangel Michael and George.

Roars through the air, like the roar of wild bears, the thousand-
pound club of Ilya of Murom ;

Cuts through, like an axe on the trees, the steel blade of Dobrynya
Nikitich ;

Sings aloud and hews, like a scythe in the grass,

The sharp sabre of Alesha the parson's son ;

Hums on its way the long spear of Ivan Gostinov ;

And everywhere is heard the whistle and shout of Vaska Buslayev.

On the front, toward the high tent

Of one-eyed Falsehood herself and her unknown guardian

Archangel Michael and George the Valiant

Are tirelessly making their way.

And see now a small space, bare, not great,—

Bare, not great, between the unearthly forces,

Between the powers of heaven and the underground forces,—

Opens to the eye for the great battle, the more than human battle.

And the leaping, youthful heart of George the Valiant was aflame,

And like a sharp-eyed hawk, in front of Michael the Archangel.

He threw himself on one-eyed Falsehood, who looked at him,

Laughing looked at him, mocking and staring at him,

And already at the tent of Falsehood George the Valiant

Was lifting his sharp-edged lance in his left hand,

George was swinging his steel blade,

Was swinging it in his right hand to cut off the head of one-eyed
Falsehood,

When see . . . his silver-clad legs trembled,

His gold-clad arms went numb,

The heart of Saint George was freezing,

And he fell dumb, as if crushed by a hammer,

And his beauteous eyes were clouded,

His ears were shrouded beneath his bright chestnut curls,
George became like a dead stone, like beaten iron
George had seen at the side of Falsehood
Christ Himself, the King of Heaven,
Gazing at him with darkened eyes,
Gazing in anger at George the Valiant . . .
It was no whirlwind of storm, rushing from the sea of ocean,
It was no thunder and lightning splitting the mighty oak to pieces,
It was the Archangel Michael soaring like an eagle over Falsehood,
And with his sword of fire cutting off her head
And then, come to himself, George the Valiant could see,
He could see how he whom he had taken for Christ,
How that one began to change,
How he became terrible, wild and fierce as a roaring lion,
Loathsome, base and cunning like a viper,
Foul, insolent and knavish as some unclean creature of the marsh.
George the Valiant saw and knew that this was Antichrist.
Then the heathen host of Falsehood was routed and taken prisoner.
The Russian heroes, the mighty men of old
On all sides gathered round George the Valiant,
From the three sides to the fourth they came,
To the fourth they came surrounding Saint George,
And at Antichrist, fierce, cunning and insolent,
At that unearthly, underground power they looked in horror.
"Brothers mine, mighty heroes of Russia,
Too much for us is the strength of Antichrist, great and terrible
and dark."
So said George the Valiant in a low whisper.
"Too much for us—we cannot fight him to the victory;
We can pray, we can turn to Christ Jesus.
May His will be done, as in heaven so on earth."
Then the heroes, like George, doffed their helmets and crossed
themselves,
With the orthodox cross they crossed themselves, they fell on their
knees,
They kneeled down, they prayed, they pressed against their wet
mother earth,
For the rescue of Holy Russia from Antichrist they prayed.

VII

And the prayer of the Russian heroes and of George the Valiant rose
to the Mother of God,

It rose to the Most Pure Mother of Christ the King of Heaven,
And there the Mother of God begged her Beloved Child :
“ Oh my Beloved Child, Saviour of the race of man,
Tell me, make me know, has not the time come to cut off the head
of that Antichrist,
Is not the hour at hand for him to leave the Holy Land of Russia,
To free the people of Orthodox Russia from their torments ?
Is not the time, the moment come for the Russian people to do their
work and labour,
To do their work, to accomplish their labour,
To cleanse themselves from all their sins,
To set up God's churches, and to thank their Lord God ? ”
And Christ Jesus, the Very King of Heaven makes answer :
“ Oh My Beloved Mother, blessed among all women,
Not yet is come the time to cut off the head of that Antichrist.
That day and that hour are a great mystery not yet unfolded.
The time has come for that Antichrist to leave the Holy Land of
Russia,
For the Orthodox Russian people to be set free from their torments,
To do their work, to accomplish their labour, to cleanse themselves
from their sins,
To set up God's churches, and to thank their Lord God.”
And Christ the King of Heaven gave order
To His Arch-General, Michael the Archangel,
To drive the fierce Antichrist from the Holy Land of Russia.
“ Brothers mine, mighty Russian heroes,
Stand up from the wet earth,
Rise on your quick feet from the wet earth and straighten yourselves,
Straighten yourselves and cross yourselves, the great battle is
beginning.
Antichrist, the fierce, the insolent, the foul, is being driven from
Holy Russia.”
So speaks George the Valiant, and speaking he looks up to Heaven
and smiles.
The mighty heroes leapt to their quick feet,
They leapt up, they straightened themselves, they crossed them-
selves,
And they faced the great, the unheard of battle.
They looked at Saint George, they pressed round their sworn brother.
Fierce Antichrist, ever changing and changing,
Became a black raven,
And the length of that raven was a thousand versts,

And across it from wing to wing was full two thousand.
That Raven's head is black, like an enormous mountain;
Its eyes are a fiery hell, all flaming and full of malice;
Its bill and claws are iron, sharp as sharp.
That black raven holds in its grip the Holy Land of Russia,
It has covered it with its wings, it tears it with its claws, it pecks it
with its beak,
With its iron beak it pecks it, and drinks its hot blood.
Holy Russia groans. The black raven rejoices.
On the Eastern side, the sun's side, the heavens have rolled up,
The heavens have rolled up, the Kingdom of God for a moment
stands visible,
For a moment stands visible, and the hearts of the Russian heroes
light up.
Their hearts light up, it has left with them an ineffable, an eternal
joy.
It was not the golden lightning, falling stern from that Kingdom of
God,
It was not its born brother, the thunder of heaven with its terrible
stroke,
It was the Archangel Michael, the mighty Arch-General,
By God's command, by Christ's order going into battle with Anti-
christ.
When he saw the Archangel, Antichrist the raven spread his black
wings.
He rose all enormous, dark with eyes of fire.
With his darkness he covered the bright sun, he darkened the clear sky,
He darkened the clear sky, and on the Archangel he fell like a
forty thousand-pound stone,
Like a stone he fell. With his black wings it seemed he overwhelmed
him.
Cold went the heart of the Russian heroes,
They rushed to their sworn brother :
" Tell us, tell us, Saint George,
Tell us the whole very truth ! Can it be ? "
Smiling, George the Valiant shook his pearly head.
He reproached his brothers the Russian heroes,
He reproached them with their little faith in Christ the Saviour.
He gave them his true, invincible word,
That Antichrist, the wicked raven, will not return to Holy Russia,
That to the Holy Land of Russia will come great joy,
And to the Orthodox Russian people grace and comfort.

MARINOS KONDARAS

Translated from the Greek of EFTALIOS by N. B. JOPSON.

I HAVE been fond of getting about ever since I was a lad. With net and line in hand I would climb into a boat and, if I felt inclined to fish, I would fish. If fishing did not appeal to me and there was a breeze about, I would hoist the yard and unfurl the sail, head for the open sea, land on the opposite coast whenever the fancy took me, and go ashore with my eye open for anything new. One day I was blown down stream to Nerohori. Now where Nerohori is you will find out if ever you go to Hloronisi. No sooner was I ashore than I decided to light a candle to St. Nicholas, the local saint. As I was walking up the hill, what should I see but a hearse! It was being taken out of a cottage at the end of the village, and they were conveying it to the church. A bad sign, I said to myself. Luckily it was an old woman who was being buried. Behind the hearse her poor old husband was being helped to hobble along, for he was past walking alone. There were several other old women and two or three men, so I joined the procession.

We went into the church. "Great fun," I said to myself, "to go out for a walk and wind up with a funeral! There will be no sleep for me tonight with this before my eyes all the time."

It was the only church the village had. It was little and squat and pitch dark, and must have been about a hundred years old. There were neither pillars inside nor a dome on top, and it finished up with a terrace just like a house. It had a few small windows and an earthen floor. The trellice work of the women's part was very serried and quite dark, and so were the pews, but the transept of finely wrought walnut almost reached the roof. That was where the wealth was, and the icon of St. Nicholas came in for a greater share of it than even the Holy Virgin. His lamp was cast from a huge lump of silver. His wreaths and other adornments were beyond count, and the silver-gilt boats and the golden anchors! You could not see anything of the saint but his head for the silver and gold.

I just had time to look about me before they put the coffin down in the nave. The chanting stopped for a minute and nothing could be heard but the spluttering of the tapers and candles. A chill moment. When the priest began the service, I turned round to see the old man. He was a strange old man, trembling from head to foot and needing to be held up, as though he were recovering from a

serious illness. He was pale and tall in spite of a stoop; thick eyebrows fell over his eyes, his lips were all a-tremble, his hair and moustache were quite white—a handsome old man, but in what a sorry plight!

Half an hour later we were in the graveyard which adjoined the church. A few minutes more and the first spadefulls were falling into the grave. The old man could not bear up any longer. He sank down on to the grass, mumbled something and—that was all. Water was thrown over him, he was lifted up, but all to no purpose. He was carried into the priest's cell. There he half opened his eyes, glanced at the icon of St. Nicholas and dropped. The old man was dead.

I went out, and having nothing else to do, went down to the landing-stage. Before I arrived even, everyone knew that old Marinos Kondaras had died of grief at having lost his dear Lemoni.

I took a stool and sat down by the shore. And as I was smoking my *nargile*, Captain Thanasi came up and wished me good day. He often came across with fish, and so I knew him. I stood him a *mastic*; that appealed to him and he sat down. I knew that one glass did not mean anything to him, so I ordered a second. Gradually the drinks he put away began to talk and made room for others.

Captain Thanasi was never short of words, and this time he had a pretext ready to his hand—old Marinos Kondaras, the hero of the Musk Islands, the old sea-dog who in his time had made the East tremble.

“Let's begin at the beginning,” said the Captain, and off he went.

I was a nipper, a cabin boy on the bombard of Captain Manoli (God rest his soul), when Marinos Kondaras's skiff came here. The Lord knows where they had chased him from, but he wormed his way in here to hide. He was always in a mess of some kind. If it wasn't for murder, it was for robbery. Being supposed to be on business, he had come with half a dozen or so cuttle-fish which were laid out in the ship's hold, and there were a lot of oysters and urchins, too. Quite unmanageable he was! His cutlass always had somebody's blood on it, at times his own even, when he got drunk and slashed at his muscles to prove what a magnificent fellow he was. But he really was a fine fellow and a handsome one, too.

As soon as his boat grounded he jumped ashore, and made straight for Gligori Fyseki's vine. After clearing the wall at a jump he filled his apron with grapes and returned as though there was nothing wrong. But as he went out he was caught by the owner,

who was at that time the leading blade of our village and a terrible brawler. He sang out properly as soon as he saw the thief, but Kondaras just laughed and went on his way to his boat. Fyseki ran after him, and the neighbours, hearing the shouting, dribbled up. But by then Marinos was coolly sitting in his boat, sharing the grapes with his comrades. Our fellows' blood was up, they burst into the boat and made a rush at him. But he got up as cool as you like, jumped out on to the sand, picked up his cutlass and said .

" Idiots that you are, don't you know that I am Marinos Kondaras ? "

That cowed them all. But Fyseki had no thought of skeering off, to be taunted afterwards by his own folks. So he answered back with :

" I have a name, too ; it is Gligori Fyseki, and if you have stomach enough to pit yourself against me, off with your coat and come and fight it out on the sand here "

Marinos looked Fyseki straight in the eyes and smiled. He took his waistcoat off, threw it to the ground along with his knife, and began to walk around and wave his big arms about as though he were going to dance. Gligori did the same.

" The one who is brought down will stand treat to the whole crowd tonight."

" Till daybreak," replied Marinos.

" And the fiddles, too ? "

" The fiddles, too."

After glaring at each other they made their dash. It lasted only as long as it takes to say amen. Kondaras grasped Fyseki by the waist and laid him sprawling.

" That's done you, Gligori, your shoulders have touched the ground," our people yelled.

Gligori got up, shook himself and put on his waistcoat, thinking that he would have done better to lose only the grapes.

At nightfall Theohari's inn was full of boozers. The whole village had gathered outside to see the hero Kondaras. A wild beast for fury when he was on any " job," he was now like an angel. Only the Musk Islands can produce such magnificent fellows—the height of a cypress and the girth of a ring, with eyes big and beautiful as a girl's and moustaches curving like a bow. They all admired him as he sat on his stool and drank to Gligori's health. He called him his adopted brother now and praised his succulent grapes. And Gligori was in high spirits at having him for a friend, although he had been worsted by him.

"My throat is dry, Sir, and I have more to tell you yet, for I see that you are ready to listen," Captain Thanasi said.

Another glass was brought in. He drank it down at one gulp and went on :

The fiddles were sent for from Megalohori. While they were coming, everyone's jollity was heating up. Then the players arrived and the singing began. Handkerchiefs were brought out and the round dance began . . . Marinos made them all get up in turn. When it was past midnight, they went out serenading straight off to Fyseki's. At that time he was living at his stepmother's along with his sister. Gligori was insistent that Lemoni should come and do the honours, so she got up from her beauty sleep and decked herself out. A word from her brother was like a law to her. Besides, he had brought along with him someone whom he had his eye on for a brother-in-law. So Lemoni came out all dressed up and took the tray round. She was a girl of eighteen, with black eyes and fair hair. All thought of the fun was forgotten as soon as the guests saw her, but the one who lost his head over her was Marinos Kondaras. He just twirled and twirled his moustache and pretended not to be looking her way, but his eyes were all over her. Gligori, who was simple enough, did not notice anything amiss. He had such trust in his sister that he would not have feared even the Devil himself. And if you want to know, he was proud that she was looked at like that. The girl went away, came back again, went away again, and was kept up till day broke, coming and going and filling up the glasses.

The singing and dancing started again, but Marinos had no appetite left for the fun. He pretended to have drunk too much, sat down in a corner and went on twirling his moustache. You might have thought that Satan had risen out of hell and was secretly whispering to him, so restless he seemed.

Towards dawn Fyseki took him by the arm and led him back to the dancing.

"Wine soon knocks you sailors over," he said.

Marinos wanted to shake his ill-humour off and did not resist. He brought out his handkerchief and began to dance again as if he were possessed, and afterwards he threw himself into the singing. He threw a crown to the violinist and told him what tune he wanted. That was the first time they sang the words that you can still hear at weddings :

Black are your eyes and golden your hair
And on your cheek there's a mole so fair.

You know how the tune runs. The very thought of it sets you aflame. When he had finished the song, he dropped back into his thoughts, and while he was sitting there he suddenly turned to Fyseki and said :

“ Oh, I can’t stand it, Gligori Ask her to come and pour us out another glass and then I’m off.”

Gligori, who was as drunk as an owl, told Lemoni to come. That was where the trouble started. Marinos got up, picked up the glass and looking at the girl, said as though he were alone with her :

I entered your vineyard, sweet wine for to sip,
But nothing I found so sweet as your lip.

And as he said it, he bent over to kiss her.

Such an insult was unheard of in our respectable village. The girl flushed and, vanishing from our sight, went out and wept like a child. Her stepmother came at once into our midst and stormed at Gligori. The whole company remained silent. The fiddlers went away, and the others trooped after them. As though he had wakened out of a dream, Gligori looked about him for a moment, then came to his senses and hurled himself on Marinos. The angel then again became the wild beast. He pulled out his knife and darted a demon-like look at Gligori. Two or three of those present threw themselves on him, grabbed the knife and took him outside, and then went away. Then he was lifted up and taken off to his boat. All those who went down passed by their houses, went inside and brought out a pistol or a knife or an axe. Standing to attention like soldiers, they lined up at the landing place, and they shouted to him to be off with his sailors at once, or else they would all be sent to the bottom. Marinos had just a few men with him, and they were drunk. He took the boat pole, shoved off, and with a bitter laugh said good-bye, and made for the open sea.

A bit later Gligori Fyseki too arrived with a shooter. When he saw the boat had gone, he went mad. He dived into the water after it—the act of a drunken man. He was hauled out and taken home.

Old Thanasi nodded to me at this point. After he had again wetted his throat, he went on.

It was a game up till now, Sir, but from that moment it becomes romance. I didn’t myself see what happened after, but I have often heard of it from the dead man.

When Marinos got out to sea, he was as furious as a raging lion. He kept silence for a while, and then he turned to his sailors :

“ See here, my lads. I have got you out of many a tight hole before now, and now it is your turn to do the same by me. I mean

to carry this girl off and make her my wife. I have roved over the East and the Islands looking for the woman who would set my blood aflame, and have not found her. And now that I have found her, am I to let her go? I shall get her or, by St Nicholas, we shall die, both of us."

The men knew that Marinos Kondaras was no jester.

"But suppose the girl does not want you, skipper?" one of them asked.

"Not want me, you blockhead? Didn't you see how she blushed when I looked at her? Fiddlesticks! You talk as if you had never seen a woman. And now we'll make for the cape opposite. We shall go down to Therma this evening and anchor there. I shall go on shore alone dressed as a beggar, while you will wait for me on the shore."

So it was done. That same evening as soon as it was dusk, a beggar knocked on Fysekis's door. Gligori was enjoying himself at the inn. The players had not gone away yet. The old woman was gossiping with her neighbours, while Lemoni was keeping house alone and doing the cooking.

She had been shame-stricken the whole day, and her eyes were red with weeping. Fortunately the girls of the district liked her, and they had come, one after the other, to promise that they would never hold her up to scorn either in word or in song, because of a disgrace that was not of her doing. So she cheered up and had become herself again by evening. And she began to think that it would perhaps have been better if the duffer had declared his love straight out like a man. With two or three words he would have bamboozled Gligori. But it was over now. She would never see or hear him again, and just then there was a knock at the door.

"Who is it?" the girl asked from within.

"May the good God bless your dead, little one. I can hear, but I cannot see. Take pity on me and give me alms."

The door opened, and the girl stretched out her hand with a piece of bread in it.

"God pardon your dead," Marinos mumbled once more, and rushed inside.

Lemoni recognised him at once and fainted. Marinos had no time to lose. He took a look round, pulled out his handkerchief, tied it round her mouth, hoisted her on to his shoulder, crossed the yard, jumped over the back wall into some ruins, from there into a field and then into another. Then he sat down under a tree and sprinkled her face with some of the orange water he had with him.

She half-opened her eyes, and Marinos, seeing there was nothing to fear, again tied the handkerchief and went straight off to the boat.

The lads were waiting, oars in hand. In an hour they were at Kalahori. On the way Lemoni recovered her senses, but, heavens, what a state she was in ! Marinos looked after her as a mother looks after her first-born. He spoke gently to her, gave her fair words and promises ; not one hard word, not one black look. Very slowly the girl began to draw breath again more easily. It was as if her heart were saying something that soothed her a little, but suddenly she thought of her house and her brother and the village, and, alas, of the song they would sing over her shame. More fainting, more orange water, more heartrendings ! When she recovered a little, Marinos, knowing what was tormenting her, again began to speak cajolingly to her and swore to her with his men for witnesses that he would not touch her till they were married, and that they would not be married until she said yes. They reached Kalihori and Lemoni had not yet uttered a word. Marinos reminded her that there was no more time for thinking because they had arrived. Then she began to weep, but when they stretched out the gaff so that they could be hauled ashore and land over by the harbour, she plucked up courage and said :

“ If you will swear to me by the Holy Virgin and St. Nicholas and in front of the priest that your life from now on will be as peaceful and gentle as the words you have spoken to me, that you will give up the sea and the knife and that you will return to our village, together with the priest, so that he can testify that he has received me untouched from you, and that you will stay with me for ever, then I will say yes.”

Marinos wanted nothing better. He was resolved to promise everything out of love for her.

They landed, took the dark streets and entered Kalohori church. They found the priest's cell, called for the curate and explained what was needed. At first the priest said no, but when he saw that there were knives about, what could he do ? He put on his stole and married them. Before he blessed them, two oaths were sworn : one on the Gospel and one before St. Nicholas, and Marinos feared that one more than the Gospel. “ And now back with all of us, and the priest with us,” said Marinos.

The boat reached our harbour an hour before daybreak. The sailors were all armed to forestall anything untoward in the event of our people having smelt them out. The first to set out was the priest, who went to Gligori's house. What a to do there was ! All night

everyone had been up and about, searching outside with lanterns, and they were just getting ready to send a party into the villages too, to look for the lost girl. The priest fixed everything up. As soon as he was inside, he made straight for the girl's brother, who was sitting down with his chin cupped in his hands and his elbows buried in his knees, and glaring like a madman, and said :

" The blessing of God be upon you, my son Have no fear. Your sister is still as chaste and innocent as the hour she was born. The man who has married her is another man now. This is his oath, and if you cannot read I will read it over to you. ' I swear on the Gospel and by St. Nicholas—great be his grace—that from this minute when I take to wife Lemoni Mastrovasili of Nerohori until the end of my days I shall never lay hand on a knife, that I shall live with her at Nerohori, that I shall never utter a harsh word to her, and that I shall live and die with her in love and peace. Marinos Kondaras.' "

Fyseki foamed with fury. The priest, a person who had seen a lot of the world in his time, ordered everyone out of the room, and stayed an hour alone with Gligori, who was ranting and raging while the priest soothed him down. As the day began to break, we who were outside heard less shouting and more conversation. And when the sun broke out on that peak you see over there, the priest, Gligori, all the relations and many of the neighbours came down, led by the players, to the shore to take the groom and the bride up to the village.

When Marinos and his folk saw the fiddles and the gaiety, they began to weep for joy like babes. Lemoni could not bear up any more and fainted. But it was now Gligori who sprinkled her with orange water, it was he who brought her round and took her off the boat. The whole village had gathered down there, and we all went up singing the " bride's song." I shall never forget our march. We went first to St. Nicholas, and Marinos made a vow there to make his ship into a silver lamp—that very one you must have seen today. When they had prayed they went home. The women collected together, decked out the bride and the wedding began. A wedding all topsy-turvy: first the ceremony and then the gaiety. The merrymaking lasted for days on end. Then it was I first danced, a young fellow without a moustache; that is why I remember it so well. If I were to tell you all about it, Sir . . .

At this point I asked old Thanasi to break off for that day because time was getting on and I had to be off. I stood him another glass and wished him good night. " But you haven't heard it all, Sir," he said. " You haven't heard what sort of a man this tamed

wild beast became afterwards, nor of the happiness he had with his Lemoni and the vine which Gligori gave them. I haven't told you how he would not even fish for years afterwards until the Kalohori priest who had married them told him that he had seen St. Nicholas in a dream and the saint was angry because Marinos had given up fishing. So he began from then on to take his net now and again and catch fish for his little wife's sake. What else can I tell you, Sir? They lived like that for fifty years, loving each other, and so they have died today. They had only one sorrow—it was that they had no children. But they had all the other good things of this world. It was God's will that his soul should be saved by a girl, a woman. And then we are told that women send us to damnation! But you see, Sir, there are women and women. Take mine now, a witch if ever there was one, and tell me if I am not right to spend my evenings at the inn."

"Well, good night, Captain. I must go and light a candle, and be off home, for my wife will be furious with me if I am late."

I, too, got up and went off. I went up to the church again. It was about an hour before sunset and all was quiet in the graveyard; the gate was closed, and there was neither priest nor gravedigger about. I opened the door, went inside and walked up to old Lemoni's tomb. I found two there now, side by side, and on them was a cross made by an axe and a pick. I bent down before the two graves, and I prayed to God to fill the world with couples like those, who begin their life with an embrace and go down to their grave hand in hand.

DRUNKALOTO¹

Translated from the Bulgarian of A. KARALIYCHEV by N. B. JOPSON.

OUR Pesho Drunkaloto went twice to the capital without having to pay anything. The first time he went there was because a mad dog bit his left leg. The second time was not because of the mad dog, but because of the saying: "A dog that will not growl invites the wolf to prowl."

Our Pesho came back from Sofia with a sound leg. When he got out of the train, he did not go home to see his family and regale them all with sweetmeats, but betook himself straight to Old Hadji Ivan's inn. Pesho sat down and gave his order. The first person to sit down at his side was Hadji Ivan, who plucked him by his sleeve.

"Talk away, Pesho, but if it is to be lies, draw it mild. I have been looking forward ever so for you to turn up. My heartstrings are yearning for a bit of news."

Pesho gulped the contents of his little green bottle down.

"It beats me what to start with, Hadji; my head is that stuffed up with news; just like a beehive it is. And all the mob there was there, clattering up the train! A regular ant-hill, and no mistake! I didn't dare to ask a question. And where all the people were going to, that I couldn't make out, but you wouldn't catch me asking, else they'd have taken me for a silly. Only last night a man said to me:

" 'And where are you from, Sir? '

" 'From the capital.'

" 'And what were you doing there? '

" 'Having some fun.'

" 'Do you often go up for fun? '

" 'Very often.'

"And fancy, Hadji, my boy, if the Lord hadn't granted me to be bitten by that mad dog, I should never have set foot there."

"And how are things up there," asked old Hadji Ivan, "It is a big city, eh? Lovely things, eh? Did you see everything there? What do the Ministers do? "

¹ Drunkaloto means the chatterbox, "bouncer" in Bulgarian.

"What do they do? Why, nobody has anything to do. They don't do any reaping, they just gad about in motor-cars. As soon as I had got out of the station and was stepping out to the town, there was a grinding of brakes, gr-gr-blunk, and a motor-car stopped. And in it was a gentleman in spectacles.

" 'Hop in, Pesho. Up with you, and I'll take you a drive for nothing.'

"So I climbed in, and as soon as I was seated I asked him who he was " And Pesho cupped his hand round his mouth and whispered "A Minister."

"Go along with you, you scoundrel, how could he have known your name? "

"It staggered me, too, how he could have known it. And the cushion I had to sit on, Hadji, soft as soft. Pray to God, Hadji, that He will let you drive round on cushions like them in your old age."

"I'll say amen to that. And our Tsar, now, did you see the young fellow, I wonder "

"Of course I did I met him last night. Tramping along the pavement he was, in golden boots."

"You don't say! "

"Pure gold they were. He goes among the people and talks to everybody. As soon as he spotted me ever so far off, he had a word. He asked me who I was, where I came from, and what I was doing there."

"And what did you do? "

"Told him I was Pesho. 'Come along then,' says the Tsar, 'and we'll have a cup of coffee together.' So we dropped in at a café, and had a chat for a matter of two hours. After a time the Tsar tapped his forehead :

" 'Look here now,' he says, 'isn't there an old veteran down there, Hadji Ivan, his name is? Is he living still? '

" 'Alive and kicking, Your Majesty.'

" 'A fine fellow,' says the Tsar, 'a real hero, eh? Once, when the Serbian war was on, I remember how he sweated like a horse dragging a cannon up to the Slivnitsa walls. That was the cannon that we smashed the Serbians up with.' "

"Impossible, it can't be," interrupted old Ivan. "You are lying to me, you blackguard."

Pesho was offended, bent his head and looked as if he would burst into tears. He felt it so !

" Hadji, old friend, do you want me to take my oath? "

" No, no, laddie, I believe you And after all, why shouldn't the Tsar have heard of my heroism? For those splendid words about me you'll have another glass from me—a double one."

Evening came, and the villagers trooped in. They swarmed round Pesho with their mouths agape, and he pitched it strong! Like bees they buzzed with the news They smacked their lips in their amazement and shook their heads. They believed half the stories, and the other half they didn't.

By the time it was dark, a trail of carts was standing outside Hadji's inn. Some of the villagers came with them straight from the fields, and after halting their oxen they would stop to hear the news. Pesho got quite excited, he unbuttoned his coat, they loosened their coats and banged on the table He had seen everything, had heard everything, had got to the bottom of everything, and had poked his nose into everything.

At last a customer said :

" But there has been a whacker of a yarn down here, too One day, up there in the capital, three fellows broke overnight into a Bank, and while one of them downed the watchman and stuffed a gag into his mouth, the other two rifled the safe and"

Pesho interrupted him :

" I was there."

" You're a liar."

" God strike me dead if I am a liar. I was strolling along that night and humming a tune. Then I turned into a dark street, and there I met two fellows. And they met me. ' We're in luck,' one of them said, ' you're the very man we want. We are on to a good thing. Take hold of this gag and follow us when we go into that large house. You have no words to say, but only to ram the gag into the bobbie's mouth and hold him nice and tight until we have finished the job. We'll share the swag later ' At first I didn't want to, but I had to, willy-nilly, for the devil got under my skin and tempted me, and then I went off with them. It all happened as you have heard. I was the man who shoved the gag into the bobbie's mouth."

" But the money? "

" Money be blown. There was no money in the safe. Stark poverty, that's what it was! Our treasury is in a poor way, my lads. Not a brass farthing did we find."

Towards midnight Pesho Drunkaloto went off to have a look at his wifey.

Next morning two policemen stopped outside Pesho's front door and knocked.

Mrs. Pesho came out.

"Does anyone of the name of Pesho live here?"

"Yes, he's here. What do you want?"

"We are taking him to Sofia. He robbed a bank one day, and he is wanted by the police."

They took him away, neither living nor dead.

Poor Pesho! When he came back a week later, he was dumb—you couldn't have drawn a word out of him, not with pincers you couldn't.

HUMPY

Translated from the Bulgarian of A. KARALIYCHEV by N. B. JOPSON.

THERE was once an old ant and her name was Humpy. She laid two eggs in her old age, and when the large eyes of two unchristened antlings smiled up out of the hatched eggs, Humpy threw away her spindle, and rushed into the neighbouring streets to spread the glad news. The two little antlings waited a long time for their mother to pull them out of their shells and to wash their eyes for them, but realising that their mummy was fond of a gossip, they lay down again and went to sleep. Humpy went the round of the streets and of the whole village, and towards midday set off back for home. She opened the door, thrust out her head, and, when she saw her new-born babies sleeping, she noiselessly closed the door and crawled to the larder. When she got there she fumbled about in her bosom, brought out a big key, unlocked the heavy larder door, went inside and trundled out a large millet grain. She meant to grind her new meal at the mill. Humpy's larder was bursting, so full it was. Her whole life long she had dragged, without ever flagging, grain after grain from the fields, and her eyes now sparkled with joy at the thought of all she would be leaving behind for her antlings. But suddenly she begrudged the grain of millet she had brought out of her larder.

"Why should I grind any of the store I have put by when there is plenty of millet in the fields," she said to herself, and thrusting the grain back she locked up her larder. She leant a big stone against the front door, jumped into the garden, plucked herself a flower, set it jauntily astride her ear and trudged off to a field with some lusty haulms of ripe wild millet waving in the breeze. On reaching the field she painfully dragged her old bones along the ridge and then

popped her head up to see where the master was. The master of the field was only chasing away with stones a crowd of sparrows who thought that the millet field was a banqueting table laid out for their benefit. As soon as the mountain man got to the other side, Humpy hurriedly scrambled up a tall millet stalk, reached the haulm, plucked the yellowest fruit, jumped down again, shouldered it and set off at a run before the master should turn round again. Her legs went all awry with all the running she had to do, and the sweat streamed down from her forehead like hail and made her flower all steamy. As she bustled along, she was bent in two. When she reached the spring at the side of the road, she dropped down in the shade and rinsed her eyes in the cold water. Then she crawled over a leaf, shifted the grain over on to her hump, and stretched herself out for a nap. She had hardly fallen asleep when a black raven flew up from a nearby hill, and noisily alighted at the spring. He thrust out his neck, drank from the cooling water, and began to cast a look round in search of something to peck at. When he saw the sleeping ant he uttered a great caw of joy, opened his beak and ran up to Humpy. In her sleep she heard the noisy fellow, gave a start of fright and tumbled down from her leaf into a crack in the ground. The raven looked for her ever so long in the grass, and when he found that his search was vain he gobbled up the millet grain, and spread out his two wings, which looked like two black clouds to poor frightened Humpy.

As soon as the bird had flown away, poor despoiled Humpy came out of her crack, neatly shook her apron clean and, blazing with anger, set off for the office of a wise spider, who was the lawyer of the ant village. She found him just as he was artfully spinning a net in front of his office. As soon as ever he saw her, the sly old spider thought to himself: "Oho, here is another goose come to be plucked." And he asked her what her business was. So she told him the whole story.

"I want to lodge a plaint against the raven, and throw him into prison," she concluded.

"We shall do that," replied the spider. "The easiest thing in the world, but how much will you pay?"

"One peck of wheat."

"That is too little."

"Two pecks."

"Good. I shall send along my cart then, to collect the wheat."

Humpy went away, made a heap of the two pecks of wheat, which it had taken her two full years to garner in from field to field,

and with a pain in her heart looked at the great pile on the spider's cart.

The spider wrote the charge out fair and conducted Humpy to the court. Now at this time the judge of Ant Village was an old spectacled raven. He pecked for a long time at the words in the charge, and after he had pecked up two flies who had lit out of inquisitiveness on the law registers, he gave judgment for the defendant because, you must know, blood is thicker than water.

Humpy began to weep, but the spider comforted her :

"Don't weep, old lady, I shall take you to a higher judge."

"Who is he?"

"The donkey. He is holding the assizes at the district town. He lives on the outskirts opposite the gypsy encampment. He is very wise. Wiser than Solomon."

"Let us be off then," and Humpy wiped her eyes.

"We shall go, but there can be no going on foot for me. Have you any money stored up so that we can buy a motor-car?"

"No, I have not," answered Humpy.

"That is bad. Sell the food in your larder."

"Oh, Your Honour, if I sell that, how will my little ones manage without food?"

"Never mind. Think only of how we are going to throw the raven into prison."

The silly old ant agreed, so she sold her larder, bought a motor-car, took the spider inside and set off to the court of the wise judge.

The wise judge listened to Humpy's plaint, and asked her if she had brought any present from the village.

"Nothing at all, Your Worship, I forgot it," said the ant.

At that moment there entered the judgment hall the raven, accompanied by two policemen, with his wings bedraggled by the heat, and holding a thistle in his mouth. The raven bowed low to the judge, laid the thistle on the green table, and withdrew. The judge gobbled the thistle up, and lazily opened his mouth :

"I sentence the plaintiff to twelve months' imprisonment for having in this oppressive heat dared to summon the most worthy citizen of the feathery kingdom."

So Humpy did her year, while her antlings went hungry. Then, indignant and startled, she came out of prison and went straight to the spider.

"Is there no greater and no fairer judge in the land than the donkey?" she asked.

"Yes," said the spider, "but he lives in India—the Indian Elephant."

"Where is this India?"

"Beyond the nine seas."

"Let us be off then."

"All right," said the spider, "but you will have to buy an aeroplane. Sell your house, and buy an aeroplane."

"Oh, Your Honour, but what of my little ones?"

"Never mind," replied the spider.

So the ant sold her house, bought an aeroplane, and in default of a house laid her two weakly antlings in a dry place under a mushroom so that the rain could not drench them, and flew away to India with the spider. After they landed in the country through which the yellow Ganges flows, they found the elephant and told him of the raven's theft. The elephant at once ordered the culprit to be brought to court in the ant's aeroplane, heard the case and sentenced the raven to reappear the following year, when the crops were ripe again, with the ant's grain of millet.

Humpy drew a breath of ease at last and set out in her aeroplane for her native land. But when she came to the mushroom, she found her two poor little babies lying dead of hunger. She broke out weeping over her darlings and her tears poured down like hail.

Just then the raven alighted by the mushroom.

"Humpy, I have come to thank you for the lovely trip to India in the aeroplane. Had it not been for you I should have died without ever seeing the Elephant, or the Ganges, or India."

And in his deep gratitude the raven opened his beak wide, and gobbled Humpy up.

THE FOOL AND THE BIRCH TREE

Translated from the Russian by ELIZABETH HILL and DORIS MUDIE.

In a certain kingdom there once lived an old man, and he had three sons, two were clever, but the third was a fool. The old man died, and the sons drew lots for his goods. The clever ones took all sorts of things, but the fool got nothing but a bull, and that was a thin one! The time came round for the fair to be held, and the clever brothers thought of going to it. The fool saw this and said:

"I, too, will go to the fair to sell my bull." He fastened a piece of string round the bull's horns and set out for the fair. As it

happened, he had to go through a wood where a dry old birch tree stood. Each time the wind blew, the birch tree creaked.

"Why does she creak like that?" the fool wondered, "perhaps she is offering a price for my bull."

"Well?" says the fool, "if you want to buy my bull then you can buy it, I don't mind selling it! The bull costs twenty roubles and I cannot take any less. . . . Come on, out with your money!"

The birch tree did not reply, she only creaked; but the fool thought she was asking him to sell the bull on credit.

"Very good, I can wait until tomorrow." He tied the bull to the birch tree, said good-bye to the tree and went home. The clever brothers came home and began to ask him questions:

"Have you sold your bull?"

"Yes, I have," he replied.

"Did you get much for it?"

"Twenty roubles."

"Where is the money?"

"I have not had it given to me yet. I was told to go for it tomorrow."

"Oh, you old simpleton!"

Early next morning the fool got up, put on his best clothes and went to the birch tree for the money. He goes into the wood; the birch tree is standing there swaying in the wind, but there is no bull. The wolves had eaten it in the night.

"Now then, my friend, hand over the money. You promised to pay me today."

The wind blew, the birch tree creaked, and the fool said:

"What a liar you are! Yesterday you said 'I will pay you tomorrow,' and today you promise the same thing. Very good, never mind, I shall wait just one more day but no more. I need the money." He went home and the two brothers pestered him again:

"Well? Did you get the money?"

"No, brothers, I shall have to wait another day."

"To whom did you sell it?"

"To the dry old birch tree in the wood."

"Oh, what a fool! What a fool!"

On the third day the fool took an axe and set out for the wood. He arrived there and demanded the money. The birch tree kept creaking and creaking.

"Now look here, my friend, if you are going to keep putting me off until tomorrow I shall never have the money. I don't like that

kind of joke. I'll soon settle with you ! " And he swung his axe in the air, and the splinters scattered on all sides.

Now there was a hollow in the birch tree and in the hollow some thieves had hidden a pot of gold. The fool had split the tree in two, and he saw the gold shining. He filled the hem of his shirt with it and carried it home. He brought it home and showed it to his brothers.

" Where have you found that ? " they cried.

" She paid me this for the bull. But that is not all of it. I have not brought even half of it. Come on, brothers, let us go for the rest."

They went into the wood, took the money and set out for home.

" Look here, fool," said the clever brothers, " don't you tell anyone that we have so much gold ! "

" No fear, I shall not tell."

Suddenly on their way they meet a deacon.

" What have you fellows found in the wood ? "

The clever ones answer :

" Mushrooms."

But the fool contradicts :

" What a lie ! We are carrying money. Just look ! "

The deacon gasped. He fell on the gold and began to fill his pockets with it. The fool was angry, hit him with the axe and the deacon fell over stone dead.

" You fool ! You fool ! " shouted the brothers, " what have you done ? You will get into trouble now, and you will be the ruin of us ! What shall we do with the body ? "

They thought and they thought, and they dragged the body to an empty cellar and left it there. Late in the evening the eldest brother said to the second one :

" This will be a bad business for us. When they begin to look for the deacon, the fool will tell them everything. Let us kill a goat and put it in the cellar, and we can bury the body in another place."

They waited until the dead of night, they killed the goat and threw it into the cellar, then they carried the deacon to another place and buried him in the ground.

A few days passed. Everyone was looking for the deacon, and everyone was asking where he could be. And the fool spoke up :

" What do you want the deacon for ? " he says. " The other day I killed him with my axe and my brothers pushed him into the cellar."

They caught hold of the fool, shouting :

“ Take us at once to where he is ! Show us the way ! ”

The fool crawled into the cellar, took hold of the goat's head and called out :

“ Was your deacon fair or dark ? ”

“ Dark,” they said.

“ Did he have a beard ? ”

“ Yes, he had a beard.”

“ And did he have horns ? ”

“ Horns ? What horns, you fool ? ”

“ Well, here they are ! ” And he thrust out the head. The people looked and saw it was the head of a goat.

The fool spat in the air, and they all went home.

Here ends my tale,

Now for my ale.

THE BLACKSMITH AND THE DEVIL

Translated from the Russian by ELIZABETH HILL and DORIS MUDIE.

THERE was once a blacksmith, and he had a son of six years old, a bright and sensible lad. One day the old man went into a church and stood before a holy picture of the Last Judgment, and he saw a devil in the painting ; such a terrifying devil, black and with horns and a tail.

“ What a devil ! ” he thought to himself. “ Let's have one like that in the smithy ! ” So he hired a painter and told him to make a devil on the door of his smithy, a devil just such as he had seen in the church.

The painter did this, and from that time whenever the old man went into the smithy, he would glance at the devil, say “ Good day, neighbour,” make up the fire and set to work.

For ten years the blacksmith and the devil lived in peace together. Then the smith fell ill and died. His son became the master and went to work in the smithy. But he would not respect the devil as his father had done. He never greeted the devil when he came to the smithy in the morning, and instead of a kind word he took the largest hammer he had and before he set to work treated the devil to three blows in the middle of his forehead. When God's holiday came round, he would go to the church, put a candle up for each of the saints, then go to the devil and spit in his eye.

Three whole years went by, and each morning either he beat

the devil on the head or else spat at him. The devil suffered this in patience until he could not bear it any longer.

"I have suffered this indignity long enough," he thought, "I shall think of something and pay him out."

The devil turned himself into a young man and came to the smithy :

"Good day, uncle," he said.

"Good day," said the blacksmith.

"Will you take me as an apprentice? I can carry the coal for you and work the bellows."

The smith was glad : "Why not? The work will go quicker with two of us." So the devil began to learn the craft. He stayed for a month, and was soon a better smith than the master himself. What the master could not do, the devil could do, and his work was a joy to look at. The smith was so fond of him and so pleased with his work that it is hard to describe it. Sometimes the blacksmith did not go to the smithy; he relied on his apprentice, who could do everything.

One day the master was not in the smithy. His apprentice was alone, and he sees an old lady driving by. He puts his head out of the door and begins to shout :

"Hi, step this way! Come and see the new work! Old folk made young again!"

The old lady jumped out of her carriage and ran into the smithy.

"What are you bragging about? Is it true? Can you really do it?" she asks the apprentice.

"No one can teach us anything. I should not say we could if we couldn't!"

"What does it cost?" says the old lady.

"Five hundred roubles."

"Here is the money," she says, "turn me into a young woman!"

The devil took the money and sent her coachman to the village :

"Go," says he, "and bring back two buckets of milk." Then he took the old lady, seized her by the legs with the tongs, threw her into the furnace and burnt her up until only a few bones were left. When the coachman brought the milk, the devil poured it into a tub, gathered the bones together and threw them into the milk, and lo! three minutes later, the rich lady stepped out of the milk : alive, young and beautiful.

She stepped into her carriage, drove home and went to her husband. He stared at her, but he did not know who she was :

"Why do you stare at me?" she says, "you see I am both

young and beautiful, and I don't want my husband to be old. Go to the smithy and they will forge you into a young and handsome man, for I do not want to know you as you are." The husband had no choice, so he went to the smithy. Meanwhile the blacksmith had returned to the smithy. He sees that the apprentice is not there. He looks and looks; he asks and asks. No one knows where he is. There is not a trace of the apprentice. So he sets to work alone. There is no sound to be heard in the smithy but the sound of his hammer.

The rich old man comes to the door and walks in.

"Come on," he says, "turn me into a young man."

"Are you mad, sir? How can I turn you into a young man?"

"You know! Of course, you know!"

"I know nothing about it."

"You lying knave!" says the rich man, "if you can change my old wife into a young and beautiful woman, you can change me. If you don't, then my life won't be worth living."

"Your wife? I have never even set eyes on your wife."

"Your apprentice saw her right enough. If he was able to do the work, then you, the master, ought to know what to do. Come on now! Be quick! If you don't, you'll be sorry!"

So the blacksmith was forced to change the old man. He spoke quietly to the coachman and asked him some questions, and when the coachman told him what the apprentice had done, he thought to himself: "Why not? I can do that. . . . If all is well, then all is well. If not, then all is wrong. . . ."

He stripped the old man, seized him by the legs with the tongs, pushed him into the furnace and began to work the bellows. Soon the old man was burnt to cinders. Then the smith picked out the bones, threw them into the milk and waited for the young man to jump out. How long would he be? He waited and waited for one hour, and then two, but nothing happened. He looked into the tub, but there were only the bones, floating in the milk.

The wife kept sending messages to the smithy: how soon would her husband be ready? The poor blacksmith replied that her husband had died, and that he wished to be remembered by her as she had known him. When the wife discovered that the smith had burnt her husband instead of turning him into a young and handsome man, she was very angry. She called her loyal servants and told them to drag the blacksmith to the scaffold. As she said, so it was done. The servants ran to the smithy, seized the blacksmith and

dragged him to the scaffold. Suddenly they were overtaken by the apprentice :

“ Where are they taking you, master? ” he asked.

“ They are going to hang me,” said the smith, and told him what had happened.

“ Well,” said the devil, “ if you swear never again to hit me on the head with your hammer and to respect me as your father respected me, then the man will be here in one minute, alive and young.”

The blacksmith promised, and swore that never again would he raise his hammer against the devil and that he would honour him.

The apprentice ran back to the smithy and soon returned with the husband.

“ Stop! ” he shouted to the servants. “ Do not hang him! Here is your master! ”

They loosened the cords and set the blacksmith free to go in whichever direction he chose.

From that time the smith stopped spitting at the devil or hitting him on the head with his hammer. The apprentice disappeared and never came back. The rich man and his wife lived in peace and plenty, and they are still living to this day if they are not dead.

THE DEBT

Translated from the Russian by ELIZABETH HILL and DORIS MUDIE.

A PEASANT was in trouble, and trouble needs money. But he had no money. Where was he to find it? He thought and thought, and then he made up his mind to go to the devil and to ask him to lend him some money.

When he gets to the devil, he says : “ Lend me some money, devil.”

“ What do you want it for? ”

“ I am in trouble.”

“ Do you want much? ”

“ A thousand. . . .”

“ When will you pay it back? ”

“ Tomorrow.”

“ You can have it,” said the devil, and he counted the thousand out in money.

II

The next day the devil came to the peasant to collect his debt. The peasant says to him :

"Come tomorrow." The devil came the next day, and again the peasant told him to come tomorrow. So for several days the devil came to him.

One day the peasant said to him : " Instead of your coming to me so often, I shall hang out a board on my gate, and I shall write on it which day you should come to collect the debt."

" Very good," said the devil, and went away

The peasant wrote on the board : " Come tomorrow," and hung it up on his gate. The devil came once, came twice, and it was always the same notice on the gate.

" Well," says he to himself, " I don't think I shall go to the peasant tomorrow " And he stayed away.

III

The next day the devil went back to the peasant. He sees on the gate a new notice :

" Come yesterday."

" What bad luck ! " says the devil, " I could not come yesterday, and now I have lost my money."

So the devil had to say " Good-bye " to the debt.

TALE OF THE POPE AND OF HIS WORKMAN BALDÀ

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN *by*
OLIVER ELTON

Porridge-head

Was a pope, who is dead.

He went out a-shopping one day

To look for some wares on the way ;

And he came on Baldà, who was there,

Who was going he knew not where,

And who said, " Why so early abroad, old sire ?

And what dost require ? "

He replied, " For a workman I look,

To be stableman, carpenter, cook ;

But where to procure

Such a servant ?—a cheap one, be sure ! "

Says Baldà, " I will come as thy servant,

I'll be splendid, and punctual, and fervent ;

And my pay for the year is—three raps on thy head ;

Only, give me boiled wheat, when I'm fed."
Then he pondered, that pope;
Scratched his poll, put his hope
In his luck, in the Russian *Perhaps*.
"There are raps," he bethought him, "*and* raps."
And he said to Baldà, "Let it be so;
There is profit for thee and for me so;
Go and live in my yard,
And see that thou work for me nimbly and hard."

And he lives with the pope, does Baldà,
And he sleeps on straw pallet; but ah!
He gobbles like four men,
Yet he labours like seven or more men.
The sun is not up, but the work simply races;
The strip is all ploughed, and the nag in the traces;
All is bought and prepared, and the stove is well heated;
And Baldà bakes the egg and he shells it—they eat it;
And the popess heaps praise on Baldà,
And the daughter just pines for Baldà, and is sad;
And the little pope calls him *papa*;
And he boils up the gruel, and dandles the lad.

But only the pope never blesses
Baldà with his love and caresses,
For he thinks all the while of the reckoning;
Time flies, and the hour of repayment is beckoning!
And scarce can he eat, drink, or sleep, for, alack,
Already he feels on his forehead the crack.
So he makes a clean breast to the popess
And he asks where the last rag of hope is?
Now the woman is keen and quick-witted
And for any old trickery fitted,
And she says, "I have found us, my master,
A way to escape the disaster:
Some impossible job to Baldà now allot,
And command it be done to the very last jot;
So thy forehead will never be punished, I say,
And thou never wilt pay him, but send him away."

Then the heart of the pope is more cheerful
And his looks at Baldà are less fearful,

Shall the likes of thee in rivalry
 Contend with the great Baldà, with *me* ?
 Art thou the foe who is sent to face me ?
 My little Brother shall here replace me "

Then goes Baldà to the nearest copse ;
 Two hares he catches, in sack he pops,
 And returns to the sea once more,
 To the devilkin by the shore.
 And he grips one hare by the ear ;
 " Thou shalt dance to our own balalaika, my dear.
 Thou, devilkin, art but young and frail ;
 Dost thou strive with me ? thou wilt only fail ;
 It is time and labour lost for thee ;
 Outstrip my brother, and thou shalt see !
 So, one, two, three, and away—now race him ! "

Then off goes the imp, and the hare to chase him.
 And the imp by the seashore coasted,
 But the hare to the forest posted.
 Now the imp has circled the seas about,
 And he flies in panting, his tongue lolls out,
 And his snout turns up, and he's thoroughly wet,
 With his paw he towels away the sweat,
 And he thinks he has settled Baldà. But there !
 Baldà is stroking the brother-hare,
 And repeating, " My own, my deary,
 Now rest, my poor brother, for thou art weary ! "
 Then the imp of a heap was struck,
 And tamely his tail through his legs he stuck ;
 At the brother-hare he glanced askew,
 Said, " Wait, I will fetch the rent for you."
 When he got to his grandad, " Too bad ! " he said ;
 " Baldà—the young one—got right ahead."

Then the ancient fiend had a notion ;
 But Baldà made a noise and commotion,
 And the ocean was vexed,
 And the waters were parted next,
 And the imp slipt out : " 'Tis enough, muzhik ;
 We will send to you all the rent you seek.
 But listen ; dost thou behold this stick ?

Now, choose thou a mark, and take thy pick;
 And the one who the stick can farthest shoot, he
 Shall have the whole of the rent for booty
 Why dost thou wait? why standest cowed?
 Dost thou fear to sprain thy wrist?—" 'Tis a cloud
 Up there I await. I will toss thy stick up
 Right in the cloud, and will start a kick-up
 For you fiends!" And again he had won, had Baldà,
 And the terrified imp told his grandpapa.
 And Baldà again made the waters roar
 And threatened the fiends with the rope once more;
 And the imp popped up again; "Why dost fuss?
 If thou wilt, thou shalt have all the rent from us."

"Nay, nay," says Baldà,
 "It is *my* turn, ha ha!
 Little enemy, now the conditions to make,
 And to set thee a riddle to crack.
 Let us see what thy strength is. Look there
 At yonder gray mare:
 I dare thee to lift her
 And half a mile shift her.
 So, carry that mare, and the rent is thine;
 But carry her not, and the whole is mine."

And the poor little imp then and there
 Crawled under the mare
 And there he lay lugging her
 And there he lay tugging her,
 And he hoisted that mare for two paces; but falling
 As he took the third, he dropt there sprawling.
 Then says Baldà, "What avails to try,
 Thou fool of an imp, with *us* to vie?
 For thou, in thy arms thou couldst not rear her,
 But see, between my legs I'll bear her."
 And he mounted the mare, and galloped a mile,
 And the dust eddied up; but the imp meanwhile
 Ran scared to his grandad, and told him then
 How Baldà was the winner again.

Then the devils, no help for it, rose and went
 In a ring, and collected the whole of the rent,
 And they loaded a sack

On Baldà, who made off with a kind of a quack.
And the pope when he sees him
Just skips up and flees him
And hides in the rear of his wife
And straddles, in fear of his life.
But Baldà hunts him out on the spot, and see !
Hands over the rent, and demands his fee.

Then the pope, poor old chap,
Put his pate up. At Rap
Number one, up he flew
To the ceiling. At Rap number Two
The pope, the poor wretch,
Lost his tongue and his speech.
And at Rap number Three he was battered
And the old fellow's wits, they were shattered.
But Baldà, giving judgment, reproached him : " Too keen
Upon cheapness, my pope, thou hast been ! "

TRENDS IN COMMUNIST HISTORICAL THOUGHT

HISTORICAL writing in the erstwhile Russia has, since the revolution, come to be cast in a Marxian mould, as one would expect; but within these rather narrow limits, it has experienced many vicissitudes, and not a few significant changes, during the past seventeen years. Inasmuch as Marxian principles are based on certain views of history, the changing attitude of Communist leaders towards problems of the past, reflects their views on current problems; no less are we here afforded a clue to definite trends that are asserting themselves in the intellectual life of the Soviet Union.

The distracting conditions of war under which the Bolsheviks seized power in October, 1917, and of civil war which followed could scarcely be years fruitful in scholarly production. Some of the older scholars managed to complete and publish works they had had under way. But of much greater significance for the future of historical studies was the general exodus of many writers out of sympathy with the new régime and of all those who were to be found in the camps of its opponents. Milyukov and Struve are the best known of this great army of exiles, scattered over the whole world. They have continued their work abroad under the handicaps that such exile imposes and in the knowledge that the cultural streams from which they have been cut off lie beyond an impassable watershed.

The end of the civil war and the return of the country to a peace footing precipitated a crisis in the internal affairs of Russia that induced the Communist Party under the leadership of Lenin to adopt the so-called "New Economic Policy," which involved an abandonment of the extreme Communism of the war years. But it was one thing for Lenin to bow before the inexorable facts of the situation and another to reconcile his revolutionary following to this *volte face*. Disillusionment and despair swept through the ranks of the Communist Party at what amounted to a frank admission of defeat. There was an epidemic of suicides among prominent members of the Party, an evidence of the widespread demoralisation. In vain did the Party Press thunder forth that the fundamentals were not involved in the retreat, that the "commanding heights" would be defended to the last. There was an immediate resurgence of many of the old elements that had not dared to raise their heads under Bolshevik domination. People openly prophesied a speedy return to the old régime.

Under the modified form of capitalism to which the country had returned, there was a revival of the economic life of Russia. The changed conditions permitted also a resurrection of a replica—albeit a pale one—of the culture of the two capitals. The presses turned to grinding out something besides war proclamations and propaganda. Scholars and writers, liberated from the severe privations that were universal during the civil war, were now free to pursue their former callings. If historical studies were not prolific, this was rather due to the exodus of so many writers during the emigration, than want of a listening public and the opportunity of addressing it.

But these signs of the reviving life of the old capitalistic régime caused a panic in the Party. Never was Lenin's leadership or Party discipline put to so severe a test. It was difficult to persuade his followers that his concessions were anything but frank opportunism. With as little reason he was attacked for the Party's despotic control of the organs of government and urged to remove government censorship of the Press. But Lenin held out no more strongly for his policy of concessions in the economic field than he resisted efforts to democratise the Party or institute the tolerant régime of western Liberalism. He maintained that if you could not take a position by frontal attack, it might succumb before an attack from the rear or to siege operations. Turning from figurative to literal language, he advanced the belief that the proper rôle for Communists, since they constituted an insignificant minority in the population, and that not the most cultured, was not to attempt to bring in the new order by their own unaided efforts, but to enlist the loyal support of non-Communist specialists in building up the new socialism.¹

But Lenin was not to live to see his policy tested by events. He was stricken down in 1922, and though he rallied and appeared in public again, affairs had slipped from his grasp, and in January, 1924, he died. During his last months he had emphasised the view that Communism had retreated merely to make a fresh start. But matters could not be allowed to drift. The economic development

¹ Lenin, *Sochineniia*, Izd. 1, vol. XVIII, section 2, pp. 44-45. "To build a communist society by the hands of Communists—this is a childish idea. The Communists are a drop in the ocean, a drop in the ocean of the people. They will only be able to lead the people along their path if they correctly define the path in the sense of a world historical direction. We shall be in a position to direct economic development if the Communists are able to build up this economic system by other hands, while they themselves will learn of this bourgeoisie and direct it along the path which they wish it to go."

Compare this with Lenin's previous statement in *The State and the Revolution*, "These gentlemen, the intelligentsia today work loyally for the capitalists, tomorrow they will work even more readily for the armed workers."

of the country was very uneven, and events were moving towards a fresh crisis. Out of the confusion of voices within the Party two definite proposals emerged, first that the Russians should redouble their efforts to bring about a world revolution in the hope that the co-operation of the western nations could be secured, and secondly, that in view of the stabilisation of capitalistic society in other countries, they should put their own house in order and attempt to build a socialistic State in the Soviet Union. There were personal feuds as well as matters of principle involved in this issue; for Stalin and Trotsky were each endeavouring to establish his personal ascendancy over the Party. The matter was fought out in the Fifteenth Conference of the Party; and though the Trotsky opposition was defeated, they failed to conform to Party practice in accepting this defeat as final, and attempted to appeal by an underground Press to the people. It was not until the autumn of 1927 that the matter was finally settled by the exclusion of Trotsky and the chief members of the opposition from the Party. The victorious *bloc* could now, therefore, proceed to carry out the programme for the radical reorganisation of the economic life of the country. Ultimately this platform took shape as the Five Year Plan, the final draft of which was approved by the Party conference of April, 1929.² The inauguration of this plan, though it was never publicly proclaimed, definitely closed the period of compromise which had marked the years of the New Economic Policy.

It was, however, these years of the New Economic Policy that gave birth to the new Communist school of historians. At the time of the revolution the Communists commanded the services of only one of the leading historical scholars of Russia, M. N. Pokrovsky. Pokrovsky had joined the Bolsheviks in 1905, had been abroad for some years, and had returned to take part in the revolution. A trusted friend of Lenin, it was to him that the Party looked for laying the foundation of the teaching of the Marxian conception of history in institutions of higher learning. Pokrovsky performed yeoman service for the Party during these years. He occupied many public positions and, in addition, his literary output was prodigious. But in any event no one man, nor one group of men could give

² The official figures called for the increase of industrial production to three and a half times, and of agricultural production to one and a half times the existing output. But the most characteristic feature of the plan is not the quantitative increase in either industry or agriculture, but in the entirely unprecedented reorganisation of agriculture on co-operative lines. The great contribution of Stalin was the forcible organisation of a large proportion of the peasant households into collective farms.

historical teaching a new orientation. As Lenin had said, the Communists were "but a drop in the ocean," and among the institutions of higher learning, the Academy of Sciences, the Archæographical Commission, the Ranion, and others, were indifferent to or actively hostile to Communism. It was finally decided to put the Institute of History under the Communist Academy and to organise a society of Marxist Historians in the chief towns of the Soviet Union. The avowed purpose was to remove the rising generation of historians from the influence of older scholars, to transfer them to a different atmosphere.

To advance the Marxian view of history and to serve as a rallying point to Marxian scholars, the society determined to have an organ, the *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, the first number of which appeared in September, 1926. The aim and object of the society of Marxist Historians³ was to interpret history from the Marxian point of view and to combat opposing views, and from the first it was a militant organisation. While all members were supposed to be Marxist, there was no requirement that they be members of the Party. The term Marxist allows a fairly wide interpretation of the views of the historian, and it seems to have been stretched to include many not orthodox Marxists. This, of course, was quite consonant with the policy in vogue at that time, namely, to "build up Communism with the hands of non-Communists." It was bound, however, to expose the organisation to certain dangers, and in addition, might be construed as an act of rather questionable faith on the part of its founders. This was soon to become obvious in the course of the next four years, as we shall see.

From 1926 on, there was increased co-operation between Soviet historians and historians of foreign countries. Even in 1928 a Soviet delegation had attended the World Congress of Historians at Brussels. Four years later a special Soviet week was observed in Berlin, where German historians entertained visitors from Russia. Later in the summer there was also a World Conference at Oslo, and again the Soviet Union was represented by a delegation, of which Pokrovsky was chairman. Inasmuch as a number of Russian

³ The objects of the society, as given by the copy of the constitution printed on page 320 of vol. I of the *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, are as follows: (a) the union of all Marxists engaged in historical inquiry; (b) the scientific study of questions of history and of Marxian methodology; (c) combating the bourgeois historians' distortion of history; (d) assisting members of the society to secure scientific literature, access to archives, scientific work; (e) the critical examination of historical literature from the Marxian point of view; (f) carrying on propaganda and popularising the achievements in the field of history.

exiles were present in the delegations from foreign countries, the situation was somewhat delicate. No open clashes occurred, however, though one hostile *émigré* criticised the executive for having invited historians from the Soviet Union. The conference ignored this, and honoured Pokrovsky by electing him to the presidium. Again, in 1933, there were representatives from Russia at the World Congress at Warsaw. The presence at world conferences of Russian *émigrés* hostile to the Soviet régime has drawn forth repeated protests and done much to prevent full co-operation between bourgeois and Communist scholars.

But while outward appearances seemed to foreshadow a *rapprochement* between Communist and bourgeois historians, developments within the Soviet Union, as well as in the world at large, were to disappoint such hopes. The first of these was the fierce dissensions within the Party which resulted finally in the triumph of Stalin and the exile of Trotsky. A second factor was the inauguration of the Five Year Plan and the necessity of using every organ of Communist propaganda at the disposal of the State to secure its success. Thirdly, the world depression, which has revived hopes of world revolution. Inevitably the Communist historians have been thrust into the front line of the battle, and differences rather than points of agreement with the bourgeois world have been emphasised. The greatest single factor in lining up the historians in the service of the Party has been the desperate crisis through which the Party passed in 1926 and 1927, when Trotsky challenged the leadership of Stalin. The victory was won by a narrow margin. It left the Party shattered and seriously weakened its influence. Naturally, therefore, the leaders, struggling with the terrible economic situation on the one hand, and with dissension within the Party on the other, could not tolerate anything that would undermine their power. The leading historians who were Communists must have been keenly alive to this situation, and in any event were under strong Party pressure. Compromise with heterodoxy of any kind was not to be tolerated. This sharpening of the lines is clearly seen in the pages of *Istoriĭ-Marksist* from 1930 onward, where it is obvious that a drive had been organised against bourgeois historians both at home and abroad. This included at first only the older historians like Klyuchevsky, Lyubavsky, Bakhrushin.⁴ But the attack broadened its scope so as

⁴ S. Piontkovsky, *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XVII (1930), pp. 21-26. Piontkovsky's charge against Klyuchevsky is that he is nationalistic and chauvinistic, meaning, of course, that he is interested primarily in the Great

[Continued on next page]

to include many still active historians, some closely in sympathy with the new order of things—Platonov, Vipper, Bochkarev, Rozhdestvensky, Gauthier, Yurovsky, Lyubomirov and Tarlé⁵ The inclusion in the general indictment of learned societies dating from the Tsarist régime, and of persons associated with them, has enabled the net to be cast wide. The accusations in some cases appear to be trivial. For example, members of the Archæographical Commission were held to account for death-bed utterances of a former president of the society—Sheremetev (who died in 1918). The words seem harmless enough—"God grant that the present armistice (presumably before the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk) may give way to an honourable and a lasting peace, I die with a firm belief in Russia that she will revive." For having listened without protest to the reading of a letter from Sheremetev's son that recorded these sentiments of his father, the Commission is thus arraigned by Piontkovsky.

This was a political demonstration with a definite political content; here you have an unequivocal estimate of conditions in 1918. This is a criticism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of our internal and external policy.

On the basis of his treatment of the early history of Russia, the historian Gauthier is accused of (1) being a Eurasian, and (2) favouring foreign intervention, i.e. he covertly draws an analogy between the coming of the Varangians in the 9th century and the intervention of foreign Powers in the 20th.

For in any event the fact remains that the Slavs, because of their lawlessness and lack of feudal leaders and military despots, despite their energy and spirit of enterprise, had not succeeded in founding a stable order.

But now the Normans appear on the scene. Professor Gauthier, of course, does not say that the invitation, in so many words, reads "Come, do as you please," but his language conveys as much.

"For the inert and passive Slavic population, the Normans provided just that element necessary to bring about and stimulate the ferment required for a transition from an unarmed urban and tribal society to higher social forms." (Cited from Gauthier's *Iron Age in Eastern Europe*, p. 252.)

The distant past of our country teaches us that Oriental influence has been almost continuous. It also teaches us that this influence was

Russian people and not in the other races of the former Russian Empire. He also claimed that Platonov, Lyubavsky, Bakhrushin, Markevich followed in the same tradition and were continuators of Klyuchevsky. A second criticism of Klyuchevsky, that he rejected monism, shows that the Marxians are prepared to take the controversy into the realm of metaphysics.

⁵ *Istoriik-Marksist*, vol. XVIII-XIX.

twofold: (1) the steppe-dwellers brought us chiefly anarchy and disorganisation. (2) the civilised countries of the Ancient East were constantly bringing our country seeds of culture. Such are the lessons of the distant past. The more we study them, the more clearly and distinctly emerges the close and abiding connection between Russia and the East, closer and more abiding than the bond between Eastern and Western Europe. And here further archæological inquiry promises new revelations, the discovery of new facts that are indispensable for an understanding and appreciation of the cultural-historical features of Russia. (Cited from Gauthier's *Outlines of the material culture of Eastern Europe, to the Founding of the first Russian State*, 1925, p. 16)

the philosopher Losev, the economist Chayanov, and the historian Gauthier—all have the same elements of Eurasianism, but now they come out as ideologists of intervention against the USSR. Gauthier has reflected in his works the shift of a certain group of the bourgeois intelligentsia to direct counter-revolution under the influence of Paris. For the well-being of Russia, it is necessary to overthrow the power of the people with its anarchy, in order to put an end to discord and confusion. How? Let new Normans come! Let them aid and assist in the setting up of a military despotism. This is the conclusion to which this philosophy, drawn from the archæological speculations of Professor Gauthier, inevitably leads.

But the intellectual shift on which Gauthier counts is not so ingenuous as not to understand the purport of this. It will yet compel the professor to say directly and without equivocation; either he is with us for socialism, or he is against socialism, in that case away with him⁶.

In the same way Platonov is pilloried on the score that he uses past events as a subtle means of conveying his ideas on present-day conditions. In his *Boris Godunov*, which appeared in 1921, the historian wrote:—

In the midst of the great crisis through which mankind is now passing, we can readily imagine the horrors of the famine that afflicted a backward country at the beginning of the 17th century⁷.

Another passage (this one taken from his *Time of Troubles*, 1923, p. 158) was supposed to contain a veiled reference to the failure of the Bolshevik régime.

The lower classes did not contribute anything to compensate for the society which they had destroyed, anything new in idea or in practice. They were a destructive force and not constructive, and to the neutral

⁶ Kurshanak, I, review of Gauthier's book, *Iron Age in Eastern Europe*, 1930, *Istorič-Marksist*, vol. 21 (1931), p. 115 ff.

⁷ *Istorič-Marksist*, vol. XVIII-XIX, p. 158.

classes of the "Zemshchina" they offered nothing that could attract them to the side of the Cossacks against the boyars⁸

Gauthier had already seriously compromised himself with the Party by the expression of his views on revolution, namely, that it was an abnormal, unhealthy phenomenon.—

"Between the life of a people and that of a government, between the most complicated contemporary organisation which has been created by the people on the one hand, and the life of an individual on the other, there is much in common . . .

"Society is just like a man, it can suffer from diseases, it can live through crises that threaten its life, dangerous attacks of severe maladies, prolonged and lingering illnesses

"The time of troubles was one of those illnesses which overtook the Russian people and the State which it had created in the course of its age-long development . . .

"But the healthy organism recovered from the malady and gradually order returned in the course of Russia's historic development. This allowed them to make further progress in their historical development, and to prepare for the greatest expansion of her historic force—the reforms of Peter the Great."

(Gauthier's *Time of Troubles* (1921), pp. 45-58.)

Piontkovsky, commenting on the above, remarked :—

"It is clear that here we have justification for a restoration, and the whole of Gauthier's book and all the literature on the Time of Troubles which appeared in 1921 was designed to prove the inevitability of restoration."⁹

The Society of Marxist Historians did not content themselves with passing in review the work of the various learned societies and of writers of the highest rank. They also vigorously canvassed the work of the schools, both elementary and advanced, the quality of the texts provided, the methods in vogue and the results attained. For Communist purposes history stands in a peculiarly vital relation to the school, as a channel through which the masses of the younger generation can be indoctrinated with the Marxian point of view. It was but natural, therefore, to regard the lower schools as a criterion of the degree to which the masses had been permeated by the new Marxian ideology. An investigation undertaken during 1929 in the schools of the capital yielded disappointing results, judged at least

⁸ *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XVIII-XIX, p. 163.

⁹ A. Piontkovsky, article on "Great-Russian Bourgeois Historiography of the Last Ten Years," in *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XVIII-XIX (1930), p. 162.

by expectations that had been entertained. The method applied, and the conclusions drawn, are described by L. Mamet in an article entitled, "History and Socio-political Education," published in the *Istorik-Marksist*, 1929, vol. xiv, pp. 156-172. The author says:—

. . . I wish to cite my investigation of one school which I carried out this spring on instructions from GUS¹⁰. The school inspected was not a typical Moscow school—it was better and stronger than the ordinary school. To characterise it—it is sufficient to say that half of the children attending this Moscow school are the children of workers—in the centre of Moscow such a school is not encountered at every step. The other half of the children are those of State employees, there are no children of non-workers in the school; in addition a considerable number of the children are the children of responsible Party workers. So, as far as the "origin" of the children was concerned, the situation was favourable enough. The teaching staff cannot call forth any objection in general and, in particular, in the social sciences. The school has a children's Communist fraction with twenty-five members, actively engaged in work and formed into a unit, at the head of which is an old Party worker of considerable prestige. Can many schools boast such a Communist fraction? The school itself has its own quite large Komsomol cell—but, of course, some few schools have their own Komsomol cell—there is also a large Pioneer organisation. So outwardly, it would seem, everything should, taken together, ensure favourable conditions in this school. But here are some of the results of the inspection of this school. In this school an anonymous questionnaire was submitted, and the answers of the students of this school to the questions are quite instructive. One hundred and fifty-eight children from the fifth to the ninth grades replied. The question was put, "What would you like to be?" These are the answers that were received. Out of 158 replies 101 said that they wanted to be engineers or technicians, if we add to these those who wanted to be agronomists, doctors, or those who simply desired to continue their studies, we get the result that almost all the students of the school wanted, on graduating from the school, to continue their studies. This proves that the children are quite unprepared to go out into life. There are, it is true, some exceptions. For example, *six announced that on graduating they wished to be workers*. These children belonged to the fifth and sixth grades. In the seventh, eighth and ninth grades these 'worker aspirations' quite disappear . . ."

From the foregoing, therefore, it would seem that the goal of the average child in the Soviet Union, no less than in bourgeois countries, is to secure a white-collar job at the end of his educational career.

Questions on concrete historical facts also brought unsatisfactory

¹⁰ The State School Text Commission.

replies As to the causes of the October revolution, one student answered: "Sooner or later it was bound to break out."

Another —

"The October Revolution was due to the fact that the workers and peasants had been living under wretched conditions, in 1917 this secret was discovered and the revolution broke out."

The writer draws this conclusion :—

"What do these replies indicate? That under the best circumstances the pupils give formal answers, such as—the oppressors oppressed, the oppressed, becoming dissatisfied, rise, and in this way the revolution breaks out. If the question had been on the Revolution of 1905 or the French Revolution, you would have received the same answer. The schematisation of our programme of studies receives abundant confirmation in these replies."

The meagreness of the results obtained by the existing methods of instruction even under ideal conditions, thus forcibly brought home to the authorities, eventually convinced them that they were on the wrong track in presenting to the childish mind a juvenile version of the Marxian dialectic of history. This perversion of true pedagogical methods was stopped by a joint decree of the Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of 16 May, 1934. The preamble of the decree reads as follows :

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party state that the teaching of history in the schools of the USSR is conducted in an unsatisfactory manner. The textbooks and the instruction itself, are abstract and formal in character. In place of presenting history and civics (lit civil history) in such a way as to arouse a lively interest and at the same time set forth the most important events and facts and describe historical characters, the pupils are given abstract definitions of politico-economic forms, thus replacing the connected expositions of civics and history by abstract sociological schemes.

The essential conditions of a firm mastery by the pupils of a course in history, is the observation of an historic-chronological succession in the arrangement of historical events, at the same time fixing in the memory of the students with absolute certainty the chief historical phenomena, historical characters, and chronological dates. Only such a course in history can assure the students historical material sufficiently accessible, graphic and concrete to serve as a basis for proper selection and correct generalisations on historical events that will lead the pupil to a Marxian insight into history.¹¹

Turning to the positive results of Marxist historians in the higher

¹¹ This decree was published in *The Slavonic Review*, vol. XIII, No 37, p 204.

branches, there are some solid achievements to record. If the latter have not succeeded completely in their project to "re-examine and re-cast the whole historical development of Russia and of Western Europe," as one historian triumphantly proclaimed, Soviet historians have made valuable contributions in many fields.¹² In Russian history special attention has naturally been given to such subjects as the October Revolution, the history of the Communist Party, the history of the Civil War, the history of the Third International. In each of the above subjects a vast co-operative work has been undertaken and is rapidly being carried to completion by Soviet scholars. Another co-operative work, the *History of the Peoples of the Soviet Union*, is to replace the older standard histories of Russia. The output from the Russian archives since 1917 has been prodigious, more especially with regard to the war period and the period immediately preceding the war. This has already provided abundant material for historians engaged in the war guilt controversy abroad; but it has been no less drawn on by the Soviet writers for ammunition in their war against the old Tsarist régime. The *Tsentrarkhiv* has also issued the documents for the Pugachev Revolt, 1773-75, and for the Decembrist rising, 1825. Other documentary material has been published in the volumes of the *Krasny Arkhiv*, which appear from time to time.

But the most prodigious activity of the younger historians was in the field of the French Revolution, where the older school of Russian historians, Kovalevsky, Luchitsky, Kareyev, and others, had already pointed the way. The leader in this field was N. Lukin (Antonov), a Marxian scholar, but one of some maturity, who had already at the time of the October revolution produced a number of works. It is easy to see why the Marxist historians should be interested in the French Revolution. It must, however, be borne in mind that there was a special significance attached to this, as the controversies that have raged in the Party as to the policies pursued have very frequently drawn on the experience of the French Revolution. In the search for analogies, the reaction of the Ninth of Thermidor (1794) has been seized on as a symbol of the failure of the French Revolution to pass from a bourgeois to a proletarian revolution.¹³ The Soviet writers therefore addressed themselves to the

¹² G. Zaidel, report given at the first All-Union Conference of Marxist Historians. See *Proceedings* of this conference, vol. 2, pp. 107, ff.

¹³ Some claimed that the New Economic Policy of 1921 was the Thermidorean reaction of the Russian Revolution. Others (and among them Trotsky) assert that it is still to come, and that it will result from the present policy of the Soviet Government.

task of determining why promising social movements of the period of the Terror failed to come to fruition. Abundant source material was collected on this period and a large number of monographs written on the economic and social developments of the years 1793-95. In this they were greatly stimulated by the co-operation of Albert Mathiez, professor at the Sorbonne, and editor of the *Annales historiques de la Revolution francaise*. Though Mathiez had supported the war, since 1919 he had been moving to the Left; and it was even charged against him that he conducted a "school of civil war at the Sorbonne." Mathiez was an active "Friend of the Soviet Union," though not a member of the French Communist Party. What looked like a very promising cultural contact had been established between Russian historians and those of Western Europe. But either because doctrinal differences presented an impassable barrier or because political developments were too strong, the tie was eventually snapped.

Mathiez had already cooled the ardour of his Soviet friends by warnings uttered in a report read at the Congress of Historians at Brussels in 1923,¹⁴ and repeated in the preface to his book, *After Robespierre, the Thermidorean Reaction* (1928), that his writings were not intended to serve political ends. In 1929 there appeared over his signature in *La Revue des Cours et des Conférences* a series of articles on the Directory in which he discussed the so-called "Communist revolt" under Babeuf. Mathiez claimed that the movement had little of Communism or Socialism about it; that while certain vaguely socialistic phrases were used in his posters, the actual aim of the revolt was to restore the constitution of 1793; and that it was due to Buonarrotti, who published a book on Babeuf in 1828, that the latter had come to occupy the role of the father of modern Socialism. These views advanced by Mathiez were, of course, rank heresy to both Socialists and Communists; but worse was still to come.

Towards the end of 1930, Mathiez' *Annales historiques* contained an article signed by Bushmakina, a writer living in Kazan. The subject of the article was recent Russian contributions to the history of the French Revolution. It was only mildly Marxian in tone, but in spite of this, drew an editorial footnote, complaining that Soviet historians had subordinated historical science to an *a priori* dogma, namely, to the effect that in all events of history, the moving force is

¹⁴ A paper on "The True Causes of the Struggles between the Girondins and Montagnards"

the "class struggle," whether it can be detected or not¹⁵ This seemingly wanton challenge called forth a protest signed by the majority of prominent Marxist historians in Russia, which Mathiez published early in 1931, accompanying it by a further denunciation of the action of the Soviet régime in Russia, in muzzling the historians¹⁶ "You," wrote Mathiez, "are confusing Marxism with Communism, which you extol. Stalin is a god, and you are his prophets. . . . In Stalin's Russia there is no longer a place for independent, free and disinterested scholarship, in short, for scholarship as such"

The passage of arms between Mathiez and the Soviet historians must be set in a correct light to be properly understood. The Soviet Union had been passing through a difficult crisis, both internally and in its foreign relations. The Five Year Plan was now in its second year. An essential feature of the plan was that the cost of industrial production, which involved heavy purchases abroad, must be financed by the export of grain, oil and other raw materials. France, in common with other western countries, considering herself threatened by what was termed "Soviet dumping," imposed heavy duties on Soviet goods and established an embargo on some imports. Similar action was foreshadowed in other countries, including the United States, which would seriously prejudice the success of the Five Year Plan. It was precisely at this time that the *OGPU* claimed to have unearthed a conspiracy involving not only a large number of citizens of the Soviet Union in charges of sabotage, but also certain foreign governments and organisations. The threads of the so-called *Promparitia* plot were alleged to run back to Paris and to involve certain persons in high official circles. A compromising document introduced at the trial of one of the defendants, Professor Ramzin, contained the names of the members chosen for a new Cabinet to be set up in case the counter-revolution succeeded. Among them was that of a distinguished Russian historical scholar, the academician Tarlé.

Tarlé was a Marxian, but not a Communist. Since he had been sympathetic with the Soviet régime, he was regarded as a "fellow-

¹⁵ M. Bouchemakine, "Le Neuf Thermidor dans la nouvelle littérature historique," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, vol. VII (1930), September-October.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March-April, 1931. "Choses de Russie Soviétique." The controversy was very instructive, as it brought into sharp relief two opposing and irreconcilable points of view—that of the Marxian for partisan and polemical history, and that of the objective and dispassionate historian who, whatever his sympathies, tries to stand above the conflict.

traveller " and had co-operated in laying the foundation for historical studies in the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Society of Marxist Historians and had contributed articles to their organ, in accordance with the policy which the Society had adopted of associating other than Communists in the work. But his relations with officialdom in the historical world do not appear to have been of the most cordial. He had been invited in the summer of 1928 to go as a member of the Soviet delegation to Oslo to attend the International Congress of Historians there; but without definitely refusing, he had failed to attend and sent his regrets from Paris, pleading illness. The truth is, there was considerable coolness between Tarlé and Pokrovsky, the occasion of it being the very severe criticism of the former's book, *Europe During the Era of Imperialism*, which appeared in No. 7 of the *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, in 1928. Pokrovsky had attacked Tarlé's book for its attitude on the question of war guilt, the chief grounds of criticism being, first, his thesis that war was inevitable and, therefore, that the question of responsibility could not arise; and secondly, that in any event Germany had been the aggressor. This, of course, ran quite counter to the view which had already been advanced by Pokrovsky and which had received official sanction—that (1) the war had resulted "from the economic system of recent decades, the system of monopolistic capital", (2) but (inasmuch as this does not eliminate the question of moral responsibility) "the guilt must be laid not at the door of one person or one country, but of the class which was in power in all countries in 1914, and which still continues in power in the majority of them"¹⁷. The criticism was couched in offensive language; Tarlé's complaint in a later number of the magazine at these insults drew forth the reply that, "this was the proper tone for a Marxian to adopt towards our class enemies"¹⁸.

In 1929 Tarlé was again in France and spoke at the Sorbonne on "The Continental Blockade." In the course of his address he put forward his view that Napoleon's aim had not been to establish a sheer despotism, but to create on the Continent of Europe a community of economic interests. The Rector, who followed Tarlé, emphasised the fact that the work of Napoleon was being continued by the League of Nations. This incident occurred a few weeks after Briand had brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies his scheme for a United States of Europe, and the speech of Tarlé was consequently accepted as a tacit approval of the scheme for a Pan-

¹⁷ *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. VII.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. IX (1928). Tarlé's reply is printed on pp. 101-107, and Pokrovsky's comments, which closed the controversy, on pp. 108-109.

Europe under French hegemony. A further count against Tarlé was an article recently published in *Annales historiques*, in which he had stated his view that the policy of the Soviet Union *vis-a-vis* Turkey was merely a continuation of the old Tsarist foreign policy.¹⁹ Tarlé was thus venturing into a field which Pokrovsky regarded as his own and, in addition, was dulling the edge of the official contention that in matters of foreign policy the revolution had brought a clean break with the past.²⁰

The *Prompartia* trial was almost immediately followed by the alleged discovery of a plot in which were concerned Mensheviks both at home and abroad. The government took strong action in both cases. A large number of persons were shot (apparently without trial), and others received court sentences involving imprisonment or exile to Siberia. Ryazanov was excluded from the Society of Marxist Historians and removed from his post as director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Tarlé was removed from his post at the Leningrad Institute of History and imprisoned. In the summer of 1931 he was exiled to Central Asia.²¹ These events, whatever their explanation, produced a sensation both at home and abroad; but denunciations of the actions of the Soviet Government published abroad could only strengthen the hand of the Government by furnishing further evidence of "interventionist plots."²²

The effect of these *causes célèbres* was felt at once in intellectual circles, and as history is a sort of barometer of political conditions in the Soviet Union, it was historians who first felt the impact. The Society of Marxist Historians took on itself the functions of an intellectual inquisition and intensified its criticism of those who were regarded as unorthodox historians. It is scarcely a coincidence that the *Istoriĭ-Marksist* published in one of its first numbers in 1931 such articles as "On the Tasks of Marxist Historical Science in the Reconstruction Period" (Pokrovsky), "A Memorial of the 'fraction' of the Council of the Society of Marxist Historians,"

¹⁹ I. Tatarov, *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vols XVIII and XIX, p. 173

²⁰ Pokrovsky has published a number of works dealing with Tsarist foreign policy, on which he was a recognised authority

²¹ We have evidence that Tarlé was in prison on 18 December, 1930, in the words of Potemkin, *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XXI, 1931, where he speaks of the fact, "that we are now separated from Tarlé, not only by theoretical differences, but literally speaking, by massive walls and strong bars" See also *Slavonic Review*, April, 1933, p. 712, ff., for a full list of scholars who have been subjected to disciplinary treatment—imprisonment or exile—for having expressed unorthodox views

²² *Ibid.*, p. 40. Statement of Lukin. There were two such protests, one signed by the intellectuals in Germany and the other of France, with Mathiez at the head.

"On the Proletarian Revolution, Bourgeois Counter-Revolution, and the Liquidation of the Petty Bourgeois" (Kin), "The Latest Evolution of Albert Mathiez" (Lukin). The most significant is the report of the Proceedings of an open Session of the Methodological Section of the Society. Prominent non-Marxist historians who had been overlooked in the official Press—even some who were dead, like Vinogradov, or in exile like Rostovtsev—were, figuratively, arraigned before the bar of the Society and convicted of sundry heresies—counter-revolutionary, Menshevist, Trotskyist. Among the number was Tarlé, who was especially singled out for attack; his whole career was passed in review to prove that his attitude towards the revolution had been either vacillating or counter-revolutionary. He was bracketed in the general indictment with Petrushevsky, Preobrazhensky, Buzeskul, and Kareyev.²³ Throughout the discussion references were made to the recent trials, which leave little room for doubt as to the occasion by which this wholesale impeachment was prompted

Number 22 of the *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, issued in the early summer of 1931, carried an article by Lukin, "For Bolshevik partisanship in Historical Studies." A footnote appended by the editor that "a resolution of the presidium of the Communist Academy on the scope of the discussion will be printed in a succeeding volume of the journal," indicated pretty clearly that official action had been taken to direct historical studies into channels more in consonance with government aims at this time. As a matter of fact, Stalin had already in 1931 at a conference of Marxian agronomists complained that in higher intellectual circles theory had lagged sadly behind practice.²⁴ The events of the recent crisis had induced the Communist Academy to submit a report to the Central Committee of the Party, as a result of which the latter body issued a decree calling for—

"a complete overhauling of study and research in all fields, and in particular bringing higher studies into line with practice in the task of

²³ *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XXI (1931), pp. 44-86. Under the caption, "Reports to the Society," were printed the proceedings of this meeting. Lukin, Krivtsov, Potemkin, Dalin, Nifontov, Dubinsky, Averbukh, Freiburg, took part in the discussion. Buzeskul is a historian from Ukraine, whose field is ancient history. Athens of the 5th century B.C. would seem to be a "neutral" enough subject to ensure the writer immunity, but Averbukh, who reviewed Buzeskul, had evidently persuaded himself that under cover of writing Greek history, the historian was really commenting on present-day conditions

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, p. 3. N. B. Kareyev, though advanced in years, was still alive at the time.

social reconstruction, in which their weakness had called forth the criticism of Comrade Stalin.²⁵

This very definite lead was tantamount to a Party directive and called for effective action. The answer was the greatly intensified activity of the Marxist historians during 1931, but this obviously did not completely satisfy the Party leaders. Early in 1932 Stalin followed up his original action by addressing a letter to the magazine, *Proletarian Revolution*, in which he set forth what he considered to be the proper tasks for the Society of Marxist Historians.²⁶ The matter was eventually taken completely out of the hands of the Society of Marxian Historians. A "shock brigade" of the Institute of Red Professors was directed to go through the files of the *Istoriĭ-Marksist* from No. 15 onward and submit a report. The "Brigade" does not appear to have contained any regular historians. The report, therefore, does not venture into the field of history as such. They confined themselves to hunting out heresy and heretics, which appears to have been the original purpose of their appointment.

Their report, which was printed in the issue of 10 March, 1932, of the *Pravda*, exploded with devastating effect in the camp of the historians. It singled out name after name of contributors who had hitherto escaped criticism, as well as others whose orthodoxy was already suspect. It was obvious that the critics were little concerned with matters not vitally related to Russia during the Revolution and the post-revolutionary period, but where there seemed to be the remotest connection between the opinions expressed and recent dissensions within and without the Party, the

²⁵ *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XXII, p. 23.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 1 and 2 (New Series, 1932), p. 8. Stalin's letter does not appear to emphasise anything new, but contented itself with the demand that theory be brought into line with practice and "that their activities be more creative and yield more positive results."

Stalin at the same time addressed a letter to Olekhovich, which appeared in No. 16 of the *Bolshevik*, in which the former asserted that "Trotskyism gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie a spiritual weapon against Bolshevism in the form of a thesis of the impossibility of establishing Socialism in our country, the thesis of the inevitability of the transformation of the Bolsheviks . . . It gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the USSR a tactical weapon in the form of attempted open attacks on Soviet power . . . a weapon of organisation in the form of efforts to create illegal, anti-Soviet organisations."

This according to the official history of the Communist Party, demanded that "in the struggle with Trotskyism, even when camouflaged, there should be no trace of 'rank' Liberalism, as has been displayed in the literary productions, not only of the Trotskyist contrabandists, but even of Bolshevik historians." *History of the Communist Party*, Yaroslavsky, Ed. Party Press, Moscow, 1933, 2 vols.

strongest language was used in denouncing the views of the writers and the policy of the Society in having thus by their *imprimatur* tacitly given official sanction to such views. It was evident that the Party leaders were resolved to interpret strictly the Marxian formula of the close connection between history and politics and to insist, as Mathiez had said, that historical views should reflect faithfully the official Party views. Thus the intellectual work of Russia was to be purged of the last traces of "Menshevism," "Trotskyist contraband" and other political heresies (deviations as they are called), in which the period of the New Economic Policy had been so fruitful.²⁷

An immediate reorganisation of the whole field of historical studies and research was at once undertaken. The Historical Institute was put on a basis of piecework, the work being assigned to special "shock brigades" or individual workers, and a time limit was set for each task.²⁸ This was partly to get away from the co-operative anonymous undertakings of which we have already spoken and which have been severely criticised by Pokrovsky. The Society of Marxist Historians went through a purging process, the staff of their official organ was reorganised and the journal itself put directly under the Party, instead of the Communist Academy which had hitherto issued it. The new policy required that the historian should concentrate on current problems, presumably those having a direct bearing on the immediate tasks of the Party.²⁹ The publication of the *Istoriĭ-Marksist* was suspended for eight months at the beginning of 1932 while the change was in process. The numbers that have come out since September, 1932, are completely altered in scope and outlook. Promising fields such as the French Revolution, the civil war and the period of the Protectorate in England, have been abandoned to the bourgeois historian. Stalin's group, like Pokrovsky, apparently sets no great store by polemics with the bourgeois world. Henceforth the war will be restricted to the home front.³⁰

²⁷ For this view of the intellectual fruits of the new economic policy, see Pokrovsky, article "On the Tasks of Historical Studies During the Reconstruction Period," *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XXI (1931), p. 5.

²⁸ *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, No. 3 (New Series), 1932, pp. 190-195.

²⁹ Pokrovsky had again and again stressed the same opinions.

³⁰ Pokrovsky, "On the Task of Marxist Historical Studies During the Period of Reconstruction," *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vol. XXI, pp. 7, 15. In characteristic vein he speaks of the leading historians of Western Europe as "sitting amid the débris of the French Revolution or of the history of the early period

It was during this interlude in the early part of 1932 that the Communists lost their leading historian—Mikhail Nikolayevich Pokrovsky. Pokrovsky was not only one of the founders of the Society of Marxist Historians, but he was also the editor-in-chief of its organ—the *Istorič-Marksist*. He cannot therefore have escaped his share of the responsibility for the sins of the periodical. Indeed, he had previously been reprimanded by the Party for "mistakes" and had pleaded guilty to the expression of heretical opinions.³¹ But he does not seem to have always succeeded in imposing his views on the editorial staff and had voiced his disapproval on more than one occasion of the purely academic character of some of the studies promoted by the society.³² Whether he would have retained the full confidence of the party leaders had he lived, is perhaps doubtful. But his death at this painful crisis removed the need for the application of full Party discipline and allowed all to join in paying sincere and grateful homage to his memory.³³

To meet one concrete political danger, the Party had decided to call in the services of the historian. This menace arises from the growth of separatist tendencies in various parts of the Soviet Union. Yet the Soviet Union dare not modify its nationality policy, for not only was it a cornerstone of the whole Lenin programme, but autonomous territorial units based on national differences have come into existence, have entrenched themselves, and their extinction would be a very painful, if not a dangerous, process. It is preferred to keep the nationality movement in check by the unified control exercised by the Party and by the various organs of propaganda. Moreover, the problem has become one of pride in national culture, and it is difficult to refuse to gratify the quite

of German social democracy or somewhere in quite remote fields which, by their very remoteness, as well as by the methods employed in working them, involve a divorce between theory and practice." Further on he says, "under the best circumstances he (the bourgeois scholar) does not attempt to wage a controversy with the Marxist. In most cases he merely takes account of him as a dangerous class agitator. . . . At the same time it never occurs to him to be concerned if he has not read the latest views of N. M. Lukin on the Thermidorean Reaction. These, as scholarly views, simply do not exist for the bourgeois historian. Everything the Marxist writes interests him only as the manoeuvre of a political opponent."

³¹ See *Istorič-Marksist*, 1 and 2 (New Series), 1932, p. 12.

³² For a criticism of the journal see the speech of Pokrovsky at a general meeting of the Society of Marxist Historians, 29 April, 1927, published in the *Istorič-Marksist*, vol. IV, 1927, pp. 268-271.

³³ The highest officials of the Government and the Party attended the funeral of Pokrovsky, and organisations all over the country vied with one another in paying honour to his memory. Stalin and Molotov were among the pall-bearers. See *Prauda*, 14 April, 1932.

natural aspirations of the formerly oppressed nationalities. Any movement to curb it or to insist on unity of outlook or of control at once brings out the charge of "Great-Russian chauvinism," to which, of course, the Party is extremely sensitive. Yet the strategic position in which two of these oppressed nationalities are placed on the western frontier—the Ukrainian and the White Russian—is fertile in possibilities of entanglement with foreign powers and is obviously giving the government a good deal of anxious thought.

An instructive illustration of the manner in which this operates is the issue which has arisen within the past few years in connection with the publication by the state archives of documents which have to do with the Decembrist rising of 1825, in preparation for the hundredth anniversary of this event which was celebrated in 1925. The *Tsentralnyy* at Moscow put out part of these—a series of eight volumes—but the Central Ukrainian archives claimed the right to issue those documents that dealt with the incidents that occurred in the south and were associated with the Decembrist rising in St. Petersburg. It is a curious commentary on the nationalism in Russia that the documents issued by the Ukrainian archives were almost all in Russian—the explanatory notes being in Ukrainian and therefore useless to any scholar who did not know Ukrainian as well as Russian.

Ukraine has produced a group of historians all its own, who have refused to be bound by Marxian concepts; instead of the "class struggle" being the centre of the picture, the struggle for national independence and culture against Russification becomes the centre of interest. The appearance of a work bearing this interpretation of the Decembrist movement in the south, as having a local and national character, is merely the first of a series of publications that have embarrassed the central government. The head and fountain of this movement is the academician Hrushevsky, a typical bourgeois nationalist historian who has continued to attract to himself a considerable following. At the first All-Union Congress of the Society of Marxist Historians held from 28 December, 1928, to 4 January, 1929, the matter came to a head in a report by M. Yavorsky, on "Present anti-Marxist Trends in Ukrainian Historical Thought." The ensuing discussion brought on a clash between the Great-Russian delegates, all of whom were evidently orthodox Marxians, and the Ukrainians, who were obviously suspected of being ardent nationalists.

The truth is that the nationalist plank in the Communist plat-

form has become a serious embarrassment to the Party. Political autonomy and cultural independence were successfully used in the early days of the triumph of Communism as a slogan to win over the oppressed nationalities to the new order. The leaders confidently believed that they would be able to keep the centrifugal forces in check through the highly centralised Party organisation, but, of recent years, matters seem to have slipped from their grasp. The fact is, there are fundamental differences between conditions in Ukraine and those in Great-Russia. In the first place, the industrial workers in Ukraine are overwhelmingly Great-Russian in origin, so that the divergence of interest between urban worker and peasant, which is so characteristic of the Soviet Union, is aggravated by the inherent clash of nationalism between the Ukrainian and the Great-Russian. The industrial importance of Ukraine, with its Donets coalfields, its iron ore in the Krivoy Rog range, and its hydro-electric plants, makes this region a key position in the whole scheme of Soviet economy; while its situation on the western frontier and the long connection with Poland render secession from the Soviet Union a peculiarly grave danger.³⁴ Moreover, the Ukrainian village has presented a peculiar problem to the Soviet authorities. Its social texture differs from that of the regions of Central Russia, while cultural and linguistic forms distinguish it from the Great-Russian stock. Race consciousness rather than class consciousness dominated the revolution of 1917.³⁵ In the post-revolution period, the formulas applicable elsewhere in the Union do not hold for Ukraine, individual peasant proprietorship manifesting a much more serious resistance to collectivisation owing to the deeper roots it had

³⁴ G. Skubitsky, "The Class Struggle in Ukrainian Historical Literature" in *Istorič-Marxist*, vol. XVII (1930), p. 35.

"Slavchenko and Ogloblin have proved that Ukraine, which is a distinct and separate economic unit, in its historical economic development has been more intimately bound up with the economic development of western European lands than with Russia, so that Russia has appeared and appears as the parent State and Ukraine as a colony. Russia has retarded and is retarding the economic development of Ukraine. From the works of Slavchenko and Ogloblin it follows logically that the future self-sufficient development of Ukraine will only be possible when Ukraine leaves the Soviet Union and joins with the capitalistic countries—Germany and France." All these assertions were developed and introduced into the Soviet Union by Bolobuyev in the pages of the *Bolshevik of Ukraine*.

³⁵ Yavorsky, *Istoria Ukrainy v szhatom Očerke* (1929), p. 264. The kulak of the Ukraine in the opinion of Yavorsky was not only the moving force of the revolution, he was also the advocate of peasant demands. The kulak farmer, Yavorsky maintains, was the promotor of peasant risings for socialisation of land. He also inspired the peasants with a desire for national autonomy in the future republic.

struck.³⁶ This petty bourgeois character of the Ukrainian peasant has provided fruitful soil for the growth of an Ukrainian nationalism.³⁷

Similar obstacles to the spread of pure Marxian ideas have also been raised in White-Russia. Historical conditions, according to Tsvinkevich, fostered the development of a class of fairly substantial peasant proprietors; intimate relations with Poland and their own local Polish *pans* stimulated still further separatist aspirations. After the Revolution, the grant of an autonomous White-Russian State led to a revival of the local culture and to idealisation of the past history of the White-Russians. The newly-created native historical literature is more prone to reflect this local nationalism than orthodox Marxian concepts. Despite the low cultural level of the White-Russian, he has stubbornly resisted efforts of both the Tsarist and the Soviet Government to mould him to the desired pattern.³⁸

Even the Caucasus has felt the stirring of the national virus. To quote from the pages of the *Istori-Marksist* :—

"From all that has been said above, the conclusion must be drawn that a considerable part of the historical literature about the mountain-dwellers (of the Caucasus) that has been published since the October

³⁶ The author does not specifically draw this deduction, but it seems reasonable to assume that in stressing the importance of the kulak in Ukraine he is making an indirect allusion to the difficulties encountered in forming collective farms in Ukraine.

³⁷ The Communist approach to the peasant problem has been based on the division of the peasants, which Lenin made, into rich peasants (kulaks), middle peasants and poor peasants. The Communist policy has, in the main, been, by stirring up class warfare in the villages, to use the poorer peasants to destroy individual proprietorship by rooting out the class with which it is most associated—the kulak. The significance of this nationalist movement can only be seen in the light of the terrible economic conditions that prevailed recently in Ukraine. It is now generally recognised that the failure of the harvest in Ukraine in 1932 was due as much to passive resistance of the peasants as to the weather. This attitude of the peasants was dictated by their dissatisfaction with the whole agricultural policy of the Communist party. See article by W. H. Chamberlin, "The Ordeal of the Russian Peasantry," in *Foreign Affairs* for April, 1934. The complete reorganisation of the administration of Ukraine, including the transfer of the capital from Kharkov to Kiev, indicates how seriously this menace is taken in Moscow. It is to be observed that the strongly centralised party organisation of the Soviet Union enables the central Government to override national aspirations even more effectively than was done by the Tsarist Government, whenever the interests of the Union or of the Party are threatened.

³⁸ It is notorious that the peasants of White-Russia resisted the Stolypin land reform of 1906. Of recent years, recurrent rumours, despite the silence of the government, leave little room for doubt regarding the prevalence of peasant disorders on the western frontier of the Soviet Union.

revolution is foreign to consistent Marxist-Leninist methodology and frequently reveals clearly an idealistic character and takes up a position of jingoistic chauvinism. Therefore the task of Marxian historiography of the Caucasus is in the first instance to resist that kind of chauvinism as the chief danger of the present moment."³⁹

Stalin's position on the nationality problem must be extremely delicate. As a Georgian, he is strongly opposed to Great-Russian dominance. At the same time he realises the danger inherent in unchecked nationalist aspirations. His hope seems to be to transform national into class antagonisms and thus to promote a solidarity of all the workers throughout the Union. He is quoted as having said :—

"The origin of these local separatist tendencies is to be found in (a) the desire to achieve an intense individual national feeling within the limits of one's own people; (b) allayment of class antagonisms within one's own race; (c) resistance to Great-Russian chauvinism by withdrawing from the general movement of socialistic construction, blindness to the forces that make for solidarity and co-operation among the working classes of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and emphasis on those that are disruptive."⁴⁰

Conventional history is not the only social discipline that is to be brought within the scheme of the Marxian dialectic. Adjacent fields are to be included, if we may believe Professor N. Y. Marr, the prophet of the new Japhetic theory of linguistics :—

The Japhetic theory, which links language to the history of social forms, takes its stand on Marxist methodology. According to this theory, language is defined as the superstructure which in the last analysis rests on the social-economic condition of society.

According to the Indo-European theory, which till recently held the field in bourgeois scholarship, languages are grouped in families, each of which had its origin in one common primitive language. Between families (for example, between the Indo-European and the Ugro-Finnish) lies an impassable gulf. This gulf separates peoples of higher culture (for example, Indo-European) which were created to rule, from those of lower culture (for example, the Chinese, or the African Negroes) who have been created, as it were, for subjection and exploitation.

Indo-European linguistics (writes N. Y. Marr) is a part of bourgeois society, bone of its bone, flesh of its flesh, erected on the oppression exercised by the peoples of Europe over the races of the East through their murderous colonial policies.⁴¹

³⁹ N. Burkin, "On Chauvinistic and Nationalist Tendencies in the Historical Literature of the Caucasus," *Istoriĭ-Marksist*, vols. 1-2 (New Series), 1932, p. 153.

⁴⁰ Report of the *Proceedings* of the Central Committee of the Party, p. 77.

⁴¹ G. Anbor, *Pravda*, May, 1934.

In the same way the resources made available by archæology are to be called in to redress, in favour of the new Communist history, the balance which has too long favoured the possessing classes by glossing over their oppression of the workers.

The attempt of the bourgeois historians scientifically to explain the decline of the ancient world, has failed. The naive theory of barbarian conquest, as originally advanced by the bourgeois classical historian Mommsen, has given way to the decadent conception of cycles of Edward Meyer and his students, according to which the decline of the ancient world was a regular process of cultural degeneration. But the venerable fascist historian, Rostovtsev, with one eye on the October revolution, pronounced the cause of the fall of ancient civilisation to be a "proletarian revolution."

These theories, as well as the Kautsky conception of the fall of the ancient world, the chief characteristic of which is the denial of any kind of class struggle, which, by the way, had its origin no long time ago among Marxist-historians, as a result of the work of the Academy (of Science), have been quite exploded.

A slave revolt, said Comrade Stalin in his address before the congress of shock-workers from the collective farms, on 19 February, 1933, liquidated the slave-owners and altered the slave-owning form of the exploitation of the workers.⁴²

The policy of creating a Leninist legend seems to have been consciously adopted by the Party. Yaroslavsky's official *History of the Communist Party* was withdrawn and recast, so as to enhance the rôle of Lenin and Stalin to the discredit of the opposition.⁴³ Krupskaya's reminiscences revealing the human side of Lenin, with periods of doubt and vacillation, were denounced in the Party press. The official favour was extended to the more idealistic portrait given in the biography of Lenin by his sister, Ulyanova-Elizarova.⁴⁴

Meanwhile the altered world situation has led apparently to a radical reconsideration, if not a revision, of some cherished Communist views on current world affairs. The view of Lenin and other Communist writers was that the war guilt controversy has no meaning for anyone but a bourgeois; that the real guilt for the Great War rests, in the first instance, on the ruling classes in each country, and can only in a quite secondary sense be attached to individuals.

⁴² *Loc. cit.*

⁴³ There can be little doubt from an examination of the revised edition that the chief motive in revision was to canonise Lenin and create a sort of apostolic succession, Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. See review by Pokrovsky, *Istoriĭ-Marksist* (New Series, 1932), vol I, II, p. 14.

⁴⁴ These works by Krupskaya and Ulyanova-Elizarova were both reviewed in the official Party organ, the *Pravda*, 9 May, 1934.

This served its purpose while the controversy over reparations and war debts raged, but more recently this position has had to be abandoned. On the occasion of the recent appearance of a Russian translation of Sidney B. Fay's *Origins of the War*, V Khvostov wrote in the *Istorik-Marksist* :—

Fay began to write very early in the Germanophil spirit. The earliest of his works known to us, having as its purpose the rejection of the Versailles thesis of Germany's guilt, appeared in 1920. Fay was not the only Germanophil among the American historians. Side by side with him we may place Barnes, Cochrane and others who attacked the Ententophil current in American historiography. In 1924, Barnes began the discussion on the war guilt, which assumed a very lively character. Its political influence on the attitude of American public opinion towards Germany is best illustrated by the fact that Poincaré considered it necessary to come to the defence of the Versailles thesis in the American Press. The beginning of the discussion coincided with the speech of Senator Owens in Congress (at the beginning of 1924), in which he utterly rejected the assertion of Germany's guilt; the speech was given a sharply anti-French tone. The discussion begun by the Germanophil historians was bound to alter the attitude of vast numbers of the American bourgeois, till then unfriendly to Germany under the influence of war propaganda. Thus the ground was prepared for American investments in Germany. . . . The book of Fay, which appeared first in 1928, was written, of course, somewhat earlier under the circumstances portrayed by us ⁴⁵

The most notable instance of this tergiversation is furnished by the complete *volte face* in the former attitude of hostility adopted by the Soviet Union towards the League of Nations. The deep-rooted animosity of Lenin towards the League is to be seen in his creation of the Third International as a rival, ultimately to supplant the League. Yet in 1934 Karl Radek came forward in a leading article in the Moscow *Pravda*, under the heading, "The Dialectic of History and the League of Nations," in which he defended the League as the principal hope of peace in the world at the present time.⁴⁶

The above illustrations drawn from historical writers in the Soviet Union give some indication of the rôle for which the student in the social sciences has been cast. Historical studies are to be subordinated to ends that lie in the realm of practical politics, thus establishing that intimate relation so often stressed by Marx between history and politics. Far from standing above the heat of the battle, he is a soldier in the ranks of Communism; his foes are the Liberal scholars in the bourgeois camp as well as dissidents within. But the

⁴⁵ *Istorik-Marksist* (1934), vol. IV, pp. 142-143.

⁴⁶ *Pravda*, 16 May, 1934.

inquirer may well ask whether history writing of this sort is not exposed to certain influences likely to defeat its own purpose and rob it of all vitality. We have already seen how the authorities in the Union have shown the willingness of realists to adapt themselves to a changed world situation, and the official apologists have usually been able to find good and sufficient reasons in the works of Marx or Lenin for the change. But when changing policies of State require historical concepts to be altered like fashions with the changing seasons, or when a sign from the great can set in motion the immense machinery of publicity that is at their command, official history must necessarily lose all sincerity. Clio becomes a mere bawd whose services the successful can purchase.⁴⁷

After all, the Communist régime is not the only one that has required the writer to put his intellectual gifts at its disposal, or be silent. The historical scholar in Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany is subject to a similar discipline. Augustus retained the services of a Virgil, a Horace and a Livy as apologists for the principate. But the effects of the subtle poison thus poured into the streams of intellectual life were seen in the succeeding generations, when honest minds turned with disgust from the obsequious *literati* of the Cæsars :

The antiquity of Rome in dark days and in prosperity has been recorded by distinguished writers, to recount the career of Augustus genuses were not wanting till the growing obsequiousness disgusted them. Under Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, fear compelled writers to distort history in favour of the living, while the wrongs that still rankled in their memory filled the pages of their history with rancour against the dead.⁴⁸

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⁴⁷ On disciplinary measures applied to silence scholars whose beliefs on political matters do not coincide with official views, the reader should consult the article, "The Treatment of Scholars in the USSR," in the *Slavonic Review* for April, 1933.

⁴⁸ Tacitus, *Annals* I, 1.

KLYUCHEVSKY

(A portrait by one of the most brilliant of Klyuchevsky's pupils in his reminiscences of the Arts Faculty of Moscow University)

THE fact of my having had to exchange the Faculty of Science for that of Arts altered my position in the university and even my attitude to the latter. I ended where I ought to have begun—by turning to that for which the university existed, that is, to learning. I now made use of the university as a scholastic establishment and gave up almost completely the public side of student life. My recollections of the Faculty of Arts bear therefore chiefly not on the students and their tendencies and undertakings, but on the professors and on what they gave to the students. I may add that I now value in them not scholars, but teachers. The worth of a scholar lies in his works which can be studied without his direct assistance; very often scholars are not worth much as teachers; the art of a teacher requires qualities of its own. And among the methods of teaching I attach the least importance to the traditional university method of "lecturing." The lecture system always seemed to me, and still seems, preposterous. Since there is such a thing as book printing and since we are literate, we can read the lectures and thereby gain both in time and in understanding. Practical work and seminars are much more valuable and fruitful; it is only here that the professors give their students what a book cannot give.

My recollections of the Faculty of Arts will therefore touch only on those few professors with whom I actually worked. Of those whom I knew only as lecturers I will say nothing. There were among them men with European reputations, for instance, the famous linguist Fortunatov. One of the remarkable things in him was that he used to get offended with those who attended his lectures. "What do you come here for? You don't understand anything," he would say to us. "Do you imagine that *I* need it?" And students ceased attending his lectures, and he spent them *tête-à-tête* with the official editor, dictating and correcting the text destined for publication. Nor will I speak of those younger privat-dozenten (Karelin, Milyukov, and others) with whom I did not actually work. The mainstays of the Faculty of Arts were the following three: Guerrier, Klyuchevsky, and Vinogradov.

Of these three, Klyuchevsky was the most picturesque figure. He was a living refutation of my theory of the uselessness of the lecture system. Not only did his lectures give an æsthetic pleasure; they were better understood and remembered than any book.

Whoever had heard Klyuchevsky could no longer read his works without remembering his voice, his intonations and facial expressions. And in order not to see my whole theory crumble to pieces I came to the conclusion that Klyuchevsky was not a lecturer, but an "actor." But he was a wonderful actor and his lectures were not comparable to anything. The first thing that struck you was his language, extraordinarily forceful, original and picturesque; it had such a peculiar stamp that when Klyuchevsky published in *Russkaya Mysl* his article on Lermontov under the title "Sadness," without signing it, everybody at once recognised by the language that it was his. Another feature of his lectures was his remarkably expressive manner of utterance with strange logical stresses and pauses, with peculiar modulations of the voice accompanied by queer grimaces and raising of the eyebrows. Klyuchevsky was capable of so reading an extract from the *Chronicles* that one could never forget it. It is curious that one of the reasons of Klyuchevsky's peculiar manner was his slight stammer. He tried to conceal this shortcoming of his; only by watching him at close quarters one could notice that, when he suddenly stopped and made a seemingly incomprehensible pause, his lower jaw began to twitch helplessly. He pretended that the pause was due to this thinking and concentrating on his subject. Often the pause would not be justified by the sense, and those who knew nothing about his stammering thought that he was either trying to be original or else looking for the right word; in the end, however, this disguised stammer, far from harming Klyuchevsky, gave a touch of originality and even charm to his peculiar manner.

I had an opportunity of watching Klyuchevsky not only on the lecture platform, but in private life, too. During my father's lifetime he used to come often to our "at homes," and later I met him at those of N. V. Davydov. Klyuchevsky liked going to parties and, as was the Russian habit, he would stay on very late, till after supper. In private life he was just as interesting and brilliant as in his lectures. The same chiselled sentences and peculiar diction; the same fondness of witticisms, of funny and unexpected analogies at which he would afterwards himself laugh quietly; the same screwing up of the face, with a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows over his shortsighted, mocking eyes, which never looked straight into his interlocutor's face; the same expressive mimicry, which seemed to rivet his words in the listener's memory. It was always a delight to listen to him, and as soon as he would begin to speak, in spite of his low voice, everybody's attention would be focussed

on him. Stylistic brilliance never forsook him under any circumstances; it seemed to be part of his nature. It is possible that his stammer helped him, too; it made him speak slowly, with halts, thus giving an opportunity to ponder over every word, just as his beady handwriting, wonderfully legible, with each letter carefully written out, helped him to give a beautiful finish to what he wrote.

But with all his extraordinary gifts Klyuchevsky was, nevertheless, a man of steady work, always carrying to perfection whatever he did. This applies both to content and to form. He did not trust himself; his attitude was self-critical, without a trace of self-assurance. I remember how on the day of the fifteenth anniversary of Nekrasov's death we students had an idea of commemorating it by a public meeting. We went to ask Goltsev to take part in it; he consented without demur, and on finding out that we also intended to ask Klyuchevsky, he suggested that the latter should first choose the subject to his own taste. Goltsev was ready to take whatever subject was left for him. Encouraged by our first success, we called on Klyuchevsky. To our great pleasure he liked the idea of taking part in the commemoration of Nekrasov. He seemed to be glad that the younger generation remembered and appreciated Nekrasov, and himself turned out to be an admirer of his. But when he learned that the meeting was to be in a month's time, he burst out laughing. "How do you mean, in a month's time?" he asked raising his eyebrows in surprise. "Do you mean to say it is possible to prepare a lecture in one month?" We said what is usually said in such cases, that for *him* there was no need to prepare, that whatever he was going to say would be good. Klyuchevsky refused even to listen: to give a lecture does not take long; it does not take long to write it out; one has to wait long for the subject to "bite at the hook." He began to ponder aloud; he said what one had to think about, what to refresh in one's memory, in order to speak about Nekrasov; he spoke of the state of Russian literature at the time, of the favourite Russian authors, among whom he numbered—and he repeated it several times with emphasis—"the Russian writer Heine in Mikhailov's translation"; he recalled the political tendencies of the period. He got carried away and spoke for about an hour. We listened to him as if spellbound, and then strongly urged him to repeat in his lecture what he had been saying to us. But Klyuchevsky would not dream of lecturing sooner than in six months' time. Parting from him and comparing his refusal with Goltsev's unconditional consent, we involuntarily took his and not Goltsev's side.

After Klyuchevsky's brilliant public lecture, "The Good Men of Old Russia," I walked home part of the way with him and his son Boris. Klyuchevsky was very much pleased with the attitude of the audience; usually very reticent, he exchanged his impressions with his son, not bothering about my presence; I was a witness of how he and his son recalled certain felicitous words and phrases and the impression they had produced on the audience. It was clear that those phrases had been prepared and studied beforehand and that Klyuchevsky had calculated their effect. It was this conscious and steady, though hidden, work at the extraordinary gift with which nature had endowed him, that made of Klyuchevsky such an incomparable virtuoso both as writer and as lecturer.

Klyuchevsky was not very generous with his public lectures, perhaps because it took him so long to prepare them. But at times he had to appear before the public, and then he showed his sparkling dialectical talent to its full extent. So it was, for instance, on the occasion of the academic disputes. These were always an event. I remember those of Semevsky, and especially of Milyukov. In the latter's case Klyuchevsky had a rather hostile audience. Two young scholars, Karelin and Milyukov, had simultaneously submitted their dissertations for the degree of Master of Arts (magister) in general and Russian history, respectively. Guerrier gave Karelin two degrees at once (master's and doctor's); the same was expected of Klyuchevsky with regard to Milyukov for his dissertation on Peter the Great. But Klyuchevsky did not do it, and the students, with their usual hasty judgment, suspected him of being partial and unfair. They came to the dispute in a hostile frame of mind, and Klyuchevsky was aware of it. He began by a general estimate of the whole work, constructing it, as was his wont, as a series of effective contrasts. He reproached Milyukov for not having drawn all the inferences from the facts established by him. His picturesque antitheses still stick in my memory: "You prove all that you assert, but you don't assert all that you prove. You are bolder in walking towards your destination than in approaching it. The problems your work raises are more numerous than the solutions it gives. It is not a drawback: sometimes it is more difficult to raise a problem than to solve it, just as it is sometimes more difficult to notice a hole than to patch it up," and so on.

After this introduction Klyuchevsky passed on to a series of particular remarks. In doing so he would ask, seemingly irrelevantly, *en passant*, whether Milyukov had paid attention to such and such a fact and thought of such and such a possible explanation. We did

not fully grasp the meaning of those questions, and they seemed to us mere petty quibbling. But they turned out to be not irrelevant at all. With great skill and just as great caution, without making any assertions of his own and appearing only to be interested in the other man's work, Klyuchevsky offered an explanation of some obscure facts of the financial policy of that period. In his opinion that policy was determined by the desire of the State to increase the arable area of the country by means of taxation pressure; and the uneven distribution of the tax, which at first glance seemed purely arbitrary, depended according to Klyuchevsky on the correlation of the cultivated and waste land in the possession of its owners, thus prompting the latter to utilise their waste land. This explanation was the more interesting as it tallied with the obvious tendency of the legislation which under Peter the Great led to the introduction of the poll-tax. When, as a result of a number of seemingly irrelevant questions, Klyuchevsky finally showed what he was up to and asked Milyukov whether he had an opportunity of verifying to what extent such an explanation fitted in with the facts studied by him, Milyukov had to admit that he had neither thought about it nor verified it, that all this was very ingenious, but that he could not say off-hand whether it was so. Klyuchevsky did not insist, and satisfied with this answer continued his analysis. But the impression he desired to produce was there; the enigmatic introductory remarks of his speech became clear to everybody, and we students involuntarily gave up our grudge against Klyuchevsky for not having given Milyukov his doctor's degree. All this was such a long time ago, and those questions were so unfamiliar to me, that I cannot vouch for the accuracy of my understanding—I am only trying to convey my impression. Afterwards I asked Milyukov whether he had verified Klyuchevsky's suggestions. Milyukov said that on Klyuchevsky's side this argument had sounded very effective, but that upon verification his suggestions were not confirmed. Of this I am, of course, no judge, and I have recalled this dispute only as an instance of Klyuchevsky's dialectical skill and manner.

When one now recalls Klyuchevsky, it is difficult to assign him a definite place in any political camp. His real views were not easy to know; few men could be so reserved, so reticent, so unwilling to speak about themselves. He could be outspoken only with his intimate friends; and even that would have been rather unlike him. He always wore a mask and admitted no one into his inmost thoughts. One could only guess what they were. Once with his usual humour he formulated the following rule of behaviour: "If you are being

questioned directly, reply indirectly; if you happen to be questioned indirectly, you may reply directly." And to direct questions he never replied directly. There was another reason why it was difficult to attach a ready-made label to him. Not only was he too original a man, full of contradictions, but he was loth to submit to the elementary political discipline which, with us, forbade one to praise one's enemies or blame one's friends. His sharp tongue had no pity for anyone, even for his own people; but he had also the civic courage not to be ashamed of his sympathies. He dealt a severe blow to his popularity when, after the death of Alexander III, without any obvious need, out of sheer conviction, he spoke in the university in praise of the late Emperor's efforts to preserve peace in Europe. Such sudden outbursts nonplussed those whose thoughts ran in ready-made grooves.

By the general trend of his political thought Klyuchevsky, of course, belonged to the progressive camp. In one of his courses where he carried his exposition as far as the reign of Alexander II, he showed himself an ardent partisan of the reforms of the sixties, seeing in them a logical conclusion of age-long processes in the life of the Russian State. He proved that thanks to those reforms Russia had entered upon the determining period of her history; that they had solved the class problem and laid the foundations of a non-class self-government. When the project of the Bulygin Duma was being set on foot, he was invited to take part in the Peterhof conferences; there he fought with N. A. Pavlov, objected to the class principle in elections and frightened the Emperor with the prospects of the people's hostility to "the dark spectre of a class Tsar." He also advocated that principle of Bulygin's Duma, containing an embryo of the constitutional régime, according to which a bill rejected by a stipulated majority could not be submitted to the Emperor. After 17/30 October, 1905, I happened to be present during his conversation with Peter Struve, who had just returned from abroad, and I heard Klyuchevsky point out to him the necessity of devoting oneself to the political education of the people. These little traits show the general trend of his sympathies. But although to men of his views 1905 gave an opportunity of coming forward as active politicians, he did not join any political party and could not have done so. Not only because he could not have submitted to anybody's leadership, but because a whole abyss separated Klyuchevsky from the political parties of that time and their ideals. He was too little of a European to engage in active politics. He knew and cared little for life outside Russia; his knowledge of

languages was bad; by nature he was thoroughly Russian; he was fond of the Russian life, the Russian past, and Russian peculiarities; he loved that in which Russian life differed from the Western, that which Russia had saved from the encroachments of the West. Coming himself from the clergy, he had a great sympathy for it as a social group. "I am, after all, a 'clerical,'" he used to say with his usual humour. In the village priest, not only of the past but also of the present, he saw the main transmitter of culture to the people, a representative of that peculiar intelligentsia which had not severed itself from the people and had a common language with it. It was not for nothing that he lectured at the Ecclesiastical Academy, thus contributing to the education of the clergy. Klyuchevsky stood for movement and progress; he did not idealise the vestiges of the past, did not recommend to preserve them as precious bequests of history; but he was convinced that all the elements of progress were already inherent in Russian realities and that there was no need whatever to develop them according to foreign models. All the numerous progressive parties which then made their appearance on the political stage, with names and programmes borrowed from the West, with European tactics, were quite alien to him. But for many complex reasons he disliked also the *epigoni* of Slavophilism. He would have been nearest to a nondescript unorganised group of "populists," be it for the mere reason that he was a real son of the people and a most genuine democrat. It would be as difficult to imagine him living in Europe as shining in society drawing-rooms. It seemed ridiculous to think that he was a State Councillor and a knight of several orders. He remained a typical Intelligent of "the men of mixed class"¹ whom Fate did not spoil and who had fought his way upwards only thanks to his exceptional gifts and steady work. That is why he always felt an animosity against the privileged and lucky ones, not only individuals, but whole groups and classes; an ill-concealed hostility towards the gentry runs through all his lectures.

His outward appearance bore traces of the abnormal tension he had had to go through in his youth: he did not easily obtain his success in life. Thin and sickly, with poorly developed muscles through lack of exercise, he gave the impression of a weakling. But this was erroneous. Once there was a talk in his presence about physical education, on the subject of "*mens sana in corpore*

¹ A famous phrase of the thinker, Mikhailovsky, who contrasted the radicalism of these "men from nowhere" with that of the "conscience-stricken gentlemen."—ED.

sano." "What does it mean—strength and endurance?" he remarked "If a man can work twenty hours a day and not sleep for many nights on end, isn't that endurance? And are your sportsmen any good at that?" A real ascetic, devoted exclusively to the life of the mind, shut in within himself and the monuments of Russian history, he loved peace and quiet; his recreation consisted, in winter, in going to parties and, in summer, in angling. The conditions of free political life which the progressive parties wanted to establish in Russia, based on the democratic rule of the people and the domination of public opinion, conditions which presupposed control of every step of a politician by the Press and the public, which demanded his submission to the instructions of various party congresses and committees, and the existence of leaders put forward by the crowd and popularity—all this political noise and bustle, necessary in a democracy, was organically repulsive to Klyuchevsky's individualism. Therefore he looked askance and with distrust at the newly appearing political parties and organisations. He had nothing in common with them; his mind and his habits led him along a different path.

Klyuchevsky was, by his temper, a typical Muscovite, and his popularity in Moscow was very great. Who did not know his lectures? But as often happens, the wider public knew and appreciated in Klyuchevsky's courses not the main thing. I do not speak of their scholarly aspect; this, of course, was valued by specialists. But the public in general paid attention in his lectures not to this, but to his *bons mots* and his caustic portraits; these coincided with the general liberal and negative attitude to the past, and to them Klyuchevsky owed a great deal of his popularity. For the same reason many people regarded Klyuchevsky's courses as harmful; he was blamed for painting only the darker sides of our past, for divesting our national heroes of their halo; it is only consistent that nowadays, when the past is being idealised, those courses of Klyuchevsky have lost a part of their charm and his old admirers are ashamed of their enthusiasm. I have often heard this view expressed now. There is, however, in it more optical aberration than fairness. Klyuchevsky's negative attitude was rooted not in his dislike of the past or of Russia, but in the foundations of his moral outlook. Klyuchevsky was always shocked by self-assurance, by pride, by the desire to stand out, to shine or dominate. His attitude to the heroes of history was therefore biassed; he liked indeed to divest them of their glory, to expose their tinsel. In accordance with his general conception of history, he did not attach much importance to personality; for him the historical process developed according to

laws of social life which no individual can alter. I remember one talk he had with the famous astronomer Bredikhin, to whom he tried to prove, in a humorous form, but quite seriously, that there are laws of social life more absolute than those of astronomy. "Life is like a church procession," he used to say. "It is idle for those who happen to be in the front ranks of the crowd to imagine that they lead the others." And whenever he came across people who pretended to govern events, he was always glad to put them in their right place. His moral sympathies were with people of a different kind, with modest and inconspicuous workers, with steady drudgers, who keep to the place in which fate has put them.

This was why his estimate of historical personages was often so unexpected. His view of Peter the Great is characteristic of him. He could not help blaming Peter for his attitude to "the country's past and the manner of the people's life"; for his rough methods, the result of which was that "Peter's reforms swept over the nation as a painful nightmare, frightening everybody and understood by nobody." But Peter himself was "an honest and sincere man"; he knew how "to turn his royal duty into self-denying service"; he was not a dreamy doctrinaire, "prone to idle general considerations," and intent on rebuilding life in his own self-assured way. According to Klyuchevsky, Peter did not even suspect that his reforms would completely change the face of Russia; he simply satisfied, without any system, the current urgent needs of the country, not shirking the most ungrateful work and drudgery; he was "a master labourer, an artisan Tsar" This reconciled Klyuchevsky to Peter and he did not dethrone him, although his portrait of Peter was not like the accepted legend and image of him. But the same Klyuchevsky had an attitude of caustic scorn, almost of hatred, towards Catherine the Great, maliciously exposing the discrepancy between her acts and her own Liberal phrases, and delighting in the account of the irremediable blunders and mischief of her famous foreign policy and of the harm it did to Russia. Klyuchevsky had his own favourites and his own heroes in history. He used to find them on different rungs of the social ladder. They included the hermit St. Sergius of Radonezh, who by his heroic service restored to an unhappy Russia her faith in herself; the old believers, who obstinately defended their religion; as well as that obscure champion of the old customs, Andrey Ivanov, who went of his own accord to the Preobrazhensky Office to expose his Sovereign's "innovations abhorrent to God," for which "he was, of course, duly handled by the law"; and the forgotten "good men"

of old Russia of whom he reminded Moscow in his famous public lecture; and his favourite on the throne, the peaceful Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, "a good, kind soul," who, in spite of his autocracy, regarded himself as helpless before an insolent monk of the St. Sava Monastery. They were numerous and varied, the real heroes and favourites of Klyuchevsky, whose figures he lovingly reconstituted in his lectures. Such men are not appreciated by their contemporaries and are forgotten by history. They are embraced in the conception of the people and the community. "And so it must be," Klyuchevsky used to say, "for death means oblivion. The real symbol of death is not a European monument erected to glorify a dead individual, but our Russian grave-mound which is not associated with anyone's name."

A man of such views ran the risk of not being understood by the vain-glorious and self-contented people of our age. And it was not for nothing that he warded himself off from them, from their curiosity and vanity, by a mask of joke and witticism. His contemporaries understood him in their own way. His sometimes malicious and sometimes good-tempered mockery at historical personages gave pleasure to everybody; but his ideal passed unnoticed, and in any case it did not tempt anybody. He himself did not try to propagate or inspire it; he kept it for himself. Klyuchevsky queried, observed, passed his own inner judgments, but kept company with no one. During the period of the liberation movement and the constitutional reforms many active politicians imagined that they had convinced him and won him over to their camp. What he thought about them is a secret which he took to his grave; but all the time he kept aloof from the movement.

BASIL MAKLAKOV.

THE PRAGUE CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY

THE Eighth International Congress of Philosophy was held at the Caroline University of Prague (2-7 September, 1934) according to the decision of the Seventh Congress, which met in Oxford in 1930. The Chairman of the Committee on Organisation, which included Czechs and Germans living in Czechoslovakia, was Emanuel Rádl, Professor of Natural Science at the University of Prague. President Masaryk was expected to be the honorary president of the Congress but, unfortunately, an illness from which he only recovered in October, prevented him from attending in person. The spirit of this great man, whose significance as a philosopher equals his reputation as a statesman, was felt, however, during the whole session, in the very programme of the Congress (although not without necessary compromises) and in the selection of problems for discussion.

Professor Rádl and the local committee had carried out plans to conduct this Congress in a direction quite different from that of all previous meetings, at which any delegate who had sent in his report in time, presented any contribution he liked, embodying the result of his latest studies, and individual explanations of his point of view. From time to time only, a sort of symposium was organised, various speakers being asked to express their personal opinion on some given problem. Apart from these few exceptions, however, Congresses of Philosophy rather resembled scientific sample fairs. They have served as incentives to further study, and have given their members an opportunity of making personal acquaintance, but they furnished only incomplete information as to the contemporary situation in the world of philosophical thought. They were, on the whole, too individual. In contrast to this, the Prague Congress was planned and organised with a definite programme. Hence, any purely historical matters, which might well be put forward in books, were eliminated almost entirely; whereas a special place was reserved for those questions which have become a "cross-road" of thought or points of divergence in the philosophical thought of our age, or for problems on which the greatest battles are now being fought. Consequently, the committee made it a rule to appoint as speakers on such problems only qualified investigators, specially invited for the purpose; to lay emphasis not on individuals, but on philosophical trends; to present, so far as possible, schools of thought rather than scattered individuals; and, finally, to foster open discussion.

Among the selected topics, the greatest attention was paid to the discussions on "The Crisis of Democracy." One full session and one of the Congress sections were devoted to this problem. We are living in a period when social co-ordination is often achieved at the price of freedom. Contemporary Europe is torn by a number of particularisms, each of which has had or still has the character of a new fanatical Islam. Into our ears is constantly dinned the assertion that a distinction must be drawn between one national culture and another, that there are different moral codes for the various nations and social classes. The concept of the dependence of moral norms on the social structure (which, at bottom, means a confusion of ethics and a given tradition), has been successfully taught by certain French and Italian sociologists. In this connection, we may recall the well-known phrase of "nordische List"; others speak of a special proletarian morality, according to which anything is permissible in the battle against capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Spengler's theory of the organic growth of independence and the intolerance of cultures which follow the human path of life: i.e. youth, manhood, and old age—has had unparalleled success in Germany. Herr Goebbels even proclaims the view that either an individual is right and is therefore a Nazi, or he is not a Nazi and therefore cannot be right.

The aim of the philosophical discussion on the crisis of democracy was not a political defence of democracy in a narrow political sense, but rather an unveiling of the very foundations of democracy as a tendency of the dynamic process involved in *democratisation*. It was necessary therefore to broach and discuss the most fundamental subjects, such as: the reason for, and the value of, freedom; the problem and limitations of equality and the equal rights of man; the problem of a "volonté générale"; the validity and mistakes of public opinion; a criticism of insufficiently planned social tendencies in democracies, etc. It will at once be seen, however, that beneath the surface of these discussions loomed the question of the very possibility of scientific and philosophical thinking. For, amid the confusion of self-contained particularisms, the exchange of points of view, the search for universally valid truths and norms binding upon all, would have no place, and international philosophical congresses would be useless. Philosophy itself thus had to stand up in its own defence in this discussion.

It was to be expected that dictatorial States, if they were at all interested in meeting opposition, would send out spokesmen on behalf of the régime. In this way, a discussion of the crisis of

democracy might have converted itself into a political quarrel in which international feelings would not have been sufficiently respected. This, indeed, happened, but only in part and in an entirely special sense. Even before the Congress met it was apparent that the Italian delegates were preparing a great debate with the delegates of France. The result was, however, somewhat surprising. The Italians, led by Count Orestano, and represented by the well-known legal philosopher Del Vecchio, and Signors Bodrero, Redano, Perticone, did, indeed, attempt to place their criticism of democracy (the traditional 19th-century democracy) on a philosophical basis and to seek the origin of Fascism (especially its Italian brand) in universal principles of freedom. Again and again they returned to the thesis that Fascism is a "démocratie concentrée." In opposition to this, the French speakers, almost all of them very brilliant (MM. Basch, Barthélemy, Guy-Grand, Rougier, Parodi, Gouhier), often seemed to lay undue emphasis upon the institutional and constitutional forms of democracy, leaving aside those economic and social matters on which present-day democracy is most open to criticism. Only good critics can be perfect apologists. The oratorical weight was on the side of the French *esprit*, which came from the depths of honest conviction. But the impression remained that they conceived democracy too much from a static, not sufficiently from a dynamic angle, not as a philosophical, economic and social force which is pushing man constantly to new tasks and new aims. The absence of Soviet thinkers, some of whom had been eagerly anticipating the Congress, but who were not allowed to attend (because of the official Soviet attitude that this was a purely bourgeois matter), was one of the reasons why due attention was not paid to economic and social factors, which are the very axis of the crisis of democracy. To fill this gap was one of the main tasks of the Czechoslovak delegates. First of all, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Edward Beneš, read his very noteworthy address at the opening session, held in the great Assembly Hall of the Parliament. He outlined his analysis of democracy, expressed his adherence to Thomas Masaryk's philosophy and gave the most penetrating comments on the crisis of democracy as "a crisis of the democrats." The American thinkers (Prof. T. V. Smith and W. P. Montague) also contributed to this aspect of the crisis.

The Germans of the Third Reich took no part in these particular discussions—whether because they had received instructions to that effect, or perhaps because the newest "Nazi-Islam" feels no need for an exchange of ideas. This was evident on several occasions.

Thus, speaking of the descriptive and the normative points of view in the social sciences, Professor Willy Hellpach, a former Minister in Baden—at one time a democratic candidate in opposition to Hindenburg, but now a National Socialist—characterised all sociology as the science of a nation and its culture, which, if true, is always intolerant. Hellpach's definition of sociology was thus entirely nationalistic and partial. Even more striking was his assertion that among the factors in the formation of a nation, is the factor of the creative power which imposes its will on a racial group—for which, however, he did not give any proof of evidence. The influence of Spengler's "philosophy" was still more apparent in the contribution of Prof. Feldkeller, of Berlin, who foretold the biological doom of rationalism and laid great emphasis on the mystical instinct and on the "tragic Teutonic concept of life." It is a well-known fact that this concept is, at its root, identical with the conviction that great national and cultural questions are to be solved only by recourse to arms, by the knock-out method. All this and more is to be found in the latest works of Spengler himself.

It is only natural that so extensive a discussion on the crisis of democracy, although it failed to bring a penetrating enlightenment on the philosophical bases of the democratisation of individual States and of the world, or a sufficiently dynamic concept of democracy, was followed with the greatest interest by the public. (The Press attended the proceedings of the Congress very diligently.) The discussion was falsely interpreted as a political struggle over the régime of certain States. The opponents of democracy, indeed, used this rebuke very frequently. From the point of view of the organisers, however, this problem was not intended as the main subject-matter of the Congress. It was expected to be a struggle over the prerequisites of contemporary philosophical thinking.

One of the sections and a full session were, indeed, devoted to the equally important subject of the mission of philosophy in the contemporary world. Here, Prof. Utitz, a Prague German, placed on the retired list at Halle University and promptly appointed as a professor at the German University of Prague, spoke remarkably well on the "*Selbstverwirklichung der Philosophie*." In these discussions, the philosophy which stands apart from events and refuses to plan for world reform, was condemned. A group of Czech philosophers, under the guidance of Professor Rádl, drafted a resolution conceived in the spirit of Masaryk, but expressed in a rather equivocal style, in which they adopt the programme of a philosophy in the service of mankind. Special mention must be

made of a report surveying philosophical traditions in Bohemia, from Professor Oskar Kraus, a well-known author and an orthodox pupil of the Viennese, Franz Brentano, and director of the Brentano Institute in Prague, which was founded by T G Masaryk. Oskar Kraus clearly showed how, for more than a century, philosophers in Bohemia, Czechs and Germans alike, influenced by Bernard Bolzano, Franz Brentano, T G Masaryk and others, have made a consistent stand against the romantic German philosophies which today so easily lend themselves to Fascist exposition—with the result that Hegel has become the patron of the State and Fichte, much against his intentions, has been made the shield for much that has occurred in Germany under the Third Reich.

The Congress, however, had several more questions of great scientific importance to discuss. It cannot be denied that the special sciences at the very periods when they are most flourishing will undergo crises during which their logical and methodical foundations must be thought out over again. This is evident in contemporary mathematics, physics, biology, in the science of law (the normative legal theory in the Neo-Kantian spirit, formulated by Kelsen), in economics, in philology (the phonological method of the so-called *École de Prague*), and in other sciences. Thus, philosophers today appear in all the sciences, often indeed bearing the marks of their original erudition. At the same time, however, it often happens that methods which have turned out well in a certain science, are considered generally applicable and are being used in subject-matters entirely opposed to their spirit. The best example of this is the case of American Behaviourism. John B. Watson, the leader of this movement, and his pupils have changed psychology into a system of external observation, passing over introspection—which is the same as a negation of psychology itself. The old struggle between the mechanists and their opponents in biology (whether they are called neo-vitalists or otherwise) is another example. Finally, here also may be mentioned the resistance of sociology to any evaluation whatsoever, started by Durkheim and Max Weber. Therefore, the Congress also included the following themes for discussion: the limits of natural sciences, i.e. the problem of spiritual sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*); the psychological problems; norm and reality; the descriptive and the normative in social sciences; the problem of objective evaluations, etc. The practical working out of this programme met with difficulties, so that the result did not equal the intentions. One of the principal speakers on the limits of natural sciences, the well-known French physicist Langevin, could not be

present on account of illness, and Professor G. Bachelard, of Dijon who took his place, interpreted the question in such a way as to investigate only whether the limits of natural sciences have been fixed once for all. Professor Driesch did not contribute more than was already known from his former writings. Similarly, the discussions on the descriptive and the normative in the social sciences descended to the level of a political debate, mainly as a result of the opposition to the already mentioned speech of Hellpach. Professor Kelsen and his pupil, Weyr, Professor of law in Brno, did not attend, owing to some personal misunderstanding.

The discussions on Philosophy and Religion were also very lively. The German Jesuit, Przywara, and the Russian emigrant philosophers, N. Lossky, S. Frank and Jakovenko, aroused attention, but brought no clarity to the subject. It is to be regretted, too, that the participation of the British and American philosophers was not as great as had been hoped. There was not enough attention paid to the views of the British, and Professor F. C. S. Schiller is known to have expressed his dissatisfaction.

On the other hand, it was evident that scientific work, collectively organised, bears fruit. This is especially true of the so-called logistic school, known on the Continent as the "Wiener Schule," whose leader is Prof. M. Schlick, of Vienna. It is characterised by a praiseworthy care for logical precision, and is based on the investigations of the so-called aliorhythmic logic, which uses symbols instead of words to indicate relations of concepts. The noteworthy contributions of Russell and Whitehead in the field of logical deduction in mathematics are well-known here. The pan-mathematism and pan-physicalism of this school, its opposition not only to metaphysics, but also to most of the vital philosophical problems, its inclination towards materialism and behaviourism, will lead to many new controversies. The logistic section aroused much attention and was among the liveliest, owing to the ardour shown both by its defenders and its opponents (Schiller, Ingarden, and others).

The Prague International Congress of Philosophy was an event which will surely be long remembered. Although several of the important thinkers were absent (e.g. Edmund Husserl, Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile), others will remain unforgettable, especially L. Brunschwig, Lalande, Driesch, but also many others. The delegates all liked Prague very much. The atmosphere surrounding President Masaryk and Dr. Beneš excited the admiration of all those standing for democracy and freedom. It was demonstrated that Prague was the best place in Central Europe for a free

exchange of ideas. Moreover, the philosophical traditions of Bohemia, will undoubtedly bear practical fruit. For the Czech and German philosophers in Czechoslovakia, having agreed as to method, have united in the inauguration of a struggle for universally valid truth and norms in theory and practice. Perhaps, in time, we shall hear of them as the École de Prague.

J. B. KOZÁK.

Caroline University of Prague.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF DR. EDWARD BENEŠ

[After extending an official welcome to the delegates, Dr. Beneš spoke as follows.]

Allow me to assure you that these discussions will be followed among us with a passionate interest. The present state of the world, the almost unexampled confusion which prevails in the world of thought, in the moral domain, in economic and social conditions, and finally in the whole political, and especially international, sphere, impels all sensible minds towards an eager, and even anguished, effort to seek a little light in all these domains, to find exits and new solutions such as might establish more order, more calm, more stability, something more definitive than the chaos before our eyes—a chaos which makes us feel the depressing, and in some respects even dishonouring, relativity in which our poor world of the 20th century is living.

Amid this sad spectacle, we believe that those to whom the initiative of this Congress is due, were particularly well inspired, when they sought to give it a practical and, as it were, programmatic, character, and to extract, if possible, from its work practical conclusions, in the social, political and moral sphere, for the sufferings and anxieties of the world today. My colleague, Mr. Rádl, laid special emphasis on this idea when, in the invitation addressed to members of the Congress, he declared that it ought to be the expression of our faith in the doctrine of Plato, according to which philosophy ought to direct the world.

Faithful to this standpoint, and casting a glance at the programme of addresses and discussions during the next few days, I note at the outset that there are bound to be vigorous, if also chivalrous, combats between metaphysicians and anti-metaphysicians, when, for instance, you discuss the limits of the sciences and of scientific knowledge. I foresee that rival groups will be formed, when you come to discuss the problem of pure science, the problem of values in the sciences, and in general, the problem of normative sciences, and again when you deal with existing sociological problems, in examining the crisis of democracy, the problem of the evolution of the modern State in its collectivist tendencies, and the modern battle for or against individual liberty.

Being at one and the same time a philosopher and a sociologist, and

having also the misfortune to be a politician driven towards daily action, sometimes of an importance transcending the frontiers of my own country, I find myself occupied daily, and in an active sense, with all the problems which I have just mentioned, and am obliged both to submit them to an intellectual analysis and to apply them in daily practice. And you will understand why, under these circumstances, being always as scholar driven towards practical solutions, immediately applicable in daily life, I have always assigned a definite solution to the theoretical problems just indicated. In doing so, I have ranged myself in certain scientific and philosophical groups and tendencies, which are contested by other groups and tendencies.

And in fact, whatever political action I have undertaken, whatever political, social or economic problem I have had to regulate, I have felt bound first of all to subject to a minute, precise and thorough scientific analysis, and I then passed the facts thus analysed through the sieve of my philosophic and moral theory, in order to attain the necessary synthesis and finally transform the idea into action.

This signifies first of all that in political art and science I have always been radically opposed to any kind of experimentalism which was not based on facts minutely examined and analysed in advance, and to any romantic conception, lacking contact with real every-day life and based on purely intellectual concepts which express far more the desires and sentiments of individuals than the facts and realities of the practical life of nations or collective human groups. I have remained the opponent of all social or religious mysticism, which necessarily distorts social and political realities and facts and cannot fail to deflect the normal life of political societies into tortuous and involved paths.

This further signifies that being convinced that every political action must be consciously inspired by a definite philosophical and moral thought, applicable to all civilised political societies, I have always opposed any political opportunism erected into a system—a mental attitude which has caused so many ravages in our post-war world; I have always combated this cynical conception of political action, which identifies the political *mêlée* with the acquisition or maintenance at all costs of the power or wealth of some against others—thereby giving a material turn to the whole social life, forgetting that at least half the life of civilised societies is concentrated in spiritual factors, and that the true political struggle must, in its final consequences, always tend to the victory of spirit over matter.

All this, applied to the problems which you are about to examine, signifies for me the obligation of taking up a definite attitude. Without wishing, in these few words of inauguration and greeting, to go at length into the essence of the problems and prejudice in any way whatever the result of your discussions, I venture to point out that I have always upheld, for example, the view that the sciences, and particularly the social sciences and philosophy, must have the courage, after arriving objectively and

scientifically at the facts, to draw the practical conclusions and to apply them to the social and political problems of the day. Every scholar and philosopher must take careful note of the moment when he passes from purely theoretical results to their practical application, but he must be able to pass this Rubicon.

Another example of this attitude which has been imposed upon me in my dual function of sociologist and politician, bears on the burning problem of the alleged crisis of democracy. When I examine this problem, it is not for me merely a question of establishing the facts of past and present, to see how democracies have behaved, what have been their practical advantages and their drawbacks, to ascertain whether by the results of their work and effort they really meet the actual needs of post-war society.

I believe that on this point opinions will without much difficulty come close to each other, for every régime has its advantages and its drawbacks, and the historical examples from antiquity to our own day and even in the 20th century are, in my opinion, pretty conclusive. But where I see the real difficulty is the moral and philosophical basis of the problem. Do we accept—yes or no—as truth, and as the basis of our modern civilised societies, the idea that one of the essential aims of human activity is progressive development towards liberty of the individual and towards the expansion and inviolability of human personality—even with the necessary reserve as to the rights of other individuals or of society as a whole—in accordance with classic formulæ and with all their logical consequences as drawn by the philosophy of the 18th and 19th centuries.

My reply to this question is known to all, and I have always held that when one talks of the crisis of democracy, this means above all, not the crisis of institutions, but the crisis of men, *the crisis of democrats*. It is a question of knowing whether in practical life the democrats were really democratic, whether they were politically capable, whether the democracies in question had leaders of adequate political and moral stature, worthy to bear the necessary responsibility. But the primary question, the philosophical and moral basis, which I have just indicated, remains for me incontestable.

Let us take yet another problem, so burning and so contested today—that of the evolution of the conception of the modern State and its functions. All controversies as to the democratic, totalitarian, corporative or communist State turn round the classic problem known to all the philosophies of the world, regarding the effort to establish permanent harmony between the individual and the community. History, and all the modern examples which I have just quoted, prove to us incontestably that at first there has always been a certain fluctuation from one side to the other, and that then progressive evolution in the last few centuries has slowly but irresistibly deflected the balance in favour of the individual. It seems as though the new conditions of the post-war world were tending to arrest this evolution. But experience clearly shows us that there have always

been exaggerations on both sides, as may be seen in so many cases at the present day, and that these exaggerations have always found their expiation in one way or another.

From the philosophical and moral standpoint the problem presents itself to me in almost exactly the same terms as those of the question concerning the crisis of democracy—namely, how, by what means, and by what political methods one can ensure the highest degree of individual liberty and at the same time reconcile it with the collectivist tendencies of modern societies, States, and nations? By what paths can responsible politicians and governments, while carefully respecting the principle of progressive development towards the liberty of the individual and the inviolability of human personality, establish a lasting harmony between the individual and the community, the State, the nation, whose functions are incontestably evolving in a collectivist sense? Philosophic thought, in judging the value of politicians, will take as its test the measure in which they have succeeded in this task.

In passing in brief review these various questions and indicating my outlook, I have no intention of imposing my opinion upon my colleagues. In this country we are tolerant and objective, and scrupulously respect the opinion of others. But I wished to sketch on quite general lines certain essential points of doctrine which characterise Czechoslovak national thought and also that of our fellow citizens of other nationalities. This doctrine is in my opinion a natural outcome of our philosophy and of our national genius. It could not be otherwise in a country which for sixteen years has had at its head a scholar and philosopher, whose thought is well known to you—President Masaryk, the patron of your Congress.

Our whole public, all our specialists, our whole intellectual *élite*, will follow your discussions with avidity and keen interest, in order to be able either to correct their own opinions or to confirm them, and in that case to follow them with greater continuity and increased conviction. It is in this spirit that I wish full success to your deliberations and to your work.

To this remarkable inaugural address we have added two papers presented by Professor Kozák, as a representative Czech thinker, and Dr. Oskar Kraus, on the philosophical contributions of the German Bohemians.

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF NATURALISM AND THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY¹

THE recrudescence of naturalism is a most startling fact in the philosophical situation of the present time. Few of us can boast of having foreseen it. Naturalism has descended like a dense fog upon the plains, and has become the confession of faith for the millions who live in the nether

¹ Reprinted in the publications of the Brentano-Gesellschaft.

region of thought. It is eating up what is left of a faith in the spirit and spiritual values. In some States it has been equipped with power to set up the criteria for what should be acknowledged as right and wrong, noble and nasty, creative and barren. Since the Great War, in ever-increasing measure, naturalism has ceased to be a one-sided individual view and has become a political force. And my thesis is that it is mainly this trend of thought which has created what is termed the crisis of democracy. Naturalism threatens democracy not only from without, but also from within. Before, and up to, the revolutionary commotions of the years 1917-1921, democracy was chiefly opposed by the theocratic doctrine of the divine right of princes. This period past, we must face the new enemy.

When speaking of the present effervescence of naturalism, we generally place all responsibility upon certain political and racial movements, such as anti-semitism, or the "Aryan" campaign in the Germany of today. This is certainly the most conspicuous phenomenon of the kind in our time; yet its very origin reveals its international character. Was it not started by a Frenchman, Count Arthur Gobineau? Was it not popularised by Houston Stuart Chamberlain long before it took root in Germany? Let us not be blinded by the flood of popular literature in the Third Reich which culminates in Rosenberg's "Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts." The doctrine of the absolute and eternal superiority of a certain vaguely-defined race has found, it is true, a fertile soil in the injured self-respect of a great nation. But the same trend of thought is to be observed elsewhere, especially in regions where racial differences are less questionable than in Europe. (Lothrop Stodard in America!) It is the creed of the Ku-Klux-Klan; it determines to an astonishing degree the attitude of white colonists towards coloured aborigines, as well as the relationships of the white and yellow races, and it is well known that it raises not only countless obstacles to the migration of the yellow nations, but also serious disturbances of international trade and actual economic warfare. Thus the fair-haired youth who believes himself a superior being regardless of his behaviour, has his counterpart almost everywhere. Our chief concern today is not to give a psychological explanation: it is generally known that men live largely by childish pride—perhaps more than by anything else. The main problems are rather moral and scientific. Where are the actual sources of this widespread bias in favour of maintaining and even emphasising the real or alleged inequalities of human beings? How was it possible that the Christian and humanitarian traditions proved so helpless before them? And above all: how can the average man believe himself to be nearer to scientific truth if he divides mankind into as many species and varieties as he can, denying the possibility of a common spiritual ground and reserving, as has actually been done, the name of "homo sapiens" for himself?

It was certainly a good idea that this Congress should deal with the problem of the limits of natural science. But we should also ask how it

came about that all this mischief could go on without a loud and organised protest on the part of the philosophers. It appears that they have suffered themselves to be intimidated by the "hubris" of half-baked scientism. They are intimidated because they did not sufficiently insist upon the supremacy of that area which is the proper domain of philosophy, namely, upon the universal rules of thought and conduct and upon the spiritual determination of man. If we agree to view things from this angle, our problem ceases to coincide with the criticism of this or that régime. No one can accuse us of talking politics from round the corner, under the pretext of philosophy. Especially I, speaking in a certain sense as a representative of a country where the racial theories meet with an unanimous denial, must bear in mind that it is my task to analyse the forces which have corroded, or threaten to corrode, democracy from within. My criticism will therefore be directed against those modes of life and thought which sometimes sail under the flag of democracy, or which used to sail under it in countries where political democracy has been defeated.

All the questions we have to touch upon today converge finally to a single one. It is the problem of *philosophical anthropology*, which I do not identify with those few narrowly defined philosophies (Dilthey, Scheler, Heidegger, Jaspers) which are known under this name in Germany today. By this term I mean *the way in which we define and explain the sources, scope and limits of the forces and qualities which, in our own eyes, characterise ourselves as human beings.*

The dominant philosophical anthropology of the present time is decidedly that of naturalism. It appears in various guises: now as the quasi-Darwinian doctrine of the wholesome effects of the crude struggle for life on the quality of the human species; again as the popularised and obviously bastardised vision of the Super-man; at other times as a fear of the weakening influence of the spirit. Let me quote one especially interesting example: Theodor Lessing. Almost exactly a year ago this man fell a victim of political and racial hatred by the hand of an assassin; but he appears far more tragic when we consider his views, than when we look only at the end of his life. Theodor Lessing has, in fact, himself contributed to the collapse of faith in the strength of the spirit. I am alluding to his books, *Der Untergang der Erde am Geist* and *Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen*. He never believed that historical events could be imbued with sense and programmatic continuity. He regarded as inevitable the ascendancy of the rough, but vitally strong masses over the intellectual weakling. Had it not been for his half-Jewish origin, he could have lived in complete harmony with his former friend and afterwards scornful enemy, Ludwig Klages, who is an adherent of the "Aryan Paragraph." The main difference between these two authors lies chiefly in the emotions with which they anticipate the weakening influence of spirit: the one with a melancholy sigh, the other with a loud war cry. Theodor Lessing was an almost representative example of those innumerable *hommes d'esprit* in Central and Southern Europe who had failed to

find a source of unifying force in the realm of spiritual vision, because they had, like Cubism and "Sub-realism" in the fine arts and in literature, lost the way back to reality. Instead of bringing order and firm objectives, they transformed the life of reason into an endless play of chaotic witticisms.

Long before the war it became apparent that the theories of some Darwinians—naturally not of Charles Darwin himself—had left their original river-bed, covering like a flood large areas which had nothing to do with biological evolution. The theory had been misused, militarised, turned into praise of any destruction of human lives. Its poetic ally, Nietzsche, had become, much against his intentions, the patron of all manner of human insects who believed themselves superior to other men, simply because they had ceased to be human. No doubt, many people mistook this for a victory of science and philosophy, and the boasting of the super-homunculus became them well. But what about the real thinkers whose chief concern should have been to prevent such transgressions?

The unhappy tendency to end up in naturalism is chiefly due, as I have said, to the weakened resistance and failing faith of those whom one would expect to maintain the conviction that man could be, and should be, determined in his views and actions, so to say from above, from his spiritual universe. This universe in itself is no reality in space. It consists of vision—conceptual and moral vision. In fact, there is no escape from it. Even the most absurd schemes and theories are just as well meant as any other, more worthy objects of thought. The disputed point is not the existence of the realm of spiritual vision. It lies rather in the question whether or not we are a passive playground of subconscious or external forces; whether or not we can put them under the control of rules and principles which are of a higher order, and at the same time universally valid. On the one side we have the epiphenomenal conception of spiritual life, on the other the conviction that life is subject to ideas and ideals which, though they are not of this world of time and space, should be preached to all people in due time. As it is, the former view is at present the dominant one. It is surprising how many otherwise valuable researches and discoveries have contributed to it. It was by no means originally the intention of *Sigmund Freud* to deny the possibility and desirability of a moral and socially responsible self-determination of man. And yet the net result of the huge flood of psycho-analysis appears to be the conviction that our conscious life is in all essential things determined from below, by our natural, perfectly a-moral, libidinous, subconscious instincts. Moreover, the fear of hysteria and complexes has far outgrown all restraint imposed by considerations of a higher order. In a book on psycho-analysis it was seriously recommended that boys should sleep with their mothers in order to avoid the Oedipus-complex. Pages could be filled with quotations of this kind; great stunts have been achieved in the psycho-analytic dissection and "explanation" of prominent men of

history, including Jesus Christ. Freud himself has contributed by his stupendous analysis of the life and work of Leonardo da Vinci.

Another corroding influence is to be found in the various doctrines which look upon man as essentially determined by external influences. Through the victory of the Russian Revolution the Marxist theory of historical materialism (or rather economic determinism) has become, for the time being, the official creed of one-sixth of the globe. It is not improbable that the thinkers and leaders of the Soviet Union will try, later on, to give their constructive social work a different, namely, a moral basis. But west of Russia it seems to be the chief concern of a Marxist to lay stress on the theoretical implications of this doctrine, in the same way as he prefers the word revolution to any practical attempt at a seizure of power. These implications, however, lie in the direction of an epiphenomenal philosophical anthropology. Man is determined by his class allegiance. His ideology is only a secondary matter, his morals are those of his class. I do not wholly deny the merits of this theory, and I cannot but pay tribute to the remarkable economic forecasts of Marx and Engels. The theory is certainly true with regard to the average man. But it has made the task of social reconstruction and redistribution of national income too exclusively a class matter. It has narrowed the scope and weakened the missionary appeal of the social movement. It has led to an astonishing psychological lack of foresight in some countries, particularly in Germany. But above all, the doctrine of thoroughly different class morals is, of course, undemocratic, just as its social goal is democratic. If pushed to a conclusion, it would lead to a merciless class struggle and to civil war, where it does not do so, it means the collapse of both theory and practice.

The Marxist anthropology, however, is by no means the only one that makes man dependent on social units. Let me mention, for instance, the theory of "derivations" put forward by Vilfredo Pareto; Oswald Spengler's "botanical" conception of incompatible "cultures" which grow like forests only to die a natural death, but which determine "schicksalhaft" our truths, principles and destinies. Spengler's mysticism has met with noisy success in Germany; and many a philosopher abroad thought it his duty to make a serious face before such an effective philosophy. Doctrines of this type are by no means always made in Germany. Many adherents of the Durkheim school of sociology, particularly Lévy-Bruhl and Fauconnet, have turned ethics into a descriptive ethology, conscience into a special case of the "contrainte sociale," and the interdependence between morals and social structure into one-sided causal dependence.

Not only sociological theories, but even philosophies, appear to follow the trend towards naturalism. The "Existentialphilosophie" of Martin Heidegger—the *dernier cri* of German philosophy—has set up the moral imperative, "*werde, was du bist*." It is almost superfluous to show how nicely this tunes in with the popular refusal of ideas which happen to be declared as "*artfremd*" (racially alien), as the popular slogan puts it.

After all, it is nothing but worship of the natural man—*des kreaturlichen Menschen*. The spiritual imperative lies in the opposite direction: "*werde, was du nicht bist, sondern was du sein sollst.*"

To all these influences must be added the common interpretation of the German idealist philosophies. They are but seldom understood in their entity; for the most part they are used to justify the absoluteness of nation or State with all its consequences. I am glad to state that some Czech thinkers, especially Masaryk and Rádl, have anticipated this trend. Indeed, a thorough analysis of the German romantic systems reveals a certain affinity to the a-moral, and consequently, naturalistic, standpoint. At least they lend themselves easily to such an interpretation. It is certainly not accidental that Hegel has become the official philosophical patron of the Fascist States.

Thus men today are again living in the trenches—at least spiritually. This is obvious. Remove from life what is not of this world; deny what is, or should be, universal; deny or deride humanity as a goal worth attaining; and you will necessarily fall back on the "status naturalis" of Hobbes. *Bellum omnium contra omnes*. Force will become the *prima ratio* instead of the *ultima ratio*. You will necessarily become positive enough to side with those who have not only fired, but who have fired first. This troubled section of the 20th century has furnished the proof that anything short of universally valid rules of thought, anything short of universally valid spiritual values, conducts the human masses automatically to a perpetual warfare of particularisms.

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Democracy, as we understand it, is not to be confounded with its institutional and constitutional instruments. Just as little does it coincide with the many political parties that call themselves democratic, for many of these people spend all their strength obstructing or delaying the economic and social implications of democracy. The alliance of many of them with liberalistic capitalism is a historical fact, but it must be severed, in the name of democracy, in course of time, for all the world is looking for a means of escape from the jungle law of that obsolete and vicious anarchy in economic matters. Both the institutions and the results of actual democratic compromises must be judged from a utilitarian point of view. But they must at the same time be tested by the fundamental ideas of democracy, which can hardly be better expressed than by the words *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. Of course, this slogan is nothing if it does not carry with it the corresponding dynamic. But where it does, a true democrat will not shrink from the economic and social implications of democracy. In this dynamic sense of the word, democracy also includes the essential social efforts of Soviet Russia. It makes for greater equality within and among the States, and is thus clearly opposed to Fascism, which makes for greater inequality of States and races, preserving at the same time the traditional inequality of social grades. Democracy, thus understood, is not only compatible with true leadership, but constantly

produces leaders whose authority is based on actual proofs of ability and dignity. The post-war history of my own nation, with philosophers and sociologists at its head, is a good proof of the fact. This leadership, though less prolific in promises, has secured positive results.

All this, however, cannot subsist without proper foundations. The critics of democracy see nothing but complicated systems of public life plodding slowly along from one compromise to another. But its adherents should realise that all democratic freedom is ultimately based on the respect for the real, or potential, dignity of each human mind, contrasting sharply with the lack of reverence we observe elsewhere. Nature can only furnish a more or less pliable material; the group mind can help a true democratic man, but often throws obstacles in his way. The real foundations of democracy are in the Utopia of spiritual vision. But it is exactly this Utopia that should remain the true home of the philosopher, even though he be involved in politics. Philosophers have lived too long at the mercy of the scientists. Sometimes they fed on the crumbs from the table of natural science. Without a firm philosophy of spirit we shall become, by our own lack of effort, helpers of those who are unable to grasp that man should be educated for greater freedom and that people of other colour, race and social standing should be actively helped to reach higher goals of human dignity.

J. B. KOZÁK.

THE SPECIAL OUTLOOK AND TASKS OF GERMAN PHILOSOPHY IN BOHEMIA.

A SHORT glance at the history of German philosophy at the University of Prague shows that its tradition differs materially from that of German Universities for more than a century past. This is doubtless due to the same circumstances which have prevented the spread of constructive speculation in Austria during the post-Kantian period; but at the same time, so far as Bohemia is concerned, a way of thought different from the speculative-dialectical has been favoured not only from above, but also from below. It is interesting that even in the period of enlightenment, freethinking philosophy in Prague was represented by a priest, Bernard Bolzano, a German of Italian descent. He regarded himself as a true son of the Church, but was in reality a theistic philosopher, holding the view that God demands belief in the Catholic doctrine of salvation, not because it is true, but because it is useful to believe in it. He was an excellent mathematician and therefore felt drawn to Leibniz, who was also a pure utilitarian. "*Deus*," says Leibniz, "*omnibus prodest, quantum possibile est*," and "*qui non querit commune bonum, is deo non oboedit*." Bolzano's pure-mindedness, the clearness of his delivery, the reasonable nature of his teachings and his national impartiality, won him the adherence of the students, and made of him the spiritual leader of Bohemia. The circumstance that after fifteen years of teaching he was

deprived of his post in 1820, did not interfere with his effectiveness. But Bolzano was no mere blind supporter of Leibniz, and refused to have anything in common with his defence of eternal punishment, and substituted for this the doctrine of the unending progress of all creatures. Leibniz's monadology he also did not accept, and improved upon this and other specific theories of Leibniz by a return to older traditions, or in some cases by innovations of his own. To these belong his teaching of the so-called "Presentations, Propositions and Truths in themselves." This theory, which accepted side by side with the realms of the physical and psychical a third unreal realm, seems to have alarmed those of his friends and supporters who devoted themselves to academic teaching. For they soon showed themselves to be under the influence not of Bolzano but of Herbart. Bolzano's friend, Professor Exner, who at first worked in Prague, rejected Bolzano's teaching of "Propositions in themselves," and when he became an official in the Ministry of Education in Vienna, favoured Herbart's philosophy. Bolzano's close disciple, Robert Zimmermann (born in 1825 in Prague) also went over to Herbart.

Others may be left to investigate the motives: certain it is that the educational authorities of those days regarded Herbart as the lesser evil, both as against the Protestant philosophy of Kant and Hegel's deification of the Prussian State, and as against the enlightened Catholicism of the priest Bolzano. It was easier to tolerate a free-thinking philosophy from the mouth and pen of lay teachers, and as the Herbartists were not hostile to theism, or even to positive religion, they were favoured. This favour worked out to the advantage of the *scientific* method of philosophising, for in psychology Herbart saw the most important part of all philosophy, even though his attempt to conduct psychological studies *more mathematico* was no less doomed to failure than the famous attempt of Spinoza to teach ethics *more geometrico*. None the less it remains his merit, that he tried to find for philosophy a basis of experience, and was an opponent of Schelling and similar speculations. The Herbartian philosophy made its way in Austria, and in Prague found both German and Czech followers—as, for instance, Čupr, Volkmann, Lindner, Dastich and Durdík, while even the well-known Catholic philosopher, Otto Willmann, was close to the Herbartians.

Side by side with them and with Löwe, a friend of scholasticism, the school of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause maintained itself in Prague from 1849 to 1875, being represented by Baron Hermann Leonardi. What led the Austrian government to admit this school, whose members were regarded in Germany as political suspects, is not clear to me. Krause's philosophy still has adherents in Spain, while in Belgium pupils of the Krausean Thibergien are still alive; among the Germans, the jurists, Ahrens and Röder, have occupied academic posts. But it was out in Prague that Krause's teachings succeeded in securing a chair of philosophy. Though Krause was undoubtedly influenced by Fichte and Schelling, and like them had the illusion that every philosopher must

attempt a system of his own, he is none the less of all Kant's successors the one, (1) who took psychology as the point of departure in philosophy, (2) who in metaphysics rose from Pantheism to Panentheism (i.e. the doctrine of All-in-God), and (3) who by attaching himself to the Pansophia and Panegersia of Comenius, renewed early Bohemian humanitarian ideals and sought to bring mankind back to a consciousness of their human task by recalling their unitary divine origin. He stood for the idea of mankind being one single whole, and of our all being "members of one another."

We can still recognise these ideas of Krause today in the works of older and more recent political economists, for instance in Schäffle's *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers* and in the "Gliederbaulehre" of certain Neo-romantics. Krause conceived of the organization of the practical man in the shape of a peculiar federation, each of whose individual members follows a special cultural aim. Beside the League of Law (Rechtsbund, i.e. the State) there would be a League of Virtue (Tugendbund), a League of Beauty (Schonheitsbund), a religious League, Leagues of Science and of Art, and a League of Work, divided according to corporations and guilds. He expounded this Utopia in a work entitled *Urbild der Menschheit*: in it he saw the realisation of the idea of humanity, seeing its germs in the Order of Freemasons, whose alleged secrets he published. At first he hoped that Napoleon would pacify the world, and when disappointed in these hopes, he drafted the main lines of an European confederation.

In 1868—sixty-six years ago—Leonhardi convoked the first international Congress of philosophers to Prague, and took advantage of the occasion to attack "the folly, sin and disgrace of War." At the same time a congress of religious reconciliation was to have met here.

Krause was indeed the most universal mind of the post-Kantian German philosophers. His linguistic peculiarities and his still stronger Panentheistic metaphysics have injured those parts of his teaching which have some claim to attention. He was not only a philosopher and a historian of philosophy, and active in all its branches, but also a sound mathematician, whose theorems are still well known. He was highly appreciated by Karl Gustav Carus, the friend of Goethe, as a student of natural science, and especially as a biological morphologist; he wrote on geography, mineralogy, religious and artistic history; he had some influence upon pedagogic studies, in which Fröbel assisted him, and he was a good musician with a knowledge of musical æsthetics, which are again winning recognition.

Leonhardi upheld Krause's teachings with firmness and devotion. In particular he advocated their humanitarian aims and by his Will established a fund which is still in existence for the publication and furtherance of Krause's ideas. He found support both among the Germans and the Czechs, for instance, men like Storch and Amerling. In his review, *Die neue Zeit*, he printed Krause's draft plan of a Con-

federation of States, and large portions of Comenius' Panegersia. And thus the idea of the organisation of all mankind came back to its original home, in Bohemia!

Leonhardi died in 1874. In the same year Brentano began to teach in Vienna, bringing his pupils Stumpf and Marty with him, and they were soon joined by Masaryk, who qualified as lecturer (*Habilitation*) in 1879, and was afterwards recommended by him to Prague. Thus the schools of Bolzano, Krause and Brentano follow one after the other. But inwardly also, despite all their differences, they have one thing in common—their desire for strict scientific methods in the building up of their philosophy, their linking up with empiricism and psychology.

Their system of "orthonomous," natural ethics and their theistic-optimistic outlook upon the world, were successfully defended by the Brentano school in Prague against the atheism of Mach and Jodl. The effect produced by Franz Brentano was extraordinary. Besides those mentioned, his disciplines included Georg von Hertling, one of the last Chancellors of the Wilhelminian Era in Germany; Hermann Schell, Professor of theology at Würzburg, whose reforming tendencies are not yet forgotten in south Germany; Alexius Meinong, founder of the "objectives" theory; Edmund Husserl, who transformed Brentano's descriptive psychology into phenomenology; Twardowski, who transplanted these teachings to Poland; Alois Höfler, the pedagogue; Hillebrand, the experimental psychologist; Christian von Ehrenfels, a representative of the so-called *Gestalt* psychology; a number of Italian philosophers such as De Sarlo and Puglisi; and other disciples in the second generation, such as Eisemeier, Bergmann, and Utitz. To this last group Kustil in Innsbruck and I myself also belong.

We have both, after long resistance, recognised as sound the last phase of Brentano's philosophy, which I have described as his turn towards Copernicus. It is usually the custom to speak of a Copernican tendency in Kant, according to whom it was not our understanding that conformed to things, but things that conformed to our understanding. But this Copernican trend is not as revolutionary as it seems, for it leaves untouched the old "correspondence" theory of knowledge, going back to Plato and Aristotle. Kant never ceased to teach the "*Übereinstimmung der Erkenntnis mit ihrem Gegenstand*." Brentano also once held similar views, and thought that truth was to be found in judgments which coincided, if not with the object, at any rate with the existence or non-existence of the object, and that the rightness of the emotional reactions depended upon their correspondence to the worth or the lack of worth of the object. All Brentano's disciples have accepted this teaching with only trifling variations—for instance, Meinong who calls the *Sachverhalt* "objective," Husserl in his phenomenology, Marty, Scheler and others. At a later date Brentano saw the error of this theory and at the same time achieved a synthesis between Protagoras and Plato. We start with Protagoras from this subject,

that is from consciousness, and regard it as a mistake to take the object as the point of departure, as Plato does. But as against the relativists and subjectivists we support Plato, in showing that it is possible to speak of absolute, objective truth, because we can take our part in *one-sided* judgments and can therefore draw the boundary between truth and error. There is an analogous position in the field of ethics, here, too, we start from acts *which are justified in themselves*, from states of mind which are characterised as just, and as we give the name of "seiend" to what cannot be judged clearly save in the affirmative, so, too, we give the name of "good" to what cannot, in relation to a rightly characterised state of mind, be described in any other way than "loveable." We thus arrive at a theory of knowledge and of value, which rejects on the one hand all Platonist and Neo-Platonist fictions of eternal values, no less than the principles of Bolzano on the other, without, however, sacrificing the objectivity and general validity of our knowledge and judgments of value. Moreover, psychology brings us to the critical enquiries in the linguistic sphere, which prove the meaningless character of certain word-formations and challenge those "word-larvæ" against which Herder already protested. We show the worthlessness of those innovations which out-trump Hegel and conjure up out of nothing an irrational "Existenzial philosophie." Though we have gone part of the way in company with certain Neopositivists and logicians, we at the same time condemn their erroneous habit of challenging the difference between justified and unjustified verdicts and estimates, and of defending relativism and subjectivism in their most extreme forms.

In this we were preceded by Brentano's disciple and friend, Thomas G. Masaryk, whose essay *Die Ideale der Humanität* points in this direction. We also agree with Masaryk in the view that ethics can be founded on a basis free of authority, but that the question of a final world-cause is decisive for existence or non-existence, for optimism or pessimism. It is this, too, which links us with former thinkers on the soil of Prague, and what we regard as the traditional task of German philosophy in Bohemia in the future also. Here also lies the possibility of fruitful co-operation with the Czech philosophers, in so far as they stand close to Masaryk in philosophical outlook and consequently have the same spiritual ancestors, the same spiritual tasks, as we ourselves.

OSKAR KRAUS.

UKRAINE AND ITS POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

NEW geographical conceptions, to say nothing of political ideas, penetrate very slowly into the human mind. It had become such a habit to look at the geography and history of the Russian Empire through the official glasses of the government of the Tsars, that it was very difficult in 1918, at the moment when that Empire collapsed, to realise that so far from forming a national Russian block, it was composed of a great number of peoples differing very greatly in culture and numerical importance—in short, that in this Empire, besides Poland and Finland, which were better known in the outside world, there existed also an Estonia, a Lithuania, a Latvia, a White Russia and the many peoples of the Caucasus and of Turkestan, and last and most important of all, if we judge a people by the numbers, area and richness of the territory which it inhabits, Ukraine. Sixteen years have passed since then, and if the knowledge of Eastern European problems has made a certain progress both in England and on the Continent, we have seen once more at Geneva that the supreme argument produced to justify the admission of the USSR to the League of Nations was the allegation that it represents a people of a hundred and sixty million souls, who cannot be left in isolation.

At Geneva, on 18 September, 1934, at the moment of the admission of the Soviet Union, the authorised representatives of the peoples of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Ukraine presented a protest which supplies the answer to this argument.

"We feel bound to emphasise that according to Soviet statistics the Russians properly so called only make up 52·9 per cent. of the total number (and in this are included the Cossacks of the Don and Kuban), while the rest of the population, in other words almost one-half, is composed of other nationalities—the peoples of the Caucasus, the Ukrainians, the Turkomans, the Tartars of Crimea and the Volga, the White Russians, etc. . . . Of this number the populations of Caucasus, Turkestan and Ukraine represent about sixty millions. All these peoples have no other aspirations than to separate from Moscow and overthrow the iniquitous régime imposed upon them by the brutal force of the invader, against whom they will always struggle steadily until their national liberation."

In those few lines is raised the burning problem of the oppressed peoples of the USSR. Among them all it is certainly Ukraine that has provoked the liveliest polemics and anxiety. Moscow finds it difficult to accept the idea of Ukrainian separation from her, while the Ukrainians themselves insist upon their independence with that obstinacy which distinguishes their national character. Besides

the two nations primarily concerned, there are others also keenly interested in the problem of Ukrainian independence.

Even without entering upon the detailed history of the proclamation and organisation of the Democratic Ukrainian Republic in 1917-18, of its struggle against the aggression of Moscow, and finally of its occupation by Red troops in 1920, it will be clear how difficult it was to maintain the independence of Ukraine amid the general anarchy which then prevailed. While Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have succeeded in preserving their independence, Ukraine, the Caucasian republics and Turkestan fell before the assault of the Red troops. How is this painful phenomenon to be explained? Was the former group of peoples better organised or more skilful in its resistance? Or were there perhaps deeper causes which drove the new rulers of Moscow to concentrate all their efforts on breaking the fierce resistance of the Ukrainian peasants, the Caucasian mountaineers and the nomads of Turkestan?

In actual fact these countries have a very great attraction for Moscow, which has made of them colonies of incomparable wealth. The fertility of Ukraine has throughout history been both its good fortune and the chief cause of its misfortunes in the form of countless invasions.

The struggle for its possession from 1918 to 1920 was very fierce, no less on the side of the population than on that of the invaders. It would certainly be impossible to claim that Ukraine at that moment was perfectly organised : amid the prevailing anarchy and disorder the task of organising a great state without help from outside was anything but easy. And it is all the more so because all the efforts of Moscow were directed towards its conquest, not merely for reasons of an economic nature, but also because it formed the natural base for the expansion of communist ideas towards the West. The long resistance of Ukraine and the guerilla warfare maintained by the peasants interfered with these plans on the part of Moscow. The propitious moment for a world revolution was lost, Europe had time to rally after the War and survived that period of acute unrest during which the centre of the Continent seemed peculiarly susceptible to an onslaught from Russian Bolshevism. Thus the psychological moment passed, and with it the high-water-mark of communist enthusiasm.

In placing its body across the path, Ukraine rendered an inestimable service to Europe, but this known fact became all the more tragic and has been marked by terrible events such as few nations can recall in their history. But our present purpose is not to write

the history of those events, but to survey the present situation as a key to Ukrainian policy and future prospects.

The Soviets have conquered Ukraine, but they did not dare to suppress the Ukrainian State, which still exists in theory. The legal government of Ukraine left the country when it was invaded by the Red troops, and the new government acted in the name not of Moscow, but of the "Socialist Soviet Ukrainian Republic" *de jure*. It is as though Ukraine had merely changed its form of government, and from a democratic republic had become a Soviet republic, while retaining its theoretical independence. Till 1923 there were Legations of the Soviet Ukraine in the countries which at that period had recognised the Soviets (Germany, Austria, Poland, etc.). Soviet Ukraine concluded several treaties, which the government of Harkov signed almost independently of Moscow—for instance with Poland at Riga in 1921, with Germany in 1923, with Turkey, etc. Moreover, since the Soviet Union was constituted in 1923, Ukraine, side by side with six other Soviet Republics (Russia, White Russia, the Transcaucasian federation, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan) forms part of this Union. *De jure* each of these republics remains a foreign state; Article IV of the Constitution recognises the right of each of them to withdraw freely from the Union. They possess Ministries (or Commissariats of the People) of their own, except those for defence, finance and foreign affairs, which were from the outset assigned to the super-government of Moscow. In course of time the free republics of the Union have been deprived of several other commissariats to the advantage of Moscow. Even this greatly restricted autonomy which still remains to Ukraine (the second of the six states in importance) is not respected, for in reality it is the Communist Party which dominates in Ukraine as in the whole Union. This party was also at first only a federation of the communist parties of the peoples comprising the Soviet Union, each of these being a branch of the Third International and enjoying a certain autonomy. But the attitude of the Ukrainian Communists rendered them increasingly suspect in the eyes of Moscow, and it was, therefore, decided to tighten up the connection between the centre and the circumference. After several "purges" the Ukrainian Communist Party became a docile instrument, completely subordinated to the will of Moscow. The Communist Party of the Union is being more and more centralised, and its direction is concentrated in the hands of a single person, Stalin, the real dictator of the whole Union.

Ukraine has become a real colony of Moscow, a country under military occupation and cruelly exploited by its masters. To gild the

pill and tone down the servitude to which Ukraine is subjected, concessions of a cultural nature are made to it. The Soviet administration of this territory, which is for the most part foreign to the country or selected among the national minorities, is being "Ukrainianised." This means that the officials are obliged to talk the language of the country, which is recognised as the official language of Ukraine. In the days of Tsarism not a single school with Ukrainian language and instruction was tolerated on Ukrainian territory; but after 1917 during the short period of independence the old educational system was radically reorganised, and Ukrainian became the language of instruction in the primary, secondary and higher schools. As a certain concession to national feeling, the Soviets, on seizing the country, did not suppress this new state of affairs, and the Ukrainian schools continued to exist, their number having risen to 90 per cent. of all the schools in the country (the remainder belonging to the minorities). The Ukrainian Academy of Kiev received subsidies; Ukrainian scholars set themselves to work with enthusiasm despite the disastrous conditions of material life; but this illusion of the possibility of cultural work under a régime of occupation was brutally destroyed. The Ukrainian language was only to serve as an instrument for proclaiming devotion to Moscow, loyalty to the doctrine of Lenin and afterwards of Stalin; no freedom of speech, of the press, of scientific research, of conscience was to be tolerated.

Terror reigns, the Cheka, afterwards the OGPU, watches every gesture of Soviet citizens, who live in a permanent state of fear, never sure of tomorrow. Religion, which in these troublous times has become particularly dear to the people, is persecuted; compulsory anti-religious propaganda desolates the population, a large proportion of the churches have fallen into disuse, the priests are persecuted, deprived of their livelihood or deported. Death is often the alternative to betraying a man's religious convictions.

The power which boasts of having suppressed all social classes has divided the population into various categories, each of which enjoys different rights:—

1. Privileged persons, members of the Communist Party, and above all its chiefs.
2. Members of the OGPU or organisations which replace it.
3. Persons more or less privileged—the Army
4. Persons much less privileged—industrial workers.
5. Persons without privileges—poor and collectivised peasantry.
6. Intellectuals, except certain categories of specialists who are particularly necessary to the State.

7. The true Pariahs—the kulaks, the clergy and “former capitalist classes.”

The juridical position of each of these categories is very unequal, but it is above all from the point of view of rationing that the difference is so noticeable. If salaries already vary despite equalitarian Communist principles, the value of the rouble varies still more, for it depends upon the social position of the individual. Each category supplies its wants in special co-operative shops, and 300 roubles in the hands of a Communist leader are worth far more than 500 roubles in the hands of an intellectual or above all of someone belonging to the seventh category. The price, quality and quantity of the products supplied differ according to the category of the co-operative. Certain shops in the big cities are, according to the testimony of travellers, provided with all necessary goods, but at what price are these sold, and to what class of the population? The question of rationing has become under the Soviet régime the primary and vital question for every citizen. It forms the main subject of conversation between the best educated persons, and this is confirmed by all who have lived in USSR. Talk turns above all round the problem of food for today or tomorrow.

The further a town lies from the centre of the Union, the more disquieting becomes the problem of rationing. In the great centres of Ukraine, the situation is tolerable, at least for the privileged class, but in the small towns it is more and more difficult, and in the villages it is positively disastrous.

A very curious phenomenon must be pointed out. At the beginning of the Soviet régime, when the regular exploitation of the “Sister Republics” had not yet been organised, and when it was not possible to overcome the resistance of a population which jealously retains its wheat for itself and its family, it was Russia, the centre of the Union, which was the least well supplied, and it was then in the towns that people died of hunger, whereas life was easier in a rich country like Ukraine and especially in the villages. But all this was changed ten years after the establishment of Soviet power.

It was just the districts richest in wheat—Ukraine and Northern Caucasus—which were affected by the famine. In 1933 life was quite supportable in Russia, and above all in its Capital. But at the same time millions of Ukrainians died of hunger, feebleness and epidemics, abandoned by the central power, which thinks only of its own citizens and will not even grant permission to international humanitarian organisations to come to the aid of the victims. Numerous testimony of foreign correspondents, hundreds of letters which have

reached the Ukrainians of East Galicia and the *émigrés* further west, and the stories of refugees from across the frontier—all give a terrible picture of the misery which prevails in this country since 1932. There are whole villages where every inhabitant has died or which have been abandoned.

It is evident that this famine is not the result of natural causes, but is due in the first instance to the fact that excessive quantities of wheat have been taken away by the State for purposes of foreign trade, for rationing the great cities and above all for the Red Army. On the other hand, compulsory collectivisation has diminished the output of grain: the peasants are absolutely hostile to a system which runs counter to all their habits for centuries past and which transforms them into workmen deprived of all freedom. It is a new form of serfdom. The Ukrainian peasant has always been an individualist, knowing nothing of the Russian "Mir": he is hostile to every form of collective work, and sees no reason why he should work for the profit of others without having enough corn left to feed his family till the next harvest.

Ukraine has been "industrialised": in other words, to the factories which it already possessed on the eve of the Great War there have been added several enormous modern factories in the district of Harkov, and a great dam on the Dnieper—Dneprostroy. But people in Ukraine are well aware of the cost of these enterprises, the sacrifices imposed upon the Ukrainian people by the Five Year Plan of Moscow. These new industries do not compensate for the sacrifices demanded, for the Soviets are not capable of maintaining them upon a business footing. It is uncertain what will be the value of the Dneprostroy in the future, but at present full use is not made of the energy obtained from this vast hydro-electric station. In short, the economic situation in Ukraine is altogether lamentable.

The Soviet Government is well aware of this and keeps the population under the closest observation. Many thousands have been shot for rebellion against the régime of occupation, as "kulaks" who would not accept collectivisation. Many thousands have been deported northwards to the neighbourhood of the White Sea, where they have been compelled to work under inhuman conditions in the forests or in constructing the canal which now unites the Baltic and White Seas.

This situation only strengthens the resolve of the Ukrainians to recover their independence. The traditions of the Cossack period, of the Ukrainian Republic in the days of Bohdan Hmelnietsky and of Mazeppa, have not been forgotten. The Ukrainian national renaiss-

sance of the 19th century raised the problem of autonomy. Today two ideas compete with each other—the reorganisation of Russia on a federal basis, and complete Ukrainian independence. Up till 1917 it was the former which predominated: an understanding with Russia was still regarded as possible. The year 1917 brought the first disillusionment. The Communist régime has definitely compromised the whole idea of federation. Independence is now the sole watchword of Ukrainian opinion.

It is necessary to create a stable and well-defined frontier between Russia and Ukraine, with a view to defence against the secular claims of Moscow, to oppose an obstacle to all the maladies of the huge body of the Russian Empire—maladies of reaction, of communism, etc.¹ Political and economic independence, without excluding the possibility of amicable collaboration with all neighbouring peoples, alone offers a guarantee of liberty and normal development for the Ukrainian nation. Such is the standpoint of all Ukrainian parties and politicians, and of the whole people.

It must now be asked on what the Ukrainians found their hopes, and whether the restoration of their independence rests on real foundations. They are very optimistic, and give the following answers to these questions.

1. The present régime in USSR is not a stable one. The criticisms to which it has been subjected ever since its establishment still remain fully justified. It has not succeeded in solving its principal task; for the life of the workmen and peasants, instead of greatly improving, has become miserable and disastrous. They were promised paradise—they find themselves in the very opposite condition. What, then, is it that enables the régime to maintain itself under such conditions? Three main causes can be detected—the enormous passivity of the Russian people, the great skill shown in organising the necessary instruments of oppression (Cheka, OGPU, etc.), and the assistance given to Moscow from abroad.

To the first of these causes, Russian passivity, may be opposed the extreme nervousness and constant tendency towards revolt among the border peoples—Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, etc.—representing a total of 60 millions. For the present, separated by wide distances, closely watched by the very numerous Soviet police, they do not move; but it is easy to anticipate a formidable explosion at the suitable moment.

Secondly, the police organisations—OGPU and what has taken

¹ In the opinion of many it is precisely the question of frontiers, their demarcation and their defence, that makes this solution impracticable. —B.P.

its place—have known how to benefit by the experience of the old Tsarist policy, and at the same time that of the revolutionaries—to study these methods intelligently and to apply them without mercy. The system of provocation and of terror has given rise to a horde of secret agents who penetrate everywhere and know everything. By a special educational method recruits are collected among the children, while among the young Communist “pioneers” excellent agents are found, who often do not hesitate to report to their chiefs even what passes in the family, or to betray their own parents. There is no lack of brute force to suppress any occasional outbreak.

In Ukraine and the other border countries the regiments are always reinforced by soldiers from Russia proper and other remoter districts of the Union, and the army of occupation is always on the watch for rebellion. It is difficult to fight against an enemy so armed, but at the first foreign complications, the arms supplied to the population on mobilisation will assuredly be turned against the enemies of national liberty. The withdrawal of the troops of occupation, if they had to meet a foreign foe, might well be the signal for a general rising of the border peoples.

Thirdly, there remains the question of foreign assistance, which has contributed greatly towards upholding the régime. The collaboration established by the Treaty of Rapallo has had enormous results; indeed it was thanks to it that the Five Year Plan could be conceived, and that a reality could be made of the Red Army and of Russian aviation. So long as one group of states or another desires the support of the USSR, so long as the peoples of Western Europe are disunited, the third party will continue to rejoice: and the Soviets have been able to prolong their revolutionary existence.

It lies outside the scope of this article to consider the burning question whether an understanding between these different Powers is altogether impossible. But it is at least possible to affirm that if the Soviet Union should once be involved in a war, no external aid would be of much assistance. The experience of 1905 and 1917 has shown that a war is almost always disastrous for the Russian Empire. The enemy is as little in a position to conquer its vast spaces as in the days of Napoleon: but the real danger lies at home, and has been rendered all the more acute by the régime of the last sixteen years. A revolt of the Russian people and above all of the oppressed nations—this spectre always haunts the rulers of the Kremlin and imposes upon them, at any rate for the present, an ultra-pacific foreign policy.

2. If, then, the Soviet régime is not to be regarded as stable, it is not that régime which at the right moment will prevent the

restoration of Ukrainian independence. The suggestion that other forces exist which might attach Ukraine to Russia, is altogether denied by Ukrainian politicians. The present unity of USSR is solely due to terror and military force. The Tartars, Cossacks, Karelians, White Russians are not a whit more loyal to Moscow. The moment the régime falls, a general dislocation will logically follow.² For the successors of the Bolsheviks to establish a fresh régime of oppression will be a still more difficult task than that of Lenin and Trotsky in 1919. The oppressed peoples would be more resolved than ever after these sixteen years, not to remain in bondage. Tsarist Russia was the creation of long centuries, but it could not crush the national spirit of all these subject races, while their national consciousness is far stronger today than in the nineteenth century, and Russia, exhausted by the long communist experiment, would be less able to impose her will on them.

3. If all the subject races of USSR have made great progress in the matter of national consciousness, this is especially true of the Ukrainian people. If in 1917, without possessing a single school of its own, it was able to organise a new state and offer a strong resistance to the preponderant and far better organised forces of its enemies, it will certainly be all the better able to resume the struggle after a period when the Ukrainian school has functioned (at any rate after a fashion) and in spite of all drawbacks has created a generation brought up at least in the *literary* tradition of Ukraine. The national school is an excellent antidote to the dogma of unrestricted internationalism. In 1917-19 all the elections in Ukraine—for instance for the Constituent of the whole Empire, and then for the Ukrainian Constituent—gave eighty per cent. of votes for Ukrainian nationalist parties: and the proportion would probably be still higher in the case of free elections today. In 1917, in 1920, in 1921, and even as late as 1922, the Ukrainian army under Simon Petlyura, without any help from outside, was able to resist all the onslaughts of the Red armies commanded by General Frunze. The Soviets required to place nearly a million men under arms in order to overcome the resistance of a small regular Ukrainian army and of the insurgent masses scattered throughout the country.

In subsequent years the passive resistance to grain requisitioning and to collectivisation was specially energetic in Ukraine: there is no part of the Union where Moscow has had to encounter so many difficulties. Every year the Soviets undertake the "purging" of the Communist party in Ukraine and of all their institutions, by

² This forecast is strongly challenged by many:—Ed.

expelling the Ukrainian "nationalists," or "Petlyurians" as they are called. Every year it is announced that nationalism has been "liquidated" in Ukraine, and every year they resume the struggle, thus recognising that all is not in perfect order. Such perseverance in opposition to the régime proves that Ukrainian popular sentiment is very deeply rooted. Thus the belief in future independence rests on a triple basis—the instability of the Soviet régime, the impossibility of its successors restoring the unity of the Empire, and the firm will of the Ukrainian people itself.

The problem of independence is however further complicated by the question of the extent of territory comprised under the name of Ukraine. In this article we have been considering the régime under Soviet rule—in other words "the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic" and certain districts with a Ukrainian majority lying farther to the East. But there are over seven million Ukrainians outside the Soviet Union—in Roumania, Czechoslovakia, and above all Poland, which includes nearly six out of these seven millions, in Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, and the districts adjacent to the USSR. Formerly Volhynia formed part of the independent Ukraine, and East Galicia, after breaking away from Austria in 1918, formed the "West Ukrainian Republic," which entered a federal union with Greater Ukraine.

In 1919, while the Ukrainian army led by Petlyura was fighting the Red troops, the army of Eastern Galicia was overpowered by Polish Legions, and its country conquered by Poland. Petlyura was left without munitions, without contact with the outside world, ringed in by hostile forces. He understood that if such a situation continued, there could be no real hope of Ukrainian independence, and that a choice must be made between East and West. In other words, he must either agree with Moscow and by its aid recover the western territories of Ukraine, but in that case it would be necessary to abandon the idea of independence and to remain at the mercy of Moscow: or at all costs he must come to terms with the West, and in particular with his neighbours, Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia. The Treaty which Petlyura signed with Poland in 1920, was an act of great importance in Ukrainian history. He did not renounce the moral claim upon these western lands, but at the same time he did not hesitate to recognise the existing frontiers, which corresponded more or less with the line established at Riga in 1921 between Poland and Soviet Russia (with this difference that the frontiers of 1920 were recognised as partly provisional). As for Eastern Galicia, its fate was at this time in the hands of an international tribunal, the Council

of Ambassadors The representatives of East Galicia hoped that the judgment would be in their favour and that they would obtain provisional independence. In the conditions in which the government and army of Ukraine then found themselves—hard pressed on all sides by the Russians—there was no possibility whatsoever of Petlyura recovering Eastern Galicia, and he was obliged to do what its own representatives had done and leave a solution of the problem to the international forum In 1923, the Council of Ambassadors announced its decision; but so far from giving satisfaction to the Ukrainians, the whole of Galicia was assigned to Poland.

For some years this problem of Eastern Galicia had become as it were the neuralgic point of Ukrainian policy, paralysing the will of the nation in its struggle against Moscow. The disaster which overcame the Government of the democratic Ukrainian Republic in 1920, when after the Polish armistice with Moscow it was left alone in face of a powerful enemy, provoked strong criticism, above all against Simon Petlyura. Looking back upon these events in calmer retrospect, we may recognise that Petlyura performed the impossible in defence of his country in a really disastrous situation The people understood him better than the politicians, and made of him even in his lifetime a legendary hero, to whom his tragic death gave the halo of martyrdom. Today his name has become the symbol of independence, and even his political opponents show respect for his memory. But at the time of the treaty of 1920 criticism was of the harshest.

The situation in East Galicia was indeed gloomy. There was no agreement with the Polish Government, at that time the promised autonomy was not accorded, the Ukrainian University remained a mere project, the number of Ukrainian schools steadily diminished : and these facts formed the basis of conflict between the partisans of a national Ukrainian Government and their opponents. The former continued to argue that an understanding with the West was the only possible basis for a struggle against Moscow, and that "if again we are hedged in on all sides by enemies, we should be ruined as in 1919." In reply, the latter painted a black picture of the situation in Galicia and Volhynia.

Those who favoured co-operation with the West and consequently with Poland, answered that they did not deny the need for a struggle in defence of legitimate rights, in Galicia and Volhynia no less than elsewhere. They argued that all legal means must be employed for improving step by step the situation of this powerful Ukrainian minority, but that to raise the question of these frontiers seemed absolutely impossible. Besides, the creation of a Ukrainian state

on the Dnieper would *ipso facto* solve the problem of the minorities, who would thus at least obtain a powerful protector and find themselves in a more favourable position.

This discussion dragged on for years. But both in Ukraine, and among the political refugees throughout the world, moderate and reasonable ideas gained the upper hand. The nervous attitude of Moscow, the political trials directed against "Petlyurians," the speeches and articles of Soviet leaders, testify to the importance attached in the country itself to the realist views of the national Ukrainian Government.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Europe and Asia form a federation, or supreme Council, of local organisations in eleven countries, thus including almost 80 per cent. of all the exiles. The successive congresses of this organisation—the last of which was held at Prague in 1934—showed very clearly the ardent support accorded to the ideas and action of the exiled government.

Finally there has been a certain change of outlook at Lwów itself since 1932. Formerly the whole attention of the politicians in East Galicia was directed against Poland and her minorities policy : while the attitude, even of the more moderate section, towards Soviet Ukraine, was far from clear. There was even a current which based certain hopes upon the Soviets in their struggle against Poland. But since 1932, and especially in 1933, public opinion in Galicia, while maintaining its opposition to Polish policy at home, has taken up an openly hostile attitude towards Moscow. Two facts created a decisive impression—the suicide of Skrypnyk in July 1933 and the famine in Ukraine during the summer of that year.

Skrypnyk was one of the most prominent personalities among the Communists of Ukraine, known as an Old Bolshevik, a friend of Lenin and at the same time a man who supported, or at least assured a certain latitude to, Ukrainian nationalism. But Stalin delegated his *alter ego*, Postychev, a Russian, as Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine : and this man became its dictator, conducting a merciless struggle against all those Communists who in his opinion were merely nationalists in disguise. Party "purges," dismissals, arrests, deportations and capital punishments terrorised the population. Skrypnyk also was attacked, and being unwilling to yield, shot himself through the head.

The other decisive factor for Galician opinion was the terrible famine of 1933. The harrowing letters which came from across the Soviet frontier, the stories told by those who managed to cross the frontier, horrified everyone. "The famine," it was said on all sides,

"is the result of a deliberate policy of the Soviet Government. Moscow aims at the physical destruction and enfeeblement of the Ukrainian people. Moscow is the real enemy."

A committee of assistance for the victims of Soviet famine was formed in Lwów, and Ukrainian deputies in the Polish Diet came to Geneva during the 14th Assembly of the League, and undertook a joint *démarche* with the delegate of the exiled Ukrainian Government and with representatives of Bukovina and other Ukrainian organisations. A common front was set up to combat the famine.

In the same way in 1934 a protest against the admission of the USSR to the League of Nations was presented by all the Ukrainian organisations in Europe and America, and hundreds of telegrams and letters poured into Geneva. The most important were the memorandum of the exiled government and the protest of the Ukrainian deputies of Eastern Galicia.

The exiled government continues to be the centre of Ukrainian effort for the liberation from Moscow, while the deputies remain the chief defenders of the Ukrainian cause in Poland. No formal agreement exists between these groups, but pending the possible convocation of a Pan-Ukrainian Congress, a moral entente does incontestably exist, and it is tacitly recognised that the key to the Ukrainian question is to be found at Kiev. Without in the least neglecting Ukrainian rights in Poland, Roumania and elsewhere, the main effort must be concentrated upon the essential task of the present generation—the achievement of independence and the detachment of the Great Ukraine from Moscow.

This summary would not be complete without a reference to the group which regards Mr. Skoropadski as hereditary Hetman of Ukraine. But his adherents are not only insignificant in number, but in the main passive: indeed in fourteen years of exile their only real activity has been the publication of a review in English during 1932-33, and this has now been discontinued.

The great mass of the nation prefers the principle laid down by the Ukrainian government in exile, and in particular by its chief, Andrew Livitsky: namely, an entente between all parties—democratic, monarchist, socialist and fascist—for the liberation of the country from the control of Moscow. It is only in a free Ukraine that the people will have the right to choose its form of government. In the meantime it is well to avoid premature discussions, such as would merely injure the prospects of liberation.

ALEXANDER SHULGIN.

RUTHENES, CZECHS AND SLOVAKS (I)

WHEN on 28 October, 1918, the separation of the Czechs and Slovaks from the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the birth of an independent Czechoslovak State were enthusiastically welcomed in Prague, there can have been few people who connected Carpathian Ruthenia with these rejoicings, for few could have guessed that this territory, situated so far from Prague and hence very little known there, was to become a constituent part of the new State. In the pre-war period there was no lack of interest among the Czechs with regard to the Ruthenes of Hungary and a number of Czech and Slovak politicians were actually in personal touch with its political leaders. This interest, however, was able to express itself only by manifestations of sympathy with the sufferings of the Slav population there—as, for example, during the Marmaroš treason trial in 1914. During the war, too, the leaders of the Czech and Slovak Opposition movement confined themselves to following the events in those Slav areas of the old Hungary. It did not enter their minds that the Ruthenes would be incorporated in any future State which they might succeed in establishing, for the simple reason that in the early part of the War it was Tsarist Russia which laid claim to that particular territory. Only when the Bolshevik revolution removed this obstacle was it possible for them to develop any active political co-operation there, and this was the origin of the scheme for incorporating Carpathian Ruthenia in the independent Czechoslovak State which, at the end of the War, was actually carried out.

This was a considerable surprise to a large section of the Czechoslovak public who had no detailed knowledge of the original reasons for adopting this plan. Many regarded it as a provisional arrangement which, in the course of time, would be superseded. Quite recently, however, Dr. Beneš himself, in his speech on this problem, made this very emphatic declaration: "The future of Carpathian Ruthenia has been settled and finally settled for centuries to come," and he also explained why Czechoslovakia would never surrender that territory and why it would not tolerate any revisionism in that question. On this point Dr. Beneš said: "As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, this is first and foremost a matter of its pride and honour as a state and nation. The Peace Conference entrusted to it the destiny of the people of Carpathian Ruthenia, whose national existence it was to protect, whose cultural

and social welfare it was to promote, and for whom it was to prepare the way for better conditions of life. The Peace Conference entrusted this territory to Czechoslovakia, rightly realising that by this course it would once and for all remove from Central Europe the difficulties, disputes and struggles which would inevitably have fallen to the lot of Carpathian Ruthenia if any other solution had been adopted. Moreover, the Peace Conference, with a proper comprehension of the future development of Central Europe, desired to grant Czechoslovakia certain international political possibilities of vital importance to its co-operation with Roumania and to Central Europe as a whole. These tasks and these duties towards Carpathian Ruthenia will be fulfilled by Czechoslovakia come what may, just as it will not surrender any of the rights which the Peace Treaties assigned to it concerning Carpathian Ruthenia."

This very explicit declaration, expressing the view of all responsible Czechoslovak authorities, should suffice to dispose of every doubt regarding the continued inclusion of Ruthenia in the Republic. This does not imply, however, that we should not deal with any reasonable objections which may be made to this arrangement. Some of them were already discussed by Prof. Dvorský in an essay written in 1925, mainly from a geographical point of view. He there stated that "the bonds which united Carpathian Ruthenia to the Hungarian State were exceptionally strong" because of "century-old political unity . . . and numerous natural economic ties." Moreover, he added that "hydrographically, the territory forms part of the Pannonian basin into which it opens, and on the North it is enclosed by a mountain frontier." He further stated that "the whole conception of the Hungarian State as a uniform territory, even with a heterogeneous population, was capable of great vitality, so that nobody would have disturbed it if the Magyars themselves had not spoiled its chances by their own policy." It was only because the Magyar conception was impaired, so far as Slovakia and Transylvania were concerned, by the separation of these territories from Hungary, that the way was open for the separation of Ruthenia also. For, remarked M. Dvorský, "the future of Carpathian Ruthenia cannot be separated from that of Slovakia"; and he substantiated this view by describing it as a geographical whole which "lacks a natural frontier only on one side, and that is the Czechoslovak side," where "it merges with Eastern Slovakia without any distinguishable demarcations." This circumstance alone, added Prof. Dvorský, makes it evident that there is a geographical justification for making Ruthenia a com-

inhabitants of all this territory are referred to, in the records, as Bulgarians or Bulgarian Slavs, and it seems that they were real Bulgarians, and not merely other Slavs subject to their rule. Although the first account in our possession dates from the 9th century, it is possible that they were settled there much earlier. After Carpathia was added to Hungary in the reign of St. Stephen at the beginning of the 11th century, all reports about these Carpathian Bulgarians ceased. Professor Chaloupecký, of the University of Bratislava, who has recently made very detailed research into these questions, has expressed his opinion on them as follows :—

“ The territory in which the Slavs make their appearance so soon after leaving what had been their ancient home from primitive times, fell for the greater part a victim to Magyarisation, and the Bulgarian Slavs probably met with the same fate as their fellow tribesmen in the west, on the Baltic and the lower Elbe. After the Magyars had arrived in Pannonia and had gained sway over the regions situated to the south of Carpathia, these Slavs were continually exposed to new onslaughts from their neighbours, as a result of which they were gradually wiped out. This process took place all the more quickly because the marshy area of Carpathia was only very thinly populated by their settlements, and after their union with Hungary new races (such as Germans, Magyars, Kumans, Russians, Wallachs, Czechs and Slovaks) began to penetrate there. Among these the former Bulgarian population rapidly disappeared and left permanent traces only in a number of place-names and in numerous Bulgarian words which passed into Magyar and Roumanian.

Almost at the same time as the references to the Bulgarian Slavs disappear throughout the region of the Upper Theiss (Tisza), the historical sources begin to mention Russian Slavs in this area. This might produce the misleading impression that the inhabitants had not actually changed, but that they had merely received a different designation—in other words, that the Slav settlers in Carpathia were formerly called Bulgarian Slavs so long as they were under the rule of the Bulgarian Empire, but that when this rule came to an end they were called by a name which indicated their origin. Such an assumption would denote that the oldest known inhabitants of Carpathia were not Bulgarians but Russian Slavs. This conjecture, however, which is contradicted by the traces of a former Bulgarian settlement in Carpathia, already referred to, is scarcely tenable. There can be no doubt that, from the first half

of the 11th century mention is made of Russians or Ruthenes in the upper area of the Theiss, and from the beginning of the 13th century we have quite definite evidence of Ruthene colonisation in this area. Side by side with it, of course, proceeded the settlement of other colonists, particularly Magyars, Germans and Czechoslovaks. Hence the region adjoining the upper Theiss, and particularly the territory of present-day Carpathian Ruthenia was, as Professor Chaloupecký rightly points out, "not only Slav long before the arrival of the Magyars, but the centre of later settlements by new Slav elements from the neighbouring areas, such as Czechoslovaks from the West and particularly Ruthenes from the North. This penetration of Slav elements into the upper region of the Theiss is older than the settlement of the Magyar and kindred tribes in that region. The Carpathian mountain districts were, it is true, colonised only as late as the 13th and 14th centuries, and to some extent even later, but the region beneath the mountains was settled in by Slavs before the Magyars came, and, in particular, before the Magyars ruled this region under St. Stephen." Prof. Chaloupecký sums up the significance of all these facts as follows: "If it is possible to speak of historical rights in the sense of the first-comers who occupied any particular areas, then such rights must not only be assigned to the Slavs before the Magyars, but also to those Slavs who have still maintained themselves against the latter, at least in the more northerly regions of the upper Theiss area. It is possible that many of them are not the direct descendants of the Bulgarian and Ruthene Slavs from the 10th to the 12th centuries, and indeed the majority of them emigrated to Hungary as colonists only at a later period under Magyar rule, but, nevertheless, it is possible to provide historical proof of the continuity of an older Slav and Russian settlement in Carpathia dating back to the pre-Magyar era."

In view of various biased accounts of the racial conditions in former Hungary, we are certainly entitled to emphasise this historical fact, although we ourselves would agree with the opinion of the late Professor A. Petrov, the Russian scholar who made the history of Carpathian Ruthenia a subject of special research, that the priority of settlement on the part of a nation in any particular territory is no criterion of its political right to that territory. This point of view repudiates the principle that a nation which settled in a certain territory a thousand years ago could be granted the historical right to it, while a second nation which arrived there only 700 years ago could be declared as belonging to a lower order and

living only on tolerance, obliged in racial questions to give way to the former and even perhaps to surrender its nationality and, little by little, to be merged in the older nation.

It is not without interest that the old Slav territory of Carpathia, even at the early Bulgarian epoch, was in touch with its Czechoslovak neighbours. When in 892 the German King Arnulf summoned the Bulgarian King Vladimir not to permit the import of salt from his domain to the Great Moravian Empire, this provides us with evidence that the latter State must have obtained supplies of salt from the upper region of the Theiss which at that time was governed by Bulgarians. Moreover, from the 11th century onwards we have ample details about the migration of Czech and Slovak colonists to those regions. The fall of the Great Moravian Empire and the permanent inclusion of Slovakia in the kingdom of Hungary brought about conditions which proved a serious obstacle to any further contacts between Russian Carpathia and the Czechoslovak nation, the western branch of which, the Bohemians and Moravians, were living in a country which both geographically and politically was very remote from this eastern portion of the Hungarian kingdom, while the Slovaks, living in that same kingdom, just as the Russian Carpathians, and with settlements adjacent to theirs, being dependent upon the ruling Magyar element, had no chance to initiate any political movement of their own. It is well known that the Czech Přemysl dynasty, amongst whom the memory of Great Moravia had scarcely been allowed to decay, showed on more than one occasion considerable interest in the fate of Slovakia. We also know that Prince Břetislav I, in particular, went to Slovakia in the first half of the 11th century, and the great King Přemysl Otakar II, in the second half of the 13th century, made a deliberate attempt to annex Slovakia to the Czech state by means of two military campaigns there. All these campaigns, however, only had Western Slovakia as their objective, not its eastern regions, still less the neighbouring territory of Carpathia, in which neither of the two Přemysls showed any interest. But the brief reign of the last of the Přemysls, Václav III, in Hungary, which made Slovakia temporarily independent under the rule of the Palatine of Trenčín, Matúš Čák, did to some extent affect Russian Carpathia also. This selfish and ambitious magnate first of all associated himself with King Václav, from whom he received, in hereditary ownership, the castle of Trenčín and the whole neighbouring country. Later, he deserted the Czech king for his opponent Charles Robert, and taking advantage of the internal

troubles in Hungary, ruled over nearly the whole of Slovakia until his death in 1321. The wars which he waged with the Hungarian king for the preservation of his authority were fought also on the territory of Carpathian Ruthenia, particularly in the district of Užhorod, where Čák had adherents.

Incidentally, there was no independent political activity in Carpathian Ruthenia. From the time of its first incorporation in Hungary its territory formed part of a large military area adjoining the north-eastern frontier which, like the "marches" of the German Empire, was under the charge of members of the royal family. Its political centre was Bychar, while its ecclesiastical government was at Great Varadín. Later on Ruthenia, like Slovakia, simply became part of the Hungarian "comitat" or county structure, and not being a separate juridical and political unit, possessed no political history of its own. It was not until recent times, from the middle of the 18th century onwards, that artificial attempts were made to establish something of the sort. On the basis of isolated reports discovered in sources which are of doubtful authenticity or have been interpreted inaccurately, something like a history of Carpathian Ruthenia was, little by little, put together. Its nucleus was the doctrine that the Russians or Ruthenes who settled beneath the Carpathians, if not actually before the arrival of the Magyars in Hungary, at least contemporaneously with them, possessed as early as the beginning of the 11th century their own autonomous territory, known as "the Russian region or the Ukraine," and administered by native Dukes. The main hero of this artificially constructed history, the continuity of which, it is contended, was interrupted only at the end of the 15th century with the abolition of their privileged status, was Feodor Korjatovič, the alleged duke of Mukačevo. The charter of this princeling was dated 1360, but, as we now know, it was a forgery dating from the second half of the 16th and re-copied at the end of the 18th century. This document was recognised as genuine by the Government and formed one of the fundamental pillars of this artificial structure. Feodor Korjatovič himself, it should be added, was a historical personage and by no means insignificant. He was the Prince of Russian Podolia, which in the 14th century was under Lithuanian suzerainty. When Witold, the first Grand Duke of Lithuania and the cousin of King Wladislaw Jagiellon of Poland, subjected the vassal principalities of Lithuania, which till then had been administered by their own princes, to his direct rule, Feodor was compelled to leave Podolia in 1393, and found a refuge in Hungary. He was

received there by Sigismund of Luxemburg, then King of Hungary, who conferred upon him the rulership of Mukačevo : and this continued beneath his sway until he died in 1414. In addition to this, he was also chief governor of two Hungarian "comitats." Even during his residence in Hungary Korjatovič called himself "Prince of Podolia by the Grace of God," but his rule over Mukačevo lasted only for the term of his life, and his position there was the same as that of other Hungarian magnates on their landed property. As a prince of the Orthodox faith he doubtless watched over the religious needs of his Orthodox subjects, and it would seem that he either founded the monastery of Mukačevo or at least contributed towards its upkeep. This, however, could not have been carried out under the terms of the charter of 1360, which did not originate until the second half of the 16th century, when the monks of Mukačevo, deprived of their property by the rulers there, endeavoured by means of a forged document to recover what they had lost. It was this document which later on gave rise to the legend of Feodor as Duke of Mukačevo, successor of the earlier dukes of the Russian region, coloniser and founder of monasteries.

At that period any real intellectual life of the native Slav population in Ruthenia could hardly be said to exist. It could not develop for the simple reason that the social and economic position of the people was very precarious. Apart from the clergy, they consisted, for the greater part, only of small farmers and cattle grazers. These were completely the vassals of their foreign, mainly Magyar, overlords, on whom the Hungarian kings lavishly bestowed land in Carpathia, entrusting to them also the control of the castles which formed the political and economic centres of the region, and upon these foreign masters the surrounding population was entirely dependent. There were scarcely any Russian magnates on the territory of Ruthenia. Such few as did make their appearance there were temporary sojourners whose interests lay outside Hungary. If there were any individual cases of Carpathian natives who improved their position sufficiently to be received at Court, they became estranged from their native origin and were submerged among the rest of the racially nondescript Hungarian nobility. A few nobles of Russian origin, recruited from among those who had served the King and the Princes in a military or some other capacity, did not differ very markedly from the simple peasant folk.

From the end of the 12th century there began to come into existence in the western and southern districts a number of villages

established by German colonists and enjoying various privileges and concessions. This colonisation did not penetrate into the remaining parts of Carpathian Ruthenia until the 14th century, and a considerable portion of its north-eastern area still remained almost unpopulated for a long time after that. On the whole, German colonisation did not encroach nearly so far in the economic and social sphere as in the Czech provinces or in Slovakia, where it had begun much earlier and developed on much more extensive lines, and while both in Slovakia and Bohemia the German colonists established Royal Free Towns which were of very great significance, no such process took place in Carpathia. If it is remembered what a large number of these royal towns were founded in Bohemia and Moravia during the 12th and 14th centuries, and if, moreover, it is borne in mind that in Slovakia during the 14th century no fewer than five such towns were founded, as well as a number of mining towns and twenty-four purely German communities in the Spiš (Zips) area, we shall realise what a loss it meant to Ruthenia that hardly anything similar came into existence there. The German colonists undeniably contributed greatly to the economic and social progress of Slovakia and brought conditions there to some extent into line with those in Bohemia and Moravia; but this only served to intensify existing divergencies between these regions and Carpathia. And while in this colonising movement a very strong influence of the Czech lands manifested itself in Slovakia, particularly in mining activities, this influence was unable to make itself felt among the Ruthenes. Indeed, this territory scarcely felt the effects of what was known in Slovakia as "Czech law," but what actually was the German legal system, introduced from Bohemia and Moravia, and to the effect of which is to be attributed the more tolerable development of serfdom in Slovakia than in the rest of Hungary. This German colonist law did, in actual fact, penetrate to Ruthenia, but it could not exert so strong an influence there as in the Czech areas and in Slovakia.

(To be concluded.)

KAMIL KROFTA

CARPATHIAN RUTHENIA

IN 1918, just after the war, an Italian newspaper referred to Carpathian Ruthenia as the peep-hole of Central Europe, because it was through this small region that Russia viewed what was happening beyond her western borders. This metaphor expresses the importance of this section of former Hungary in its bearings upon the destinies of Europe. This is why it formed the subject of many proposals at the Peace Conference. The Magyars demanded that it should remain incorporated in Hungary, and with this object in view they granted autonomy to the Ruthenes by Law X of 27 December, 1918. Roumania claimed, in accordance with historical right, the southern portion of Carpathian Ruthenia (Marmaroš), which was formerly populated by Roumanians. The Federated Ukraine, and later, the Western Ukraine, likewise laid claim to Carpathian Ruthenia on the basis of racial kinship, and a proposal was also put forward for establishing a kind of Carpathian Switzerland, founded upon a cantonal organisation.

All these proposals were rejected in favour of President Wilson's scheme, which had been elaborated at the request of the Ruthenes themselves by President Masaryk and Dr. Beneš. By this it was decided that the Ruthenes of Hungary were not to be divided up, but that their territory was to be joined intact to the Czechoslovak Republic. This arrangement was made after a plebiscite had been carried out among the Ruthene emigrants in America, about 500,000 in number, who were able more freely to express their wishes as to where Carpathian Ruthenia should be incorporated. The majority of these Ruthenes, comprising 75 per cent. of the total number, approved of the proposal that Carpathian Ruthenia as an autonomous whole should be joined to the Czechoslovak State. This proposal was sanctioned on 8 May, 1919, by the Central National Council of Ruthenes in Carpathian Ruthenia, and a resolution to this effect was presented by a deputation of 100 members to President Masaryk in Prague on 22 May, 1919.

Thus, after centuries of oppression, the Ruthenes were established as an autonomous whole in a Slavonic State and complete national freedom was assured them, both in the Peace Treaty and also in the Czechoslovak Constitutional Charter. Since then the regeneration of the people of Carpathian Ruthenia has advanced in all possible aspects and particularly in the sphere of education.

Politically, Ruthenia now forms one of the four provinces comprising the Czechoslovak State, at the head of which is President Masaryk; but the autonomy secured to it by the Constitution of 1920 has not yet taken effect in actual practice. This is in the

interests of the Ruthenes themselves, and is the express wish of the Ruthene National Council, because it has not yet been possible to complete the foundations on which political autonomy would necessarily rest. In this respect it should be remembered that before 1918 practically the only schools provided for the Ruthenes were Magyar ones, in which the children were deprived of their national feeling. As a result there was, on the one hand, a very large percentage of illiteracy and, on the other, a small modicum of Magyarised intellectuals, but hardly anyone who was capable of representing Ruthene national interests.

Carpathian Ruthenia is, for the greater part, populated by settlers who belong to the Little Russian stock; and a part of its present territory was colonised even before the arrival of the Magyars in the Danubian lowlands. Historical records refer to the "*Marchia Ruthenorum*," the last Prince of which was Laborets, with his seat of government at Užhorod. After the arrival of the Magyars, Prince Laborets was deposed, and for 300 years afterwards one member of the Royal Magyar House bore the title *Dux Ruthenorum*. The circumstance that the dialects of the Ruthenes are divided into two main groups shows that they entered the Carpathian area not at once, but in several detachments—the most important probably in the middle of the 13th century, at the time when the Tartars over ran Poland and Hungary. In the 14th century Prince Fedor Korjatovič reached Hungary from Ukraine with about forty to sixty thousand people, as a result of an agreement with the Magyar King Louis the Great. Through his arrival the Ruthene element in the Carpathian area was considerably strengthened.

The disputes between the Habsburg dynasty and the Magyars had no little effect on the Ruthene population also, for from time to time the Crown supported the cultural efforts of the non-Magyar nations for the purpose of weakening the power of the Magyar magnates. At that time the ecclesiastical conditions of the Ruthenes had been satisfactorily adjusted, and Maria Theresa presented to the Orthodox Church the suppressed Jesuit Monastery at Užhorod, as well as a number of large landed estates. A little later, a teachers' seminary was also opened at Užhorod.

The 19th century marks the beginnings of the Magyarisation of Ruthene cultural institutions. Owing to the fact that the Ruthenes were not of any political significance, they declined both in a cultural and material respect. In the second half of the 19th century this process had continued to such an alarming extent that the people emigrated in masses to North America, where they are still almost

as numerous as those who remained at home. This period, too, marks also a moral decline of the Ruthene people. In Carpathian Ruthenia there were no societies or organisations for their advancement, except a printing concern at Užhorod which issued a Ruthene weekly newspaper, and such conditions provided a favourable ground for the numerous Jewish taverns which demoralised the people with alcohol. Most of the business was in the hands of the Jews, and the Ruthenes could only obtain credit from usurers. The schools and government departments were entirely Magyarised. Before the war not a single Ruthene higher elementary, secondary or technical school was in existence. It is safe to say that the rescue of this section of the Slavs was only carried out in the nick of time, thanks to the victory of democratic principles.

Since 1918 the Ruthenes have made unquestionable advances both in the cultural and political sphere. This can be shown best by means of statistics. Under the old régime every census marked a reduction in the number of the Ruthenes, because all who had any knowledge of the Magyar language were counted as Magyars. Owing to the purely Magyar schools, the knowledge of the Magyar language made rapid strides, especially from the end of the 19th century onwards. The census of 1840 records the number of Ruthenes as having been 442,903, while in 1880 this was reduced to 353,229, of whom about 300,000 inhabited the territory now known as Carpathian Ruthenia. According to the Magyar statistics of 1910, the total number of Ruthenes in Hungary was 464,270. The first census carried out by the Czechoslovak authorities was in 1921, and according to the figures then obtained, the population of Carpathian Ruthenia amounted to 604,539, distributed as follows: 372,500 Ruthenes, 103,690 Magyars, 79,715 Jews, 19,775 Czechs and Slovaks, 10,326 Germans, and 10,810 Roumanians. The second census, held in 1930, produced the following figures: Total population—709,315, comprising 447,182 Ruthenes, 108,930 Magyars, 95,509 Jews, 35,157 Czechs and Slovaks, 13,223 Germans, and 12,650 Roumanians. Since 1921, therefore, there has been an increase of 20.05 per cent. among the Ruthene population. There was an increase also in the Magyar population amounting to 5.07 per cent. The three administrative areas containing a considerable percentage of Magyars are Berehová (Béregszász) with 71.51 per cent., Sevljuš (Nagy Szöllos) with 24.43 per cent., and Užhorod with 26.65 per cent. It should be added that besides the Ruthenes in Ruthenia itself there are, in Slovakia, no fewer than 85,628, according to the census of 1921, or 91,079 in 1930 (representing an increase of 6.4 per cent.)

The majority of the population (67 per cent.) is engaged in agriculture, and as the area of arable land there forms only 18·87 per cent. of the whole, the question of Agrarian Reform is particularly important. Before the war the bulk of the land was in the hands either of the big estate owners or of the Government, and the Czechoslovak laws providing for its distribution were enthusiastically welcomed by the population. A small, but typical, example of how necessary these laws were, is provided by the Commune of Nevicke which has a population of a little over 1,000. The total land in their possession amounted to 240 acres, whereas the government-owned estate there comprised no less than 2,400 acres. The average area of land owned per person before the laws were put into operation was only about 1 acre.

This shortage of productive soil brought about a special system of land rents by which a small farmer would undertake all the work on an allotment of land in return for one-third or one-quarter of the harvest. In the most favourable cases the owner would let him have as much as one-half of the total yield. Under the Magyar régime the most that the Government did for the Ruthenes was to lease land to them from some large estates at a low rent; but this concession did not go very far towards solving the problem, because the soil thus made over was in a neglected condition and the tenant could not risk expending labour and money for its improvement, as he had no guarantee that he would be left in possession of it for any length of time.

The first step taken by the Czechoslovak Government to help the farmers in Ruthenia was to issue an enactment in May, 1921, guaranteeing to them pasturage for cattle. Pasture committees were set up at the various district administrative offices for allotting an appropriate area of pasturage out of the landed estates, and practical steps were taken to improve its quality on scientific lines.

In the early stages of the application of the Agrarian Reform Act, when detailed maps of the available areas for distribution had not yet been drawn, the land was allotted in the form of compulsory leases. Thus, as far back as 1921 under this system 29,000 applicants received 6,000 hectares of arable soil, 4,050 hectares of meadow land, and 30,000 hectares of pasture, the total area of land available for distribution being nearly 1,600,000 hectares. Up to the end of 1933 more than 31,000 hectares had been allotted to 20,000 applicants, while about 10,000 hectares were sold to 9,000 tenants. The area of agricultural land still remaining for distribution amounts to 30,000 hectares. The desire for land was so strong in Ruthenia,

that the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Act had to be applied to State property, while in certain regions forest areas had to be transformed into agricultural land.

Under the Magyar régime the co-operative movement had been neglected among the Ruthenes. Towards the end of the 19th century, Bishop Fircak, of the "Greek Catholic" or Uniat Church, drew attention to the great economic distress prevailing among his people, and as a result of his representations the first germ of a co-operative system came into existence. The basis was formed by credit and productive societies, the purpose of which was to protect the people from usury. When, however, Magyar and Jewish interests in the Press began to point out that this movement was likely to lead to economic progress among the Ruthenes and thus also favour the growth of their racial consciousness, every possible obstacle was placed in the way of the movement.

After the war the Czechoslovak Government did all it could to promote co-operative organisations in Ruthenia. In 1920, the first "Regional Co-operative League," with 72 branches, was established at Užhorod. In 1924, it was greatly extended, and today comprises no less than 418 branches, consisting of 201 credit co-operatives, 115 commodity co-operatives, and 120 of various types. The business centre of this organisation is the association of economic co-operatives at Užhorod, which has branches all over the province.

As regards banking, the Ruthenes had no share whatever in it under the Magyar régime, and the first Ruthene bank was founded at Užhorod in 1920 with a capital of 5 million Czech crowns. This bank received every possible support from the Czechoslovak authorities, and as a result was soon able to extend its activities throughout Ruthenia. The bank affords considerable help to the Ruthenes and has done much to undermine the profiteering which was previously so rife among the population. Apart from granting credit to the people, the bank rendered the greatest services by acting on behalf of the earliest Ruthene commercial undertakings and did much towards consolidating conditions. During the economic crisis this bank found itself in difficulties, and several other Ruthene concerns suffered considerable losses. In order to protect the interests of the Ruthene people, the Czechoslovak Government granted the bank assistance to the amount of 11,000,000 crowns, and in addition promised to place a further 25 million at its disposal in the form of a State deposit, so that it could grant adequate help to the various Ruthene concerns in distress and provide the people with cheap credit.

The backward educational conditions among the Ruthenes

before the war have already been mentioned. In 1913 there were 130,000 children of school age; but the sole provision for their education consisted of 634 elementary schools with 980 teachers, the average number of children per school being thus about 200 and the number of children per teacher about 150. Of these 634 schools, 553 were purely Magyar in character, and even in the remainder the Magyar language was a compulsory subject. As regards the higher categories of schools, they were all entirely Magyar. It is obvious that under these conditions the sole purpose of the schools was to serve as a medium of Magyarisation, and no attention was paid to the racial needs of the Ruthene people.

This state of affairs was fundamentally changed by the Czechoslovak Government. Schools were provided in the various communes according to the respective nationalities as follows :—

				No. of elem. schools	Number of Classes	Number of Pupils.
Ruthene	..	..	...	490	1,823	92,706
Czechoslovak	...	...	...	160	501	20,346
Magyar	...	...	...	114	299	17,715
German	...	...	...	21	38	1,950
Roumanian	...	...	...	4	27	1,412
Jewish	...	...	...	7	13	665
Total	..	...	...	796	2,701	134,794

Today the average number of pupils per school is 169 and the average number of pupils per teacher is 50. The following table shows the position as regards higher elementary schools :—

				Schools.	Classes.	Pupils.
Ruthene	...	...	...	16	105	4,496
Czechoslovak	...	...	...	15	88	3,135
Magyar	...	...	...	3	21	920
Total	...	...	...	34	214	8,561

In addition, there are four secondary schools in Ruthenia, three teachers' training colleges and two commercial academies. Classes for illiterates have also been organised where it was not possible to establish a school. There are still 3,000 children of school age whose educational needs are not fully provided for.

Immediately after the war, the chief obstacle to progress in school work was the linguistic chaos. The older generation of Ruthenes,

in so far as they were educated at all, had attended Magyar schools and had no adequate knowledge of their own language. This state of affairs was exploited by the political parties who were serving the interests of Magyar revisionist propaganda and aimed at spreading confusion among the Ruthenes. The first problem to be settled was to decide which language was to be used in Ruthenia. The three possibilities were Great-Russian, Ukrainian or one of the local dialects. The use of Great-Russian was favoured by the *émigrés* from Russia and some of the Russophil Czechoslovak parties. The Czechoslovak Government was unwilling to intervene in the linguistic disputes of the Ruthenes: but in the interests of consolidation it forwarded to the educational authorities in Ruthenia in 1919 the expert opinion of philologists belonging to the Czech Academy, who held the view that the Ruthenes are of Little-Russian stock and that their literary language should therefore be Ukrainian.

The educational authorities have devoted much attention to the issue of new textbooks for schools, and in this effort they have met with the support of the "Association of Teachers in Carpathian Ruthenia," which has now been working for ten years.

The educational interests of Ruthenia are served not only by the schools, but also by numerous societies, the oldest of which is "Prosvita," founded in 1920. This society possesses 206 reading-rooms, 10 musical circles, and 65 choirs, its total membership being about 15,000. It owns the largest library in Ruthenia containing some 10,000 volumes, and at Užhorod it has its headquarters in the form of a "National Building." In 1920 it organised the first Ruthene theatre, which in 1926 was re-established on co-operative lines. In addition to "Prosvita" there is another organisation known as "Obshchestvo Dukhoviche," which also carries on educational work. It was founded in 1924, and its purpose is to promote a knowledge of the Russian language.

This very brief survey of the economic, political and cultural conditions in Carpathian Ruthenia clearly shows that cultural and political freedom has greatly contributed to the advance of a nation which previously was condemned to decay. Moreover, the progress made by the Ruthenes under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Republic affords ample proof that a policy of genuine democracy and Slavonic brotherhood is being pursued among them.

Užhorod.

AGUSTIN VOLOŠIN.

A SLOVAK POLITICAL IDYLL

I

A SLOVAK mountain village, in the county of Turiec, called "the Garden of Slovakia," where, for a thousand years, the Slovak peasant has sown his crops with the sweat of his brow. A tiny, little-frequented station on the main line from the north towards the Hungarian capital. A wet November day of 1914, a Sunday when millions in all parts of the world are praying for peace. A quiet noonday. The service in the Lutheran church is already over, and the villagers are hastening home to their scanty dinners, thinking of their fathers and sons in the trenches.

After conducting the service, I went slowly to the station, to catch the midday express, for I had to preach again in the afternoon in my own parish a dozen miles away. There were hardly any passengers there. The express only stops there, thanks to the influence of the Szólgabíró,¹ one of the old feudal masters of the county, who lives there. An express is not for poor people, it has no third class.

A peasant woman is in front of me at the ticket office. She asks politely in Slovak for a ticket. The young clerk gives it her without a word. It was my turn at the window, and I, too, asked politely for a ticket, in my native tongue, in the middle of Slovakia.

But the clerk rounded upon me sharply. "How dare you speak Slovak," he called out angrily in Magyar. He no doubt thought such behaviour was his sacred duty, when he saw before him a man who seemed to belong to the educated classes, and yet "dared" to address a Hungarian railway official in Slovak.

I replied, "How dare *you* speak to me like that?" But this was oil upon the flames of his patriotism. A Slovak in Hungary who dares to protest, and who insists on speaking his mother tongue!

"You are an educated man," he shouted angrily. "You must know Magyar. Why do you speak Slovak?"

"That is no concern of yours. You understand me when I speak Slovak. Give me the ticket."

"I won't give you the ticket. You are a Panslav, a suspicious character."

¹ The Stuhlrichter, or all-powerful local administrative official of the old Hungary.

And so it came to a dispute at the window; he spoke Magyar, and I Slovak, and we understood each other quite well.

"You have no right to speak anything but Magyar here; you eat Magyar bread," he shouted.

"If you don't give me the ticket," I replied—this time in Magyar, to make sure that he understood, "I shall make a complaint to the stationmaster."

"O, by all means," the clerk scornfully replied, and slammed the window.

I went to the stationmaster's house close by. A jovial man, with a long pipe in his mouth; he had finished his dinner and was in a good humour. I introduced myself, and explained what had happened, once more in Slovak.

What a sudden change on his good-humoured face. "And you, as an educated man and a clergyman, you venture to speak Slovak, here in Hungary," he called out in Magyar, growing purple and red with emotion.

It was the same situation. I had to protest against his impudence, and when I saw that he hardly understood a word of Slovak—a stationmaster in the middle of Slovakia—I repeated what I had said, in Magyar. The result of our talk was that he assured me that I should not have my ticket until I asked for it in Magyar. I went back to the waiting-room to see what would happen, determined to complain to the guard of the train and demand satisfaction.

After a little a gendarme came in; he had been summoned by telephone. He had a discussion with the two officials, whose siesta was at an end, and then he came to me. He looked an amiable youth, a born Magyar. He addressed me quite politely, and asked me why he had been called. I could only say that it was not I who had called him; he had better ask the two officials. He went away somewhat puzzled, but came back and asked me whether I had asked for a ticket in Slovak. To the simple youth, a peasant of the Magyar plain, it obviously seemed quite absurd, and most embarrassing, that he had been mobilised against a passenger who had merely asked for a ticket in his own language.

At last, after much to and fro, he informed me with evident relief, that I was to be given the ticket. I went back to the window and again asked for the ticket in Slovak; and marvellous to behold, the clerk suddenly understood me quite well and gave me what I asked for.

The incident seemed at an end, the Hungarian fatherland was saved. The gendarme disappeared. The train steamed into the

station. I climbed in and greeted a chance acquaintance in the same carriage. But suddenly the gendarme was there again, and roughly summoned me to get out.

"Why should I get out? What is it all about?"

"There is a young man here," said the gendarme, "who tells me he was in church, and you are not the preacher whom he saw there. You are not the man you pass yourself off as. Come out, we know that sort of rascal."

I protested in vain. I had to get out and go to the waiting-room. In vain did I ask to be confronted with the man who had seen a different clergyman in church. In vain did the express wait for ten minutes at the tiny station. In vain did I warn the gendarme that he was hindering me in my official duties, and that the service would not take place in my parish. In vain. Not so easily can a Panslav, who dares to talk Slovak in the lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown, be allowed to go on his way. I saw through the window the mocking faces of the two officials.

The guard could wait no longer. The whistle blew, and the train steamed out. As further protests were useless, I took the affair from the comic side. The gendarme searched me thoroughly—my pockets, my bag, my surplice, my bible and prayer book. He asked if I had weapons; I showed him my pocket-knife. I was dubbed a spy, but my accuser was not forthcoming. The gendarme insisted on escorting me to the rectory, to find out whether I was really a clergyman or a spy of the Russian Tsar! . . .

"You are not going to take me right through the village, with drawn bayonet," I protested, as the gendarme began to fix it on his rifle. But rescue was at hand. The young man who had accused me, a village half-wit, now appeared, and peering into my face, stammered, "That's the gentleman who preached, now I see him better."

The gendarme growled at him, muttered a few words of apology, and left me standing. The Hungarian State was saved a second time.

My congregation waited in vain that afternoon. My friends in the next town learned the story, with the addition that I had been taken away under escort, imprisoned and shot. My mother spent a sleepless night, only to learn the truth next day.

II

I at once entered a complaint with the proper authorities, but what satisfaction could a Panslav pastor hope for? The gendarme,

who had, in the end, to apologise, reported to his superior, and the matter went to the *szólgabíró*, then to the vice-sheriff, then to the high sheriff, then to the Government Commissioner, then to the Minister of the Interior. The Minister requested the Bishop to order a disciplinary enquiry against me. Six months later I was summoned to render account of the incident, and duly submitted a copy of my original complaint.

The result was an official reprimand from the Bishop, on the ground that I had not shown sufficient respect towards the Magyar language of State. And meanwhile the war went on, and the war lords never asked what language their victims spoke. . . .

A further result was that I was henceforth on the list of specially "suspect" individuals, and that for four years I could not be elected to any Slovak parish. How could a clergyman be tolerated who asked for a railway ticket in Slovak?

III

At last the Great War ended, and with it ended the ancient Monarchy, and the Kingdom of Hungary, so proud of its thousand years of existence. They perished because they had not understood the meaning of "freedom for all peoples." New States arose, the peoples rejoiced at their new freedom and turned to the task of reconstruction. The little Slovak nation in the far Carpathians at last attained national and cultural rebirth. But that is politics, and my theme is a mere village idyll.

Twelve years had passed since 1914. In the new freedom and in the stress of work much had been forgotten and forgiven. Why call up the old shadows?

One summer morning I sat working at the study table in my little rectory. There came a knock at the door. There entered an old man, tall and dignified, but a stranger to me, though I saw him to be a colleague. He introduced himself as Mr. K, pastor in —, a village of Southern Slovakia. He had come to my town on a visit to relations, and took the liberty of calling on me. We talked of one thing after another; he came from a remote oasis to this busy town, full of new life after the war. He spoke slowly, almost absent-mindedly, as though there were some inward obstacle; I began to feel that his visit was not so entirely accidental.

At last he began, with nervous emphasis. "May I ask how long you have been here, my dear colleague?"

"I was elected about three years after the war."

"And at the beginning of the war, were you not at V.?"

"Yes."

"And did you not, about twelve years ago, have an unpleasant incident with a railway official?" he went on, with a sad expression in his eyes.

For the moment I did not realise what he was driving at.

"Don't you remember that they wanted to arrest you one winter Sunday because you asked for your ticket in Slovak?"

Suddenly everything came back to me; I felt a curious premonition.

"Yes, I remember. It was a disagreeable little incident. But why do you ask . . .?"

The old man interrupted me. "And that you were accused before the Bishop because of it, and lost the appointment in V, and could not be elected in any parish for several years . . ."

"Oh, yes. But that is all over, and everything has changed. . . . But how do you know all that, and what makes you speak to me about it?"

"I am an old man," he answered, looking me sadly but calmly in the face, "but I came here expressly to remind you of it all, and—to ask your pardon. The young railway official, who caused you so much unpleasantness, was my son, my only son, of Slovak blood, brought up in a Slovak village, but so twisted in mind by the intolerant school policy of those days, that he hated his Slovak mother tongue. . . . When I heard of it, I was very sorry. . . . And my son has been ten years dead. . . . Soon after that affair he was called up and fell in the war—God knows where. . . . That is how Hungary brought him up, and for Hungary he died. Since then his mother and I have often thought of his offence, and I have come to beg, in her name and my own, your forgiveness for the dead. He was only a victim, in thought and in deed, in life and in death. . . ."

Tears were in his eyes as he thought of his only son, who was already dead to his nation before he died. I, too, was deeply moved.

"That is all forgotten long ago . . ." and I shook him warmly by the hand.

The old man stood up, thanked me, said a formal farewell, and went. I never saw him again. He died soon afterwards.

FEDOR RUPPELDT.

PRINCE KAUNITZ AND THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND

WHEN Augustus III, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, died on 5 October, 1763, the Polish question emerged anew to plague the European courts. Foreseeing just such an emergency, Frederick II and Catharine II had made an alliance, on 8 June, 1762, binding themselves to support each other in Poland. France, the ally of Austria, was, of course, opposed to the Russo-Prussian combination.¹ Louis XV favoured the candidacy of either Prince Xavier, the second son of Augustus III, or the Prince de Conti. Above all, the French king was interested that the "liberty of the Poles in their choice" be assured.² Catherine II, on the other hand, favoured her former lover, Stanislaus August Poniatowski, a poor noble, who was, however, related to the powerful family of the Czartoryskis. The King of Prussia implicitly supported the Tsaritsa.

In this combination, it is obvious, Austria, the neighbour of Prussia and Poland, and the ally of France, could tip the scales. If the Court of Vienna had decided to give vigorous aid to the French, the result would have been either a compromise in Poland or another succession war. It was a delicate situation that faced the Austrian Government, and Kaunitz, the almost absolute arbiter of Vienna's foreign policy, could not make up his mind what to do. With the Seven Years' War fresh in his mind, he dreaded a new war with Prussia. The Austrian Chancellor also hoped for an alliance with Russia, and did not wish to antagonise Catharine. As for French support, Kaunitz had a justifiable distrust of the corrupt and inefficient government of Louis XV. When the French chargé d'affaires in Vienna, Girard, asked Kaunitz to go hand in hand with France in Poland, the Chancellor replied:³

"What is the use of tying our own hands? Either the Poles, in spite of your assurances, will be afraid, and will follow the impulse which Russia will give them, and then all is at an end, or else there will be a double election, and the two parties will fight. Then Russia will send in her troops, and their superiority will crush the opposing party, unless other powers go to war for it. Now, as none of them will do so, all will be at an end in this second case likewise."

The Russian Empress proceeded with a systematic campaign to

¹ "Il importe infiniment à la France," wrote Count Broglie, Louis' friend, to Tercier, on 26 May, 1762, "de conserver de l'influence en Pologne et de s'y assurer des moyens qu'on puisse opposer aux Russes"; *Pologne, 1752-1764*, a manuscript, containing Broglie letters, in the possession of Professor Westfall Thompson.

² Louis to Tercier, undated, in M. E. Boutaric, *Correspondance secrète inédite de Louis XV*, I, 290.

³ 6 March, 1764, in Duc de Broglie, *The King's Secret*, II, pp. 218-19.

demoralise Poland. She instructed her ambassadors in Poland, Keyserling and Repnin, to perpetuate the Polish anarchy and to crush all opponents to Poniatowski. She poured troops and money into the moribund republic, and at the same time issued a pious manifesto, promising to maintain Polish liberties and independence.⁴

In spite of Polish opposition and French intrigues, Poniatowski was elected King on 7 September, 1764, much to the disgust of Louis XV and to the annoyance of Kaunitz. Although Austria was cool to the new monarch,⁵ Kaunitz hoped the Polish troubles would settle by themselves. But he miscalculated. Catharine was not satisfied merely with placing her own king on the throne, she also wished to control the republic entirely. The problem of the dissidents gave her the desired opportunity. The dissidents, composed of Greek Orthodox, Calvinists and Lutherans, had been given complete toleration since 1573. By the 17th century, the Jesuit-inspired Polish Catholics began to abrogate the dissidents' rights and privileges. The last anti-dissident legislation had taken place in 1733. Catharine, with the support of Frederick, now asked the Polish King to restore the dissidents to their rights. Poniatowski balked at the order, but Russian bayonets forced the cowed Polish Diet to jam through the proposed measure. The infuriated Polish nobles promptly rose in rebellion against the threat to their religion, formed Confederations at Bar and at Radom, and this started a bloody war against the hated Russians. Civil war spread throughout the whole republic.⁶

Russia's invasion of Poland made Kaunitz uneasy. He urged that the Austrian army be set on a war footing as a defence measure, but hoped for peace.⁷ Kaunitz's vacillation and inactivity played directly into the hands of Catharine and Frederick; they ceased to fear the Austrian court.⁸ Kaunitz's hesitating policy was due

⁴ 15-27 December, 1763, Chodzko, *Recueil des traités, etc., concernant la Pologne, 1762-1862*, pp. 3-11.

⁵ See R. Khevenhüller-Metsch and H. Schlitter, ed., *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias. Tagebuch des Fürsten J. J. Khevenhüller-Metsch, 1764-67*, 332-3.

⁶ J. Lelewel, *Histoire de Pologne*, II, 46-50, Chodzko, *op. cit.*, 44, 59, 61; F. v. Smitt, *Suworow und Polens Untergang*, 40-3; S. Solovyev, *Geschichte des Falles von Polen*, 32, 44, Frederick, King of Prussia, *Oeuvres* (Berlin, 1847), VI, 19.

⁷ Kaunitz to Lobkowitz, 25 April, 1767, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (hereafter designated as *V.A.*), Russland, Expeditionen, 1767. Also messages to Lobkowitz, 29 April and 20 May, 1767, to same effect; *ibid.*

⁸ "Ich zweifle jetzt nicht mehr . . ., dass sich der Wiener Hof keineswegs in die polnischen Angelegenheiten einmengen werde"; Frederick to Solms, 2 June, 1767; A. H. Loebl, "Österreich und Preussen, 1766-1768," in *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte* (hereafter designated as *A.O.G.*), XCII (1903), 422.

not only to his fear of being embroiled in a war, but also to his belief that the dissidents should be assured "toleration and peace"⁹; consequently he had no objection to the Tsaritsa who tried to carry out precisely that idea.

The Polish confederates, although they fought bravely, crumbled under the attacks of the Russians. The Muscovite conquest of Poland filled the Austrian Chancellor with misgivings. Things were becoming more serious than he had expected, but he still lived in the hope that the Russians would voluntarily withdraw.¹⁰ Such an attitude was surprising in so astute a politician as Kaunitz, but the truth was that short of going to war with Russia he could do nothing but wait. When the news reached Vienna that the King of Prussia planned to send a cordon of troops to Poland, ostensibly to protect his frontiers,¹¹ Kaunitz decided to do the same on his south-eastern frontier. The military circles in Vienna urged that Austria occupy the Zips townships (which had been mortgaged by Hungary to Poland in 1412, and which had never been reclaimed by the Hungarian crown); but the Chancellor, fearing that such an action would set an example for Frederick to imitate and that the Poles would claim the Zips as an "irrevocable cession," opposed the occupation,¹² which, however, took place in spite of Kaunitz's protests.

In the summer of 1768, the Eastern troubles took a sharp turn for the worse, due to the entrance of the Turks upon the scene. For years the French Foreign Minister, Choiseul, through his able ambassador at Constantinople, Vergennes, had carried on intrigues against Russia. The Porte was at first wary, but when a troop of Cossacks, in their pursuit of certain Polish confederates, entered the Turkish city of Balta, plundered and sacked it, the Grand Vizier, after a stormy interview, threw the Russian envoy,

⁹ "Reflexions touchant les affaires de Pologne," 12 July, 1767, *V.A.*, Pohlen, *Mémoires*, 1767.

¹⁰ On 8 January, 1768, Kaunitz said to the English Ambassador: "Ich hoffe dass Russland bald daran denken wird, seine Truppen aus Polen heraus-zuziehen, denn ein längerer Aufenthalt daselbst musste den ubrigen Mächten Europas gerechten Grund zu Eifersucht geben"; Loeb, *loc. cit.*, 449.

¹¹ The Austrian Ambassador in Berlin, Nugent, wrote to Kaunitz, 5 July, 1768: "It is rumoured here that the King will put a military cordon on the Polish frontier next August"; *V.A.*, Preussen, *Relationen*, 1768.

¹² Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 29 July, 1768, *V.A.*, *Vorträge*, 1768: "Von der polnischen Seite schon seit verschiedenen Jahren behauptet werden will, dass die geschehene Verpfändung . . . sich in eine vollkommene und unwiederrufliche Cession verwandelt habe."

Obreskov, into the Seven Towers, and, in October, 1768, declared war on Russia.¹³

The Turkish belligerency complicated the situation enormously. It directly affected both Prussia and Austria. By the terms of the treaty with Catherine, Frederick had to pay an annual subsidy to Russia, and in case of an Austro-Russian war, Prussia was bound to give armed assistance to Russia. The situation disquieted even Frederick.¹⁴ As for Kaunitz, the loss of Silesia still rankled in his mind and he knew from bitter experience what he could expect from the Prussian King. The Chancellor had no doubt that Frederick was only waiting for an opportunity to absorb Ermeland and Polish Prussia, and decided to do everything possible to stop such an aggrandisement and at the same time to prevent a war.¹⁵ The only way to settle the situation, as Kaunitz wrote to Joseph,¹⁶ was to come to an agreement with Frederick. The Chancellor suggested that the Emperor have an interview with the Prussian King, and that the two monarchs promise each other "to live in peace and good friendship, to observe an exact neutrality in case of war."

Despite the fact that Joseph at first rejected the idea, Kaunitz, a *Realpolitiker*, who did not let ancient animosities interfere with his politics, instructed Nugent at Berlin to broach the subject to Frederick. The King of Prussia expressed himself delighted with Vienna's friendly advances and promised to meet Joseph.¹⁷

Neither Maria Theresa nor Joseph were in favour of coming to a *rapprochement* with Frederick, and Kaunitz set about to overcome the Empress's scruples and hatred of the Prussian King. In a long note to Maria Theresa, the Chancellor summarized the political situation, pointed out that the Russians had ever been weak allies of Austria, and that the ambitious plans of the "Semiramis of the North" were dangerous to the House of Austria. It was a mistake,

¹³ N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osman. Reiches*, IV, 473; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osman. Reiches*, V, 907-13; Chodzko, *op. cit.*, 69-72.

¹⁴ Frederick, *Oeuvres*, VI, 22-3.

¹⁵ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 28 August, 1768, *V.A.*, Vortrage, 1768 "Die Conquete von Pohnisch-Preussen und Ermeland ware vor ihm [Frederick] von einem unschätzbaren und weit grosseren Werth, als ganz Schlesien und Glatz. Durch solche wurde er zu einer der fürchterlichsten Mächten von Europa, und als dann wäre das Gleichgewicht zwischen seinem und dem durchlauchtigen Erzhaue verlohren, mithin die diesseitige Gefahr ungemein und vor beständig vergrossert."

¹⁶ Kaunitz to Joseph, 28 August, 1768, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Nugent to Kaunitz, 26 November, 1768, *V.A.*, Preussen, Relationen, 1768

the Chancellor admitted, to have remained aloof in the Polish troubles; Austria must now rectify this error. He pointed out that if the Turks were badly defeated, both Austria and Prussia would find it to their advantage to check a too victorious Russia. The Chancellor then concluded his note with a startling proposal :

"All these views are unquestionably very important, but the most important is this : that without much difficulty . . . Your Majesty could regain Silesia, if not entirely, then in good part, and if not right away, then at the extinction of the Prussian male line . . . This idea that the Turk . . . could help Your Majesty to regain Silesia, is in itself so extraordinary and chimerical that I have hesitated submitting it to you . . . Still the idea is not only not impossible, but perhaps even probable."

The only question, Kaunitz pursued his argument, was how to compensate Prussia. His answer was "that Poland, in order to save herself from Russian slavery and imminent destruction, should voluntarily provide the King of Prussia with the necessary compensation."¹⁸ This was to be the nearest idea of a Polish partition that had as yet been suggested by any Great Power. Although Joseph did not consider Kaunitz's proposal feasible, the Chancellor did not give up his idea of an understanding with the King of Prussia, and in a series of interviews, Nugent, acting upon instructions from Vienna, tried to reassure Frederick that Austria's intentions were disinterested, pacific and friendly.

It was finally decided that Joseph meet Frederick at Neisse, in Moravia, and Kaunitz, realizing that the young Emperor was no match for the crafty Prussian King, drew up a detailed catechism for the benefit of Joseph. The Emperor, ran Kaunitz's instructions, was to assure Frederick of Austria's pacific intentions and of her neutrality in case of a war on the continent, provided of course that Frederick would remain neutral himself. Joseph was also to let the Prussian King understand that Austria was not jealous of the Prusso-Russian alliance. As regards the pressing Polish problem, the Emperor was to explain to the King that Austria's indifference so far was based upon the fact that she believed that

¹⁸ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 3 December, 1768, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1768. Kaunitz, it seems, was not the only one to think of a Polish partition. A Saxon nobleman, Count Lynar, submitted a project to Frederick whereby Austria was to take Lemberg and the Zips; Prussia, Polish Prussia and Ermland; and Russia whatever she wished. On 3 February, 1769, Frederick sent the project to Solms at St. Petersburg, but due to the fear that Austria would object, the plan was dropped; M. Duncker, *Aus der Zeit Friedrich des Grossen und Friedrich Wilhelm III* (Leipzig, 1876), 178.

"in his own interests, the wisdom of the King of Prussia would not permit things to go too far."¹⁹

The meeting between the two monarchs took place on 25 August, 1769, and lasted five days. There was a good deal of mutual flattery, conversation and entertainment. The final result was a vague neutrality agreement between the two sovereigns.²⁰ Kaunitz, fearing that the notes exchanged between Joseph and Frederick would fall into the hands of Choiseul and cause misunderstanding,²¹ was not particularly pleased with the Emperor's action, but it was too late to mend matters.

The constant defeat of the Turks by the Russians aroused the fear of both Frederick and Kaunitz. The Chancellor did not wish to see the balance of power in the Orient destroyed, and the King dreaded both an Austrian intervention, which would embroil him in a war, and a Russian aggrandisement. The situation, therefore, was favourable for a further Austro-Prussian understanding. In an interview with Nugent, on 6 May, 1770, the Prussian King suggested that Austria should compensate herself in Bavaria or Italy, in order to offset Russia's gains. Frederick also confided to the Austrian diplomat that the Turks wished for Austrian mediation. Nugent was rather sceptical at Frederick's disclosures.²²

Kaunitz, who understood the gravity of the situation, decided to reach a definite agreement with Frederick. At Neisse, Joseph and the Prussian King had promised each other to meet again sometime. Kaunitz took advantage of the opening and accompanied the Emperor to Neustadt, in Moravia, where Frederick was to meet the Austrians. The first interview between the Prussians and the Austrians took place on 3 September, 1770. Kaunitz had drawn up a "Political Catechism" for the Prussian King's benefit, determined to teach Frederick politics and to enlighten him as to Austria's system. Needless to say, the witty King of Prussia was highly amused at the pedantic and humourless Austrian Chan-

¹⁹ "Matières que vraisemblablement le Roi de Prusse mettra sur le tapis à l'occasion du prochain séjour de l'Empereur à Neisse"; 17 August, 1769, *V.A.*, Pohlen, Erste Theilung, Acten.

²⁰ The notes, mutually exchanged on 27 and 28 August, read: "I promise . . . that if ever a war breaks out between England and the House of Bourbon, I will faithfully maintain the peace, so happily re-established between us; and that in case another war . . . takes place, I will observe the most exact neutrality"; *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1769.

²¹ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 8 September, 1769, *ibid.*

²² Nugent to Kaunitz, *V.A.*, Preussen, Berichte, 1770: "Précis des discours que le roy me tint à Potsdam le 6 de May jour de mon audience de congé."

cellor's attitude.²³ As at Neisse, there was much conversation, flattery and entertainment.²⁴ Kaunitz, delighted with Frederick's charm and flatteries, warmed up to the king and delivered him a long lecture on politics. He explained that Austria's "system" was "absolutely pacific"; that Austria had "absolutely renounced the idea of a reconquest of Silesia"; and that she had no intention of undermining Prussia's friendship with Russia. The cynical King of Prussia pretended to be moved; he embraced the Chancellor and expressed himself "enchanted with all that he heard" Frederick confessed that he was alarmed at the Turkish war, that he wished for peace, but that he was sure Catharine would insist upon some compensation in the East, such as the Crimea and Azov. Kaunitz objected to any augmentation of Russian power and to the disturbance of the balance of power in the Orient. He wished, he said, that Catharine would work out a pacification plan in Poland, withdraw her troops from that republic, and call upon Austria and Prussia to guarantee Polish peace. Frederick agreed in principle, but refused to bind his hands, fearing to antagonise his Russian ally. The total result of the interview, which lasted four days, was an informal neutrality and friendship agreement. Kaunitz was quite satisfied with the result.²⁵

Frederick made sincere attempts to convince Catharine to make peace with the Porte and to have Austria mediate. The Tsaritsa coolly refused. Her armies were victorious over the Turks, had occupied Moldavia and Wallachia and a large part of the Black Sea littoral, and were nearing the Austrian lands on the Danube. So long as the Russian Empress was sure of Frederick's friendship and Kaunitz's inactivity, she need not give in. Of course she was shrewd enough to realise that neither her Prussian ally nor the Court of Vienna would allow her to conquer Turkish provinces

²³ Frederick to Rohde, 5 September, 1770, *Polit. Correspondenz*, XXX, 114: "He [Kaunitz] has taken me for nothing but a soldier . . . and I cannot deny that he has amused me quite a bit."

²⁴ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 7 September, 1770, *V.A.*, Vortrage, 1770 "The table was well served. The theatre and the play about as good as one could expect even in Vienna. All our guests are well lodged; the town, too, is very pretty. In short, I have been well pleased. . . . All I can say now is that I have not found the King either as good or as bad as he has been painted."

²⁵ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 18 September, 1770, *ibid.* "I have reason to believe," Kaunitz summarised his letter, "that he [Frederick] will trust us in the future, so far as is possible for him to trust anybody, and that we may also trust him more than it has hitherto been wise to do." For texts and further details, see A. v. Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresia's*, VIII, 211-26, A. Beer, *Die Erste Theilung Polens*, I, 320-9; Beer, "Die Zusammenkünfte Josefs II und Friedrichs II," in *A.O.G.*, XLVII, 383-527.

without themselves asking for compensations elsewhere. She was, however, willing to wait. But Frederick's notes began to disquiet her. The King of Prussia, fearing the Austrians would lose patience, and anxious lest he himself be involved in a war, urged the Tsaritsa to accept the mediation of Vienna and to state her demands on the Porte.

On 4 January, 1771, Frederick gave an interview to the new Austrian Ambassador in Berlin, Swieten, and in a shocked voice told the diplomat that he had received Russia's peace conditions. They were "exorbitant, intolerable," the King exclaimed; "I cannot communicate the conditions to you, for they are such that you could not but respond with a declaration of war." He did not say what Russia's terms were, but promised to press Catharine for a change of mind.²⁶

Catharine's obstinacy and her victories over the Turks made Kaunitz realise he would have to take an active part in the struggle. Although both Maria Theresa and Joseph opposed war, the Chancellor drew up a plan for a neutrality treaty with Prussia and "an immediate understanding with the Porte"²⁷ Another plan of the Chancellor was an Austro-Prussian armed intervention in Poland.²⁸ Before taking any active steps, Kaunitz instructed Swieten to get a "categorical" answer from Frederick to the following question: "If Russia should force us to make war against her in some other place outside Poland, will the King be disposed to give us his word of honour that he will interfere neither directly nor indirectly?"²⁹ Frederick, who had meanwhile had word from Catharine that she was willing to lower her demands and was ready to ask Austria to mediate,³⁰ told the Austrian Ambassador that whereas he agreed that a military demonstration on the south-eastern Austrian frontier might make the Russians more tractable, he did not think Austria should prepare for war.³¹ Kaunitz by now distrusted, or pretended to

²⁶ Swieten to Kaunitz, 4 January, 1771, *V.A.*, Preussen, Berichte, 1771. Catharine's peace conditions included: (1) the liberation of Obreskov; (2) the cession of Azov, (3) both Kabardias, (4) free navigation on the Black Sea, (5) independence of the Tartars, (6) general amnesty for the Greeks, and (7) the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia for twenty-five years; see Goertz, *Mémoires et actes authentiques relatifs aux négociations, qui ont précédé le partage de la Pologne*, 107.

²⁷ "Kurze Anmerkungen über die gegenwärtigen Weltumständen in Beziehung auf die Sicherheit und Aufrechthaltung des Durchlaucht. Erzhauses," 23 January, 1771, *V.A.*, Vortrage, 1771; text in Beer, *op. cit.*, "Documente," 23-6.

²⁸ Kaunitz to Swieten, 23 January, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis., 1771.

²⁹ Kaunitz to Swieten, 22 January, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis., 1771.

³⁰ Catharine to Frederick, 30 January, 1771, Goertz, *op. cit.*, 136.

³¹ Swieten to Kaunitz, 17 February, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1771.

distrust, Catharine, and informed the Prussian King that he would promptly send an army to Hungary.³²

In reality, Kaunitz, as he pointed out in a long memoir to his ambassador in St. Petersburg, Lobkowitz, had no intention of going to war. The important thing, the Chancellor wrote, was to avoid "an open rupture" between Russia, Prussia and Austria, although he admitted he was worried at the "very suspicious Russian and Prussian aggrandisement schemes in Poland." Above all, Lobkowitz was to keep in mind, Austria wished for peace. "Peace," the Chancellor concluded, "is the main prop of our system"; the army in Hungary was for the purpose of "protecting our safety," and not for war.³³

When Kaunitz received news from Lobkowitz that the Russian Chancellor, Count Panin, had expressed a cordial desire for an understanding with Austria, and that Russia demanded from the Turks only Moldavia-Wallachia and the free navigation of the Black Sea,³⁴ he answered that he doubted whether the Porte would agree to any loss of territory, and that Russia's plans were hardly compatible with Austria's interests. Panin's proposal, the Chancellor thought, would considerably increase Russia's power and leave Turkey nothing but the "sad prospect of her destruction, more or less distant, but inevitable."³⁵

So far, although Poland was the cause of the Russo-Turkish war, the Polish problem hardly came up in the negotiations. In January, 1771, Catharine, in a conversation with Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, suggested that since Austria had occupied the Zips (in 1769), the other Powers should do the same in Poland. This was the first definite partition suggestion.³⁶

Henceforth the King of Prussia became the spokesman for a Polish partition. Since Poland was responsible for the Russo-Turkish war, Frederick wrote, she should also pay the "damages."³⁷ Count Panin, too, was willing that Austria and Prussia compensate themselves in Poland.³⁸ Kaunitz, however, had no such intentions.

³² Kaunitz to Swieten, 1 March, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis, 1771.

³³ "Anmerkungen. Loco Instructionis für Fürsten Lobkowitz," 7 March, 1771, *V.A.*, Russl., Exped., 1771.

³⁴ Lobkowitz to Kaunitz, 26 April, 1771, *V.A.*, Russl., Rel., 1771.

³⁵ "Réponse verbale à l'exposé confidentiel des intentions de l'Impératrice de Russie sur sa pacification avec les Turcs, ainsi qu'aux communications ultérieures qui ont été faites à cette occasion au Prince de Lobkowitz," 1 July 1771, *V.A.*, Russl., Exped., 1771.

³⁶ Prince Henry to Frederick, 8 January, 1771; Frederick, *Oeuvres*, XXVI (Berlin, 1855), 345.

³⁷ Frederick to Solms, 27 February, 1771, in Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 60.

³⁸ Solms to Frederick, 25 February, 1, 4, 8, 29 March, 1771, *ibid.*, 61-3.

He wished to see Poland pacified, but not dismembered.³⁹ To Frederick, on the other hand, it was clear that peace could be made only at the price of Poland. He said to Swieten, "Search in your archives and see if you do not find title to some other districts. . . . I, too, am going to take my share, and Russia will take hers."⁴⁰ Since Frederick was so eager for Polish territory, Kaunitz conceived the brilliant idea of allowing Prussia to take whatever she wished in Poland in return for Glatz and part of Silesia to Austria.⁴¹ Otherwise, he was cool to any "dismemberment projects."⁴² To force his hand, however, Prussia and Russia had drawn up a preliminary partition convention in May, 1772.⁴³ When Kaunitz learned of this convention, he refused to consider mediation, informed Catharine that Austria would have to go to the aid of Turkey,⁴⁴ and prepared for war.

Kaunitz's answer to the Russo-Prussian convention was a treaty with Turkey, signed on 6 July, 1771, by which Austria bound herself to help the Porte recover the territory lost to Russia during the war. In return, Turkey promised to pay Austria a subsidy of eleven and a quarter million gulden in annual payments, cede to Vienna that portion of Wallachia which bordered upon Transylvania, the Banat and the river Olt, and grant Austrian merchants favourable commercial privileges.⁴⁵

Frederick did not give up hope of bringing about an amicable adjustment. To mollify Austria, the King of Prussia was authorised by Catharine to offer Vienna the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia to return them to Turkey, and cede Belgrade to Austria.⁴⁶ Kaunitz considered the proposal a trick to compromise him with Turkey, and bluntly rejected the offer, saying that he had decided "in cold blood, to dare everything rather than endanger our safety."⁴⁷ Kaunitz's belligerent attitude frightened Frederick and even Catharine.⁴⁸

At this point, however, Maria Theresa, who had loyally backed Kaunitz, lost her nerve. In an interview with the Prussian chargé d'affaires, Rohde, on 7 September, she confessed she really did not

³⁹ Kaunitz to Swieten, 10 April, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis., 1771.

⁴⁰ Swieten to Kaunitz, 27 April, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1771.

⁴¹ Kaunitz to Swieten, 7 May, 1771, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1771.

⁴² *Id.* to *id.*, 5 June, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis., 1771.

⁴³ Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 78-9, Chodzko, *op. cit.*, 89.

⁴⁴ Kaunitz to Catharine, 1 July, 1771, in Goertz, *op. cit.*, 40.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 146-53; Chodzko, *op. cit.*, 92-5.

⁴⁶ Swieten to Kaunitz, 12 July, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1771.

⁴⁷ Kaunitz to Swieten, 5 August, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis., 1771, text in Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 314-5.

⁴⁸ Frederick to Henry, 14 August, 1771, in Sorel, *The Eastern Question*, 160-1.

wish for war, and that she hoped "to find a solution without having recourse to arms." Rohde promptly wrote the significant news to his king.⁴⁹

Frederick was, of course, delighted to hear that there was no danger of war from Austria. Kaunitz, however, had an unpleasant shock. His whole elaborately built diplomatic structure collapsed about him. He bitterly upbraided the Empress for endangering the "safety of our Monarchy," and concluded.⁵⁰

"I cannot hide from you that were it not for my conviction that Rohde must have misunderstood you . . ., I would have lost courage for the first time in my life.

The Chancellor, his pride hurt and his plans upset, did not know what policy to pursue. His memoir to Maria Theresa and Joseph, summarising the political position, left the decision as to what to do to his sovereigns.⁵¹ Joseph, with his mother's consent, proposed that Austria should ally with Russia to prevent a dismemberment of Poland.⁵² The Chancellor, having no alternative, agreed with the Emperor.⁵³

On 24 October, 1771, Kaunitz called the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, Prince Golitsyn, for a conference, and told him that although Austria could not accept Russia's peace conditions, she was anxious for peace, and willing to "concur with the Empress . . . in the pacification of Poland."⁵⁴ Panin's answer was sharp. He thought the hypocritical Kaunitz had better realise "that we have settled everything already, and that it would therefore better repay the Court of Vienna also to make acquisitions."⁵⁵ Fortunately, Golitsyn was careful not to tell Kaunitz the contents of Panin's note. All that the Chancellor knew was, as Swieten informed him, that Russia was willing to compromise.⁵⁶

In a second interview with Golitsyn, Kaunitz admitted he was ready to reach an understanding with Russia. He hoped, he said,

⁴⁹ Rohde to Frederick, 7 September, 1771, in Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 107, Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 323; Frederick, *Pol. Corresp.*, XXXI, 362-3.

⁵⁰ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 23 September, 1771, in Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 325-6; Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 109.

⁵¹ "Kurze Abschilderung von unsern bisherigen Maasnehmungen," 25 September, 1771, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1771, Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 100-3.

⁵² "Denkschrift Kaiser Josefs," 26 September, 1771, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1771.

⁵³ Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 29 September, 1771, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ "Wesentlicher Inhalt meiner den 24 Oktober, 1771, mit dem Ruzsisch Kaiserlichen Minister Herrn Fursten Galitzin gepflogenen Unterredung," in Beer, *op. cit.*, "Documente," 32-8; Goertz, *op. cit.*, 75.

⁵⁵ Panin to Gallitzin, 6 December, 1771, in Sorel, *op. cit.*, 175-8; Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 334.

⁵⁶ Swieten to Kaunitz, 29 December, 1771, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1771.

that Poland would not be dismembered, but since that appeared inevitable, "Austria would not, of course, regard with indifference the aggrandisement of her neighbours." "Therefore," he went on, "it becomes merely a question of *quomodo* and of the proportional advantages of each of the Powers."⁵⁷ On the same date the Chancellor submitted seven partition projects to Maria Theresa, the first three of which were aimed at Austria's ally, Turkey, and the last four concerned Poland. Kaunitz analysed each plan, pointing out the relative advantages and disadvantages of each. He himself favoured a partition of Turkey, whereby Austria was to get Bosnia, Servia, Dalmatia, Wallachia and Bulgaria. As regards Poland, Kaunitz took the stand that, whatever happened, Austria must have precisely the same share as the other two Powers. He hoped things could be so arranged that Frederick would exchange Glatz and part of Silesia for Austria's share in Poland; failing that, Austria should demand Ansbach and Bayreuth. Only as a final resort should Vienna satisfy herself with a portion of Poland.⁵⁸

Maria Theresa did not wish to make a decision without consulting the Emperor. Joseph disagreed with Kaunitz's plan,⁵⁹ and the Chancellor found it necessary to write a long defence of his position, wherein he pointed out how it was necessary for Austria to compromise and to co-operate with Prussia and Russia. "My most careful aim," he concluded, "has . . . been to prevent either a war with . . . Prussia or such a peace as would redound to the advantage of Russia and . . . Prussia."⁶⁰ Kaunitz's answer convinced Joseph, but Maria Theresa was averse to any partition. Still, she was forced to admit there was no way out but to participate in the spoils, whether Turkish or Polish.⁶¹

When Swieten, in accord with the instructions from Vienna, proposed the exchange of Glatz and Silesia to Frederick, the Prussian

⁵⁷ "Exposé de ce qui s'est passé dans une entrevue, à laquelle m'a invité hier le 17-28 Janvier le Prince de Kaunitz," in Goertz *op. cit.*, 183-91.

⁵⁸ "Des Chevalier Massin Sieben Tractatsvorschlage," 17 January, 1772, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1772. Massin, a French noble, had been an admiral in the Russian navy. He submitted his Partition Project to Kaunitz for consideration. See Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 129-34; Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 339-43; Sorel, *op. cit.*, 180-1.

⁵⁹ "Denkschrift Kaiser Josefs," 19 January, 1772, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1772, text in Beer, *op. cit.*, "Documente," 39-42.

⁶⁰ "Denkschrift des Fürsten Kaunitz," 20 January, 1772, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1772; text in Beer, *op. cit.*, "Documente," 42-8.

⁶¹ "Anmerkungen Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin Königin die Theilung Polens betreffend," 22 January, 1772, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1772; text in Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 340-1; Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 351-4.

King told him curtly: "You can take your share wherever you please, but not at my expense." He was, however, more tractable regarding Austrian compensation in Turkey, promising to communicate it to Catharine.⁶² Disturbed by Kaunitz's "bad faith," as he called it, Frederick hastened to write to St. Petersburg, urging the conclusion of the partition treaty, so as to present Austria with a *fait accompli*.⁶³

Frederick's refusal to exchange Glatz and Silesia left Kaunitz no choice but to consider what he could gain in Turkey. But here Maria Theresa vigorously objected. She considered it immoral to dismember an ally, and anyhow, she wrote, the Turkish provinces were desolate and unhealthful. Reluctantly and almost bitterly the Empress came to the conclusion that Poland would have to pay the price of Catharine's victories in Turkey.⁶⁴ Kaunitz thereupon submitted a project whereby Austria and Poland should divide between themselves the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were lost to the Porte anyhow. "By this plan," Kaunitz wrote, "Your Majesty will satisfy the most scrupulous delicacy and at the same time fulfil her sacred duties as a sovereign to her State."⁶⁵ Maria Theresa accepted the plan,⁶⁶ but Joseph was not satisfied; he wanted much more. The Empress was almost in despair. "Save me and the State," she implored Kaunitz; "I will support you, for I see things in a different light from my son."⁶⁷ Kaunitz took his time answering, and Maria Theresa, impatient and anxious, wrote him, "I am not strong enough to rule by myself. Therefore, and not without deepest sorrow, I allow you to pursue your own path."⁶⁸

In the first week of March, Kaunitz received word from St. Petersburg that Russia and Prussia had signed a treaty to partition Poland.⁶⁹ Vienna was also informed that the partitioners were willing to abide by Kaunitz's wish that the principle of equality of

⁶² Swieten to Kaunitz, 5 February, 1772, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1772.

⁶³ Frederick to Solms, 2, 9, 16 and 17 February, 1772, in Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 159.

⁶⁴ Maria Theresa to Kaunitz; the letter bears no date, but was probably written on 12 February, 1772; text in Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 358-60, 595-6.

⁶⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, 13 February, 1772, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1772.

⁶⁶ Maria Theresa to Kaunitz, 13 February, 1772, *ibid.*; text in Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 596-9.

⁶⁷ *Id.* to *id.*; the letter bears no date, but was probably written between 13 and 17 February, 1772, *V.A.*, Vorträge, 1772; text in Arneth, *op. cit.*, VIII, 364; and in Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 164.

⁶⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, 17 February, 1772, *V.A.*, Pohlen, Erste Theilung, Acten.

⁶⁹ The treaty was signed at St. Petersburg on 17 February, 1772; text in F. Martens, *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères*, VI, *Allemagne*, 71-7.

shares be observed,⁷⁰ and that they were anxious to hear Kaunitz's terms.⁷¹ After several days of preparation, the Chancellor had his demands ready. Austria wished to have all of Galicia, including the Palatinates of Cracow and Lemberg, the northern boundary line to be Sandomir and Lublin, and the south-eastern border, Volhynia, Podolia and Transylvania.⁷² Kaunitz knew he was asking too much, but it could do no harm to demand as much as possible.⁷³

The King of Prussia thought Austria's demands too high, but said that if Russia had no objections he would have none either.⁷⁴ Panin, however, did object, especially to the cession of the salt mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka, and to Lemberg,⁷⁵ adding that if Frederick agreed he himself would yield the points. Kaunitz was obstinate. He frankly admitted that Lemberg and the salines were the only claims which had any "real value," and that they formed the only connection between Upper Silesia and the low land.⁷⁶

Despite the high-sounding diplomatic phraseology, the struggle between the three courts was, at bottom, an economic one. Kaunitz knew that Frederick's share in Poland would give Prussia control over the Polish Vistula trade, and the Prussian King was aware that the control of Bochnia and Wieliczka meant a virtual salt monopoly for Austria in Central Europe.⁷⁷ Swieten told Frederick that either Prussia and Russia yield to Austria's demands or reduce their own claims proportionately.⁷⁸ The King of Prussia, fearing further complications, finally instructed his Ambassador at St. Petersburg not to oppose Austria any further.

"In the name of the Very Holy Trinity," the treaties were signed at St. Petersburg on 5 August, 1772. Austria was given practically all that she had asked, and bound herself to use her "good offices" to bring about a Russo-Turkish peace.⁷⁹

The job of making the Poles ratify the treaties, Kaunitz left to the experienced Russians. Like Panin, Kaunitz wished to

⁷⁰ Lobkowitz to Kaunitz, 7 March, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl., Rel., 1772.

⁷¹ Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 171.

⁷² Kaunitz to Lobkowitz and Swieten, 11 April, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl., Exped., and Preuss., Weis., 1772; Beer, *op. cit.*, II, 172-3.

⁷³ Kaunitz to Lobkowitz, 11 April, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl., Exped., 1772.

⁷⁴ Swieten to Kaunitz, 19 April, 1772, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1772.

⁷⁵ Lobkowitz to Kaunitz, 1 and 28 May, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl., Rel., 1772.

⁷⁶ Kaunitz to Lobkowitz, 28 May, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl., Exped., 1772; text in Beer, *op. cit.*, "Documente," 217-19.

⁷⁷ See Frederick's characteristic letter to Prince Henry, 18 June, 1772, in *Oeuvres*, XXVI, 359; and Kaunitz's letter to Swieten, 5 July, 1772, *V.A.*, Preuss., Weis., 1772.

⁷⁸ Swieten to Kaunitz, 14 July, 1772, *V.A.*, Preuss., Ber., 1772.

⁷⁹ *V.A.*, Russl., Rel., 1772; for text of treaty, see Martens, *op. cit.*, II, *Autriche*, 24-9.

see Poland pacified, but to leave her a "puissance intermédiaire."⁸⁰ It was also necessary to promulgate a manifesto justifying the partitioners' activities in the dismembered country. Kaunitz drew up such an instrument. It said, in effect, that since Polish anarchy threatened the interests of the neighbouring Powers, a "prompt remedy" was necessary, and that the three partitioners were determined to make good "their ancient rights and legitimate pretensions on the possessions of the Republic."⁸¹

Turkey, sacrificed by her Austrian ally to make a Polish holiday, broke up the peace congress which had met at Focșani on 19 August, 1772, and the Russo-Turkish war dragged on for another two years. Catharine sent an ultimatum to the Polish Diet, demanding that the treaties be ratified by the end of April, 1773.⁸² Russian bayonets did the rest. The Austro-Polish ratification took place on 18 September, 1773. The boundaries were settled on 9 February, 1776, by which time Austria had taken part of Podolia.⁸³

The first partition was lethal to the Poles. Logically and inevitably it led to a second and a third, until Poland was nothing but a geographic expression. As regards the Habsburg Empire, the acquisition of more alien territory and people added immeasurably to its weakness and ultimate decline. The partition brought Russia to central Europe, and made her a dangerous rival and enemy of Austria. As a buffer state between Russia and Austria, and as a country traditionally bound to enmity with Prussia, Poland had served an important purpose. Kaunitz's instinct in opposing a Polish dismemberment was sound. Nevertheless he was forced to share in the partition, and thus helped to bring about the collapse of Austria, a country which he had faithfully served for half a century

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⁸⁰ Kaunitz to Lobkowitz, 31 August, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl, Exp., 1772.

⁸¹ 23 July, 1772, *V.A.*, Vortrage, 1772.

⁸² Copy sent by Lobkowitz to Kaunitz, 25 December, 1772, *V.A.*, Russl, Rel., 1772.

⁸³ By the first partition Poland lost 4,000 sq. m. of territory and 5,000,000 people. Prussia's share was 644 sq. m., and Austria's portion, 1,300 sq. m.; Bruggen, *op. cit.*, 347-8; Duncker, *op. cit.*, 261; Frederick, *Oeuvres*, VI, 90. As regards resources, Galicia was by far the richest of the three portions. It contained 118 towns, 192 market places, 6,187 villages, 357,017 horses, and 343,177 oxen. Its population was estimated by an Austrian census-taker to be 3,280,656, although this is probably too high a figure. The income for the year 1787 was 4,200,000 florins, or about double the income from Prussia's share, *V.A.*, Pohlen, *Mémoires*, undated, but probably written some time in 1787 or 1788.

THE CENTENARY OF A GREAT POEM: MICKIEWICZ'S "PAN TADEUSZ"

A CENTURY has passed since the greatest book of Polish literature was written (1834) in a narrow Paris street on the left bank of the Seine. On the hundredth anniversary a commemorative tablet was affixed to the house, and the date was celebrated in a variety of publications. Among the most valuable of them is a graceful French prose version of the poem done by M. Paul Cazin.¹ A few years before this significant anniversary similar new prose renderings have been effected in English (by Professor G. R. Noyes²), and in Italian (by Signorina Clotilde Garosci³). Apart from these—as we see from the bibliography in the national edition of the poet's works⁴—*Pan Tadeusz* can be read in nineteen other languages. This number of translations, though not all of them achieve M. Cazin's fidelity and limpidity, makes the work relatively easier to discuss before an audience which is unfamiliar with the original.

The position of *Pan Tadeusz* in Polish literature is unique, and there are not many analogies with it in other literatures. It is not unjustly regarded as the supreme masterpiece of the language, and at the same time it is the poem most universally read among the Polish people: a poem whose popularity has been equalled in its own country only by a few religious hymns and by a few historical novels. "Le public français commence à savoir ce qu'est *Pan Tadeusz*"; these are the words of M. Pierre Bost in a summary of a tourist's impressions after a short visit to Poland⁵—"mais il ne sait pas quelle est la popularité, en Pologne, de cette grande œuvre nationale, et qu'elle est là-bas la toile de fond de toute culture, le lieu géométrique des pensées, quelque chose comme l'alphabet de toute lecture." The observation is quite true, but it must be added that *Pan Tadeusz's* popularity extends to all classes. A subject of admiration for littérateurs, a terrain of discovery for generations of critics, it has not infrequently been found also to be a treasure of shopkeepers, workmen and peasants. It stirs the popular feeling probably in as wide circles as those which in the English-speaking world enjoy the works of Dickens.

Of course, artistically there is little resemblance between the

¹ *Pan Tadeusz*. Traduction de P. Cazin. Préfaces de MM. Louis Barthou, J. Kaden-Bandrowski et M. Kridl, 1934 (Alcan).

² *Pan Tadeusz*, 1929 (Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent).

³ *Pan Taddeo Sophtza*, 1924 (Carabba, Lanciano).

⁴ *Dzieła wszystkie*, t. IV, 1934 (Kasa im. Mianowskiego), p. 589 seq.

⁵ Pierre Bost, *Vingt jours en Pologne* (in *Marianne*, 26 September, 1934).

two writers. But perhaps there is still another way in which it has shared the fortunes of Dickens' novels. When its reputation was attacked, criticism ran along similar lines to those of criticism of Dickens' works. It was judged to be too commonplace, too earthy, too robust, lacking in subtlety and psychological intricacies. It was objected that too much attention was given to gossip, hunting and eating. It was said that the leisurely atmosphere of well-being which the poem conveys conceals from the reader the hard reality of life. The truth is that Mickiewicz's poem, like Dickens' novels, is vigorously healthy and emphasises what great elements of joy there can be in life.

Now, to anybody who has only the popular notions of the history of Polish romantic poetry this phenomenon may seem strange. This poetry is known for its strain of suffering and its preoccupation with national griefs—these are even the causes adduced to explain why appreciation of it by foreigners is difficult. Certainly there is some truth in the opinion, but it must be balanced by the fact that the highest achievement of this poetry does not accord with such characteristics. On the contrary, it is penetrated by humour and suggestive of the splendour of existence, though—as we shall see—not devoid of deep anxieties and of tragic implications.

This was of particular importance from the national point of view. This colourful poem was written in one of the most unhappy moments of Polish history: only a few years after the rising of 1830, in which the last remnants of the political independence of the nation were risked and lost. And it was written by a poet who was an exile, far from the country it glorifies, in an atmosphere of grievances and fruitless political quarrels among the *émigrés*. To produce such a work in such a moment a firm hope was needed, a hope drawing not only from personal but from collective resources. It was because of this hope that, during the sombre period of more than three-quarters of a century, which was to follow the date of the poem's publication, *Pan Tadeusz* was the most sustaining spiritual food of the Poles.

But *Pan Tadeusz* does not belong to the works of exclusively national appeal. On the contrary, its national importance derives from the fact that it is so very human. Not only by its formal perfection, but by the vastness of vision it affords, by the warmth of feeling which pervades it, and by the universal character of its fundamental motives, *Pan Tadeusz* stands ranged among the great poems. Brandes⁶ said that it is the only work of the 19th century

⁶ George Brandes, *Poland*, 1904 (Heinemann), p. 284.

which approaches the spirit of Homer, achieving that grand and costly naïveté which has become so rare in modern times. And we hear the same thing from that discerning French critic, M. Louis Gillet⁷: "Il est arrivé à ce Slave, né sur les marches de l'ancienne Pologne, de faire l'œuvre qui, depuis l'Odyssée, respire le plus naturellement le large style d'Homère." Other critics, more inclined to literary history and genealogy, sought comparisons⁸ between Mickiewicz's work and certain kinds of modern novel, with Don Quixote, with Ariosto and later mock-heroics. And, of course, *Pan Tadeusz* is affiliated to the old epic traditions, as well as to the literature of Mickiewicz's own age; but whatever these affiliations are in number and intensity, it is certain that its place in literature is quite separate. As a German writer, Fr. Muckermann, puts it⁹: "Es ist da nicht mehr Klassik und nicht mehr Romantik, es ist da in der Form schon etwas so Eigentümliches, dass es mit Worten gar nicht zu schildern ist." It was not only the poet's genius, but all his previous life and all his literary culture that contributed to determine this particular character of the work.

Mickiewicz was born in 1798 in a small town in one of the eastern provinces of the old Polish Republic. Only a few years had passed since the last Partitions. But the general character of life was not yet much changed. Old customs and even many institutions still persisted. They were to disappear only gradually, partly in the time of the poet's youth. He was himself brought up in a more or less traditional way, and throughout his life he was to preserve a passionate attachment to these traditions. "The greater the distance from the Nowogródek district, the worse we feel," he wrote in later years from Switzerland to one of his friends, an *émigré* like himself. But, in fact, he was very soon to know things which were beyond the provincial horizon of Nowogródek. He went to follow his university studies at Wilno, and Wilno was an active intellectual centre at that time. There was great enthusiasm for literature and scholarship and the classicist spirit prevailed. Mickiewicz studied the ancients under the guidance of a notable German philologist, Groddeck. When only a young student, he wrote a series of literary essays and made his first attempts at original creative writing. He was then living in a gay and friendly milieu which harmonised well

⁷ L. Gillet, *Le Centenaire de "Pan Tadeusz"* (in *Echo de Paris*, 16 June, 1934).

⁸ The largest collection of parallels has been gathered by Windakiewicz, *Prolegomena do "Pana Tadeusza"* (1918).

⁹ Friedrich Muckermann, *Der Mönch tritt über die Schwelle*, 1933. (The essay on Mickiewicz was first printed in *Pologne Littéraire*, No. 31).

with his eagerness for Ovid, Horace and, necessarily, Voltaire. But all these interests were soon to give way before others. Prospects of a wider social activity opened before the young man as he was approaching the end of his studies. At about the same time he knew the raptures of first passionate love and the despairing bitterness of disappointment. Somewhat earlier, new literary vistas were revealed to him. The period of classical apprenticeship was followed by a "Germanomania," as it was called, that is, by an admiration for Schiller and Goethe; and "Germanomania" led eventually to "Britannomania": to Byron, to Scott, and to Shakespeare. Under the auspices of these literary constellations, Mickiewicz appeared before the world with his first two volumes of poetry, which showed him at once to be a master.

But new developments were already awaiting him. The Russian authorities accused him, with some of his friends, of forbidden nationalist propaganda and exiled him into the heart of Russia. Thus he was made to face the political metamorphoses of his country. The Russian sojourn, however, which was enforced on him for five years, was also otherwise significant. In Russia those were the days of Pushkin and of a rich and varied literary life, and Mickiewicz took part in it, both influencing and being influenced by it. His ideas of poetic diction and construction were only strengthened by this frequent intercourse with Russian connoisseurs and artists. His new works testified to a growing craftsmanship, united with a deepening insight into the world. A long European trip followed, and a longer stay in Rome, full of meditations on history and on first and last things. At that moment the rising of November, 1830, broke out in Poland. Mickiewicz was not persuaded of its necessity and watched it from afar. The rising failed, and now he realised that it was by far the most important national event that it had been given him to witness. He felt bound to compensate for his absence and, from that time onward, he connected his life still more closely with the national cause. He did not limit himself to poetry, and while he wrote a great drama, a kind of Polish *Prometheus*, in which metaphysical issues mingled with scenes from the recent past, he was at the same time a publicist and a leader of the *émigrés*, speaking at meetings, working on committees, busy with articles and pamphlets. *Pan Tadeusz* was conceived in an interval of these many-sided activities, but in the closest connection with their spirit.

The scope of the poem had not been determined from the very outset, and became wider and wider as the composition progressed. Mickiewicz's first idea was to write simply a sort of pastoral on

Polish country life of the time of his childhood, something in the manner of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*. This plan, however, was soon to change, and the plot was shaping itself rather in the mould of Scott's historical novels, until at some moment it was opened to Quixotic and Homeric perspectives and became what it is.¹⁰

In the texture of the narrative we recognise even now affinities with the novelistic literature of the period. It centres formally on a young plain-minded man who, under the influence of events, matures and develops. In his surroundings there is some element of mystery. This story is in part one of a love affair which is to be a bridge between the antagonisms of two families. There are contrary tendencies at work for the healing of old grievances and for revenging them. The hero has a rival in love who at the same time represents the interests of the hostile family. There is a discord in the feelings of the hero himself, resulting in a mistaken passion. Both the duplicity of his love and the duplicity of the family affairs are finally cleared away. But in the meantime a host of individuals and groups mingle in the plot. It takes an unexpected turn and rises to the political level from the domestic, and at the end of the poem historical interests predominate. The narration is varied by surprises and interruptions, so as to hold the reader's curiosity in suspense. In all these forms of composition Mickiewicz pays a tribute to his age and proves to be an exponent of its tastes. But even here he shows his own artistic discrimination. The story of *Pan Tadeusz* is far from being so tangled and long drawn out as the story in the Waverley novels; and whatever common elements may be discovered, they were all transformed by the rhythm of the verse and by poetic language. The difference of diction means a difference of atmosphere and of horizon. When *Pan Tadeusz* is read in a prose translation, it must always be remembered that it is only an approximate view of the poem, and we should certainly regret that in the *Everyman's Library* it was published among the fiction. It would be as erroneous to judge *Pan Tadeusz* as a novel as, for instance, to judge Keats' poems as a collection of short stories. It is, nevertheless, justifiable to begin its study with an analysis of its novelistic elements.

The action of the story is brief and quick, and—for the greater part of the poem—continuous. The events of the first ten books extend in time over five days only. The two final books are separated from this main body of the narration by an interval of several

¹⁰ The story of the poem's growth has been analysed in detail by St. Pięci, "Pan Tadeusz": *wzrost-wielkość-sława*, 1934.

months; in their turn, they describe the events of one day only. The *terrain* of the action is likewise limited: it comprises an area of a few square miles only, in the Nowogródek district. In the plot we can distinguish three or four different strands which gradually intertwine and become interdependent.

A young man, Thaddeus Soplica (whose name gives the title to the poem) comes home at the end of his studies. He has been away for some years, and returns full of curiosity and dreaming of future love affairs. His desires soon materialise. The house of his uncle and guardian, which has been known to him of old as a quiet place, is now full of people—Judge Soplica is entertaining a numerous company, gathered for the session of the court of domains. This session is to clear up a long dispute of the Soplica family with their neighbour, a successor of the extinct family of Horeszko. The young Thaddeus soon becomes informed of the legal complications, but he is much more impressed by two unknown ladies, whom he meets unexpectedly, and to both of whom he indiscriminately loses his heart. Meanwhile, we have made acquaintance with some minor characters, and a subsidiary interest has been aroused in a violent discussion between two country squires about the merits of their hounds. If the narration of Thaddeus' sensual and emotional broodings has gone forward in humorous tones, this new incident introduces a mood of open comedy. But this mood is only given limited play. Even before the wrangle about the hounds has fully developed, a new strain of interest is brought in; and this time it is something very serious—a strain of politics. It is the summer of the year 1811 and, though the manor house of Judge Soplica is distant from political centres, everybody is interested in news coming from the wide world about Napoleon and his exploits. Especially the Polish army belonging to the recently created Grand Duchy of Warsaw and taking part in the Napoleonic campaigns is an exciting subject of conversation. The district which is the stage of the poem does not belong to the Duchy; it is under the Russian Government, but the borders of the Duchy are not very far away, and people dream of happenings which may liberate their province and reunite it to the body of the country. From the outset it is evident that the best informed person on political matters is the rough and jovial Bernardine monk, Brother Robak, a collector of alms for his Order, who is staying for a time in the Judge's house. It is known that he receives letters from the Duchy, that he often sends messengers of his own thither, and that he likes to talk politics at any opportunity. This is the story of the first day, and the first book of the poem.

The following day gives us more insight into the origin of the hostility between the two neighbouring houses. There has been a dark crime in the past. One of the Soplicas had killed one of the Horeszkos, and in particularly terrible circumstances. He loved Horeszko's daughter and was scornfully rejected by him. Offended, and in despair, he was unexpectedly given a fearful opportunity for revenge. It was at a time of war with the Russians. One day a Russian detachment attacked Horeszko in his castle. He defended himself bravely, and the Russians would probably have had to retreat if they had not been joined by Soplica, who happened to be passing by. Irritated by the awkwardness of the soldiers, and tempted by his own resentment, now turned to hatred, he fired and mortally wounded Horeszko. This past is not very distant. The murderer, Jacek Soplica, it is true, has fled the district some years ago, but Judge Soplica, whom we know from the first book as an amiable host and master of the house, is his brother. And the young man Thaddeus, the hero of the poem, is the criminal's son. As for the Horeszkos, their only direct descendant is now a young girl. A part of their estate has been confiscated by the Russians; the rest has been inherited by a distant relative of the Horeszkos, a young Count, whom we get to know as we see him flirting with the lady who has excited a passionate interest of Thaddeus. He is a snob and a dreamer, representative of all the romantic fads of the period, though honest and good-natured. He has just returned from his travels abroad, and conceived some antiquarian interest in the half-ruined castle between his estate and that of the Soplicas; it was this that has become the object of their lawsuit, the conclusion of which is now pending. Fantastic and moody, the Count would probably not have gone on with the case, if his ardour had not been inflamed by a faithful old warden of the last Horeszko, who is unforgiving and has sworn to revenge his dear master.

Thus, all the different threads of the plot are worked in and combined. A further development is promoted next day by the unexpected announcement of a bear-hunting party. The events of the chase are thrilling. Thaddeus and the Count expose themselves to deadly danger, and are rescued at the last possible moment by the mysterious Bernardine, Brother Robak. The bear is killed, but the excitement of the adventure leads to a brawl over the castle lawsuit; and the dinner which was to celebrate the signal hunting achievement ends in an uproar. The old warden of the Horeszkos persuades the Count to end the case by a foray—that is to say, by an armed invasion. This mode of procedure was known in the old

Poland, though certainly it did not count among its glories. In the old Polish Republic there had been no police forces to execute court judgments. The loser was supposed to conform to the verdict out of respect for the law. But in practice this did not always happen. Thus, a claimant to whom the disputed possession was accorded, would collect his servants and friends, arm them, and give effect to the verdict himself. Of course, there were not infrequent abuses of this perilous custom. The case in the poem is not quite in the line of the true tradition; but the old warden, who knows the impulsive natures of the small gentry, profits by the stir created in their minds by the political agitation of Brother Robak, and easily persuades them that, before any need arises for larger political action, it is good to settle smaller matters, among which the principal is to run down the Soplicas and to restore the castle to the kinsman of the Horeszkos.

A single day (the fourth in the calendar of the poem) suffices for the warden to win over a local meeting. In the evening of the same day the foray is carried out. Soplicowo is attacked when nobody has been suspecting any danger, and Thaddeus has been engaged in a bitter and most private discussion with the lady who has become his love. In these circumstances the Count and his band gain an easy victory. The cattle and the poultry of Soplicowo are slain to feast the triumph, casks of wine, beer and wodka are opened. And while these celebrations are going on so tumultuously, the Russian garrison from the neighbouring town falls upon the victorious invaders and arrests them. The foray is a disturbance of the public security, they are therefore to be imprisoned and put on trial as felons. But now, once more the ingenious and undeterred Brother Robak intervenes. He gathers another band of the gentry, succeeds in freeing the prisoners, and both parties, forgetting their differences, unite against their common enemy, the Russians. An extraordinary battle ensues in the courtyard of the Soplicowo manor, full of comical episodes, in the style of parodies of the Trojan war, though full at the same time of truly Homeric grandeur and heroism.

The Russians are defeated; but all those who took part in the battle must be off across the frontier, to avoid prosecution by the Russian authorities. They are to revisit their manors and farms only a year later in the ranks of the Polish army advancing with Napoleon.

But the battle in Soplicowo has not been won without losses on the Polish side. Brother Robak, the man who was its central figure (though as a monk he did not fight himself), has been mortally

wounded. On his death-bed he discloses his secret, and his confession finally clears up whatever has been mysterious and puzzling in the action of the poem.

The monk Robak is no other man than the former criminal, Jacek Soplica. Morally broken by the vileness of his act, he devoted all the rest of his life to atonement. And as his crime had been twofold, in the murder itself and in the aid given thereby to the enemies of his country, the atonement was likewise to be twofold. He first enlisted in the Polish legion, and his exploits there were a series of daring risks and braveries. He carried out important military missions, he was several times wounded, he obtained medals, honourable mentions and promotions. And afterwards, to humiliate himself, he entered the Bernardine Order and chose the name of Robak, which means "a worm." But even as a monk, he did not cease his activity as a patriot. He became a political emissary. His last ambition was to prepare a national rising in his beloved province. He dies before his dream comes true; but he is consoled by the news that the war, which is felt to be a war of liberation for the whole country, is just being declared.

We see an episode of this war in the last two books of the poem. Napoleon is marching to Moscow. All those whom we saw in the strange Soplicowo battle are now real soldiers. Examined historically, this moment is full of illusions; but it is a moment in which the desires of the heart seem to be fulfilled. Soplicowo receives celebrated Polish generals and national leaders. Provincial oddities and figures of the new Europe gather in the same hospitable house. The largely symbolic character of this reception harmonises with the flourish of the happy end of the sentimental plot of the poem.

Such is the structure of the work. Even this rough and sketchy outline allows us to see how its epic content is full of movement and what a variety of *motifs* are here at play: from the petty hobbies of the old squires to the profound tragedy of crime and atonement in the soul of Jacek Soplica.

This figure of Jacek Soplica dominates the poem, although it is not he, but his son who is presented as its hero in the novelistic sense. He is overshadowed in the earlier books, but he is all the time a prime mover in the action. It is chiefly his final confession that mirrors in its fulness his passionate nature, its tragic downfall and its resurgence. Especially the narration of his crime shows Mickiewicz's mastery: Jacek's shooting of Horeszko—not premeditated, but resulting from a convergence of wrath, of pain and of a half-realised diabolical temptation at a sudden opportunity; this is a

psychological study which has hardly been equalled in its convincingness by Joseph Conrad's presentation of "Lord Jim" jumping from his imperilled ship. Further stages of his personal history are depicted with equal power: his mental torture of remorse; his penitential heroism, his ennobled feeling for the national cause and his self-humiliation.

But numerous minor characters are no less clearly cut and are no less vital in the telling. Each stands out by himself, talks his own language, and is distinguished by his own gestures. In this respect Mickiewicz reveals himself a great disciple and continuator of Sterne.

There is the same vividness in the presentation of surroundings, of every-day usages, customs and manners. To use the words of an Austrian critic, Dr. Nadler,¹¹ in the lines of the poem the whole country lives—"her history, her legends, her farms, forests and gardens. The animals live in the most sentient present, and one can smell the very flowers. And on this scene and in these surroundings the author paints, with broad and easy strokes of his brush, the every-day life of these wealthy peasant gentlemen, always ready for a merrymaking, fond of good food and drink, knightly, brave and courteous. . . ." Indeed, one of the characteristics of Mickiewicz's images is their concreteness. He once declared that he disliked countries which are not on the map. And the country of his poem is unmistakably identified. Certainly we cannot find every name on the map, but even in this geographical sense it is near to reality, giving only a limited area for hesitations. And in practically every realistic detail—in the description of sights, buildings, costumes, amusements, dishes, and so on—Mickiewicz is true to life. Indeed, *Pan Tadeusz* may be regarded as a sort of encyclopædia of old Polish life and as its artistic monument.

But it was not the antiquarian spirit that inspired Mickiewicz. All his descriptive minutiae, all his individual portraits combine to give a large social panorama. Soplicowo, certainly, is only a small place, but it becomes highly representative. It has been finely observed by M. Henri Pourrat that Mickiewicz's characters are "vrais et vivants autant qu'il le faut pour qu'ils soient des types."¹²

The picture is on the whole sympathetic with its subject; the poet, however, does not conceal the vices and weaknesses of his *dramatis personæ*. As we have seen, they are far from stainless.

¹¹ Dr. Josef Nadler, *A. Mickiewicz, German Classicism and German Romanticism* (in the collective volume, *Germany and Poland*, edited by A. Brackmann, transl. from the German, 1934, p. 61).

¹² *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 1 September, 1934.

National self-criticism is one of Mickiewicz's distinctive elements. On the other hand, his political philosophy is miles away from the famous slogan: "My country, right or wrong." It is true that loyalty towards one's national tradition is for him a basis and a guarantee of moral health; it is not insignificant that we meet in the poem a very honest Jew and a very brave Russian, and, on the other hand, the only unmistakable scoundrel is a Polish renegade. Mickiewicz is certainly most sure that there are valuable resources to draw from in the national character of his people and in their historical inheritance, though he judges them with open eyes and penetrating mind. Many a hero of his poem may be silly, undisciplined, litigious, quarrelsome, greedy, or worse; but nearly all of them have got a feeling for the great issues of the community, and when something important is going to happen, when the common cause is in danger, they are able to put aside their differences, and to forget their private interests for the sake of more general though imponderable benefits. However narrow and self-complaisant their every-day life may be, there is in it a possibility of higher achievements. This attitude of Mickiewicz towards the ordinary, this belief of his in a hidden flame within it gave *Pan Tadeusz* its cheerful and comforting colour. It is owing to this that it has become what Fr. Muckermann means, when he says that it is a work "das eben in seinem rein nationalen Ausdruck doch das Uebernationalen, das Menschliche und Menschheitliche offenbarte." First of all, it is, certainly, a poem of the healthy harmony of life within the boundaries of the national spirit of the poet's fatherland, but it is also symbolical of any fatherland and any feeling of attachment to and obligation towards it. The poet's attitude is not one easily acquired, and perhaps that Polish critic¹³ was right who said that Mickiewicz's smile is as mysterious as that of Leonardo's "Monna Lisa." It is as universal.¹⁴

Historically, *Pan Tadeusz* is significant in a variety of other ways, and one of them is suggested by the very first words of its first line. Uninformed readers may be struck by the fact that these words run, "Lithuania, my country," and that throughout the text this national Polish epic speaks as much of "Lithuania" as of 'Poland.' Some idea of the national history is necessary to avoid misunderstandings. The Polish Commonwealth was composed of two parts: of Poland proper and of Lithuania. This was the result

¹³ A. Stawarski, *Zródło żywota wiecznego* (in *Gazeta Literacka*, May, 1934).

¹⁴ The universal values of *Pan Tadeusz* have been most widely realised in other Slavonic countries. Cf., Jiří Horák, *Pan Tadeusz v literaturách slovanských* (in *Přednášky Slovanského Ústavu v Praze*, č. 5).

of a political union, no less important for the countries in question than was the union of England and Scotland for the British Isles. Initiated at the end of the 14th century and not at first clearly defined, it was strengthened in the 16th, and in the later part of the 18th century it became a complete legal unity. Much earlier a unity of culture was effected. Lithuania itself was not cohesive in its population; the name must be taken historically, not ethnographically. Only a part of it was Lithuanian; other parts were White-Russian and what would now be called Ukrainian. But the nobility and the townsfolk of all these parts soon adopted the civilisation of Poland, and Polish became their language. It was different only with the peasants, who were not a cultured class. Between the two parts of the Commonwealth there was a continual intercommunion of men and spiritual values. It is enough to remember that Kościuszko, that great national leader of 18th-century Poland, originated from a Lithuanian family. Quite similar was the case of Mickiewicz himself. There was the same Polish patriotism in the cultured citizens of the Nowogródek voyvodate as in the cultured citizens of Masovia or Cracow. But there also existed a consciousness of provincial differences. It exists still, and has nothing to do with the national Lithuanian separatism which arose only later in the 19th century in ethnographic Lithuania, and which gave its origin to the present-day Lithuanian State. *Pan Tadeusz*, being a monument of what might be called Polonism, was at the same time to glorify Lithuanian local feelings. That is the reason why it begins with the line: "Lithuania, my country, thou art like health."

This invocation is one of the instances of the Lyricism which pervades the poem. Every now and again, we come across similar direct outbursts of emotion. But often the poet's feeling expresses itself in laughter, in jocular, humorous remarks. There is in the work a considerable amount of parody: futile details described with pedantic seriousness, simple things adorned with redundant epithets and elaborately developed comparisons, solemn allusions introduced in a comic way. This strain of the poem was most ably defined by M. Henri Pourrat (in the article already quoted): "Ce qui donne tant de charme à *Pan Tadeusz*, c'est précisément cela, cette malice cette verve, et ce qui dépasse de beaucoup la verve, une sorte d'enthousiasme heureux, fin et rieur." But Mickiewicz knows also how to be joyous and sad at the same time. To see this, we have only to read the closing lines of the poem, in which the splendid banquet of the multiple Soplicowo celebrations is shown in the light of a sunset.

Thus the poet's personal feelings are often shown, although his fundamental art in *Pan Tadeusz* is rather objective. The narration is continuous, but it is composed of a series of scenes, the finish of which is classical. And in this there is no difference between the scenes—whether simple or complicated, quiet or full of movement. They usually contain a fair amount of detail, but this detail is never over-abundant nor is it unduly dispersed; everything converge upon some central effect. If the details are visual, Mickiewicz groups them in a pictorial way. A distinguished critic of the end of the last century (Stanislaw Witkiewicz) saw in him a sort of forerunner of impressionism; such is the richness of his coloristic notation, his understanding of the influence of local colours on each other, and his feeling for the luminous; but we can see in his descriptions also the romantic mood of a kind of Jacob Ruysdael, as well as an art of grouping and spacing which might make us think of the French classicists and of the great Italians. Equally striking is the poet's skill in the presentation of sound. The passage known as "The strange music of the evening" (book VIII), the description of the huntsman calling (book IV), and of the dulcimer concert (book XII) are the most easily remembered and renowned instances.

But, once more it must be stressed, nothing is here detached from the general plan of construction. Some of the apparently unimportant *motifs* serve Mickiewicz in creating an exciting impression of contrast. A long drawn out tale of the Seneschal is suddenly broken by the armed invasion of the Count's band; humorous episodes of the Soplicowo battle are intertwined with the drama of death. In other cases, on the contrary, the poet prepares us for events, creating an atmosphere or awakening forebodings. The wrangle in the castle is preceded by an extraordinarily gloomy dinner. The most dramatic event of the foray is introduced by a storm.

All these artistic means might have been applied to a tale in prose. But they acquire quite a new resonance by being merged in rhythm and turned into poetic diction. This most essential point is, unfortunately, the most difficult to discuss. Not because there are so many artifices in the poem. There are not. The whole of *Pan Tadeusz* is written in rhymed couplets of thirteen syllables, which was for ages the most common metre in Polish. It is true, Mickiewicz exploits a number of technical potentialities of his versification; some rhymes give unexpected effects by being carried over three or four lines; some cæsuras strike one as archaic, whereas others are of a boldly innovating kind; in Robak's death-bed confession there are

several passages in which the rhythm is broken, marking most poignantly the stages of the advancing agony. But the importance of these instances should not be overestimated. On the whole, the rhythm flows smoothly and is devoid of any special musical suggestions. There is nothing of the "singing" about it. The great mastery of the poet lies in the words themselves, which are not only melted with the rhythm and not only create images, but give us the conviction that they are inevitable, that it would be impossible to have the matter presented otherwise. Of course, one cannot gather the true idea of this from a translation. Let us glance, for example, at a passage in the description of the forest (in book IV). This is how it is rendered by Professor Noyes :—

"All about was darkness : over me the branches hung like low, thick, green clouds ; somewhere above the motionless vault the wind played with a wailing, roaring, howling, crashing thunder, a strange, deafening uproar ! It seemed to me that there above my head rolled a hanging sea."

It is quite exact as a translation, but it does not convey the poetic atmosphere which the passage has in the original :—

"Wokoło była ciemność ; gałęzie u góry
Wisiały jak zielone, gęste, niskie chmury ;
Wicher kędyś nad sklepem szalał nieruchomym,
Jękiem, szumami, wyciem, łoskotami, gromem :
Dziwny, odurzający hałas ! mnie się zdało,
Że tam, nad głową, morze wiszące szalało."

The comparisons are, certainly, grand but not dazzling. The gradation is perfect, but not overwhelming. Hardly two words are unusual. And yet, I think, everybody who knows Polish will feel that here he is approaching some summit of the poetic art. The rhythm, in which there is nothing peculiar, and the words, in which there is nothing extraordinary, yet give us an incomparable vision and a sense of its truth.

WACŁAW BOROWY.

TRANSLITERATION FROM RUSSIAN INTO ENGLISH

IN this article the question of transliteration from Russian into English is treated from a different angle from that taken by Mr. N. B. Jopson and Mr. W. A. Morison. Their witty and ingenious suggestions reveal a much wider purpose than that of the present writer, for their object is to establish a transliteration which would serve all countries using the Latin alphabet. In their choice of letters they are influenced by the orthographies of many nations, and thus do not produce a scheme which is specially favourable for transliterating into English.

The question of devising a system of transliteration is entirely different from that of devising a new alphabet. In the opinion of the writer a scheme of transliteration from Russian into English should be limited and modest in its aims. limited in that it should not attempt to satisfy all nations using Latin characters and modest because it should not strive to supplant the Cyrillic alphabet.

It is advisable that each nation should have its own system of transliteration, for each nation attaches different sound-values to many of the Latin letters. It is difficult, for example, to imagine a German representing the initial sound, say, of *yes* by *y* and not by *j*; the initial sound of *ship* by *sh* and not by *sch*; or to imagine a Frenchman representing the latter sound by anything but *ch*. The system recommended by the Conference of University Teachers of Russian in England is different from one that would be worked out by teachers of Russian in France or in Germany.

Two principles should be taken into consideration when planning a system of transliteration from Russian into English: Cyrillic characters should be transliterated into Latin characters chosen, as far as is practicable, in accordance with English perceptions of those characters, and the represented Russian words, when read aloud, should be intelligible to a Russian. This latter implies that all *significant* phonetic phenomena should be plainly indicated.

The characteristic features of the Russian language are the palatalisation of consonants before back as well as before front vowels and the presence of a vowel glide (*y*) between vowels. These peculiarities are shown in the Cyrillic Russian alphabet, not by indicating the consonants in question as palatalised and not by the use of a special letter to indicate the glide between vowels, but by means of a set of vowel letters which in certain old grammars were

described by such misleading and confusing terms as "hard" and "soft" vowels. Those designated as "hard" are а, ә, о, у, ы; those as "soft" я, е, ё, ю, и. The letters representing "soft" vowels are, in isolation, pronounced *ya, ye, yo, yu, i*. With the exception of the latter they are not always so pronounced in words, and should not always be so transliterated.

When the letters я, е, ё, ю occur after consonant letters they indicate that the sounds represented by those consonant letters are palatalised (or soft), the following vowel in each case being pronounced with its so-called "hard" quality, i.e. as а, е, о, у; e.g. *тя = t'a* (not *tya*), *те = t'ə* (not *tye*), *тё = t'o* (not *tyě*), *тю = t'u* (not *tyu*).

When я, е, ё, ю are used initially or after vowels in the body of a word they represent two sounds, the front vowel glide *y* and the "hard" vowel а, as in ә, о or и, i.e. they are pronounced *ya, yə, yo, yu*; e.g. *яд yad* (poison), *маяк mayák* (lighthouse); *ем yem* (I eat), *имеет iméyet* (has); *ёж yozh* (hedgehog), *заём zayóm* (loan); *юг jug* (south), *уют ujút* (cosiness).

It would not be wise to adopt the Russian principle of indicating the palatalisation of consonants by a special set of vowel letters which, though ingenious, are misleading even to Russians, most of whom do not understand that in syllables like *тя* it is the consonant which is "soft" and the vowel which is "hard."

In order to make words phonetically clear to one who is not altogether ignorant of the spoken language palatalised consonants before back vowels should be marked. The writer advocates that this should be done by means of the apostrophe placed after the consonant letter. This marking is essential because the substitution of a palatalised for a non-palatalised consonant before a back vowel changes the meaning of a word, e.g. *ряса r'ása* (cassock frock) = *раса rása* (race); *ряд r'ad* (row) = *рад rad* (glad); *телка t'ólka* (heifer) = *толка tólka* (meaning, sense *gen.*); *вел v'ol* (he led) = *вол vol* (ox); *тюк t'uk* (bale, package) = *тук tuk* (manure used as fertiliser); *люк l'uk* (trap-door) = *лук luk* (onion).

Final palatalised consonants, marked in orthography by the soft sign, should also be indicated in transliteration, because here again the substitution of a palatalised for a non-palatalised consonant is significant, e.g. *уголь úgol'* (coal) = *угол úgol* (corner); *кровь krov'* (blood) = *кров krov* (shelter, roof); *брать brát'* (to take) = *брат brat* (brother); *кладь klád'* (load, cargo) = *клад klad* (treasure); *едь yel'* (fir-tree) = *ел yel* (I ate); *цель tsel'* (aim) = *цед tsel* (whole).

The writer also advocates the indication of a palatalised con-

sonant occurring in juxtaposition with a non-palatalised consonant. Palatalisation of one of the consonants may sometimes change the meaning of a word. In orthography this palatalisation is marked by the soft sign, e.g. полька *pól'ka* (Polish woman) = полка *pólka* (shelf); банька *bán'ka* dim. of баня (steam-baths) = банка *bánka* (jar); Варька *vár'ka* (dim. of Варвара Barbara) = Варка *varka* (cooking), etc.

The marking of palatalised consonants before front vowels may be omitted, since words containing consonants so placed would be recognisable even if those consonants were pronounced without palatalisation, e.g. летит *letít* (flies), дети *déti* (children), вместе *vméste* (together), пили *píli* (they drank), etc.

One of the greatest stumbling-blocks to a learner of Russian is the position of stress which, as in English, has no fixed place in a word or in a sentence. Russian, again like English, is a language of strong and weak syllables and of strong and weak vowels; and the tendency in both languages is to pronounce the strong syllables with strong vowels and the weak syllables with weak vowels. It follows that if the strong syllables are marked in transliterated words the English reader is helped to use strong and weak vowels in their right places: the stress-mark gives him permission to indulge in one of his own speech habits. The ability to place the stress correctly is of the utmost importance. Many Russian words are quite unintelligible if pronounced with wrong stress and, consequently with the wrong distribution of strong and weak vowels, to say nothing of the wrong intonation and rhythm. After all, in devising a scheme for transliteration one must provide for the fact that not only have transliterated words to be intelligible to the eye but also to the ear.

The writer recommends that stress be marked by an acute accent placed over the vowel letter of the stressed syllable.

The following examples illustrate the significance of stress in Russian:—

(a) Change of stress in the same word may indicate change of case: бока *bóka* (of the side) = бока *boká* (sides); руки *ruki* (of the hand) = руки *rúki* (hands); доктора *dóktora* (of the doctor) = доктора *doktorá* (doctors), etc.

(b) Change of stress in the same word may change the meaning: дорога *doróga* (road, way) = дорога *dorogá* (dear, expensive *fem.*); ворот *vórot* (neckband) = ворот *voróti* (of the gates); замок *zámok* (castle) = замок *zamók* (lock); мука *múka* (torment) = мука *muká* (flour), etc.

- (c) Change of stress may make the word unrecognisable :—
 вдалеке *vdaléke* instead of *vdaleké* (in the distance).

вместо <i>vmestó</i>	„	„	<i>vmésto</i> (instead of).
вроде <i>vrodé</i>	„	„	<i>vróde</i> (like).
выдача <i>vidátcha</i>	„	„	<i>vidatcha</i> (distribution)
досада <i>dosadá</i>	„	„	<i>dosáda</i> (vexation).
донец <i>dónos</i>	„	„	<i>donós</i> (information), etc

TRANSLITERATION OF VOWELS

In accordance with the foregoing remarks the so-called “hard” vowels, а, э, о, у, would be transliterated as *a* (with the value of the *a* of *calm*, not of *came* or of *cat* or of *want*, etc.), *e* (with the value of *e* of *met*, not of *meter* or of *pretty*), *o* (with the value of *o* of *cross*, not of *so* or *son*, or of *wolf*), *u* (with the value of *u* of *rule*, not of *tube* or of *tub*).¹

The “soft” vowels я, е, ё, ю would be transliterated initially and medially after vowels as *ya*, *ye*, *yo*, *yu*, after consonants as *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* the preceding consonants being marked as palatalised.

Below each Russian vowel letter is given with its transliteration letter and examples.

(b) Medially after a vowel: тает *táyet* (it thaws), имеет *iméyet* (has), иезуит *iyezuít* (Jesuit), здание *zdániye* (building), ноет *nóyet* [nags (of pain)], уезд *uyézd* (district), выезд *víyezd* (departure).

e Transliterated as: (1) *o* and (2) *yo*.

(1) *o* after a consonant with the indication of the preceding palatalised consonant: лён *l'on* (flax), телка *t'ólka* (heifer), вёл *v'ol* (he led).

(2) *yo* (a) initially: ёлка *yólka* (Christmas tree), ёж *yozh* (hedgehog), ёрш *yorsh* (ruff).

(b) Medially after a vowel: даёт *dayót* (gives), поёт *foyót* (sings), куёт *kuyót* (forges).

Note.—In order not to violate the alphabetical order in libraries *o* and *yo* might be represented as *ě* and *yě*, i.e. (1) *l'ěn* (flax), телка *t'ělka* (heifer), вёл *v'ěl* (he led); (2) (a) ёлка *yělka* (Christmas tree), ёж *yězh* (hedgehog), ёрш *yěrsh* (ruff); я transliterated as (1) *a*, (2) *ya*.

(1) *a* after a consonant with the indication of the preceding palatalised consonant: ряд *r'ad* (row), мята *m'ata* (mint), дядя *d'ad'a* (uncle).

¹ The values given here are not precise phonetically, but they are sufficiently accurate for the purpose of transliteration.

(2) *ya* (*a*) initially : я *ya* (T), яма *yáma* (pit), яд *yad* (poison);
(b) medially : маяк *mayák* (lighthouse), шея *shéya* (neck), линия *líniya* (line), моя *mojá* (my fem.), сбруя *sbríya* (harness).

e Transliterated as (1) *e* and (2) *ye*.

(1) *e* after a consonant : мел *mel* (chalk), лес *les* (wood, forest), вес *ves* (weight), тесто *téstó* (dough).

(2) *ye* (*a*) initially : ем *yem* (I eat), если *yesli* (if), еда *yedá* (meal, food).

Note—Of all Russian words beginning with *e* there is one foreign proper name Ева which is pronounced by some speakers *Eva* instead of the more normal *Yéva*. эва *éva* is a Russian interjection.

(b) даёт *dayët* (gives), поёт *poýët* (sings), куёт *kuyët* (forges). If *ë* were used there would be no need for a stress-mark, since the stress always falls on the syllable containing *ë*.

yo transliterated as (1) *u* and (2) *yu*.

(1) *u* after a consonant with the indication of the preceding palatalised consonant : тюк *t'uk* (bale, package), дюна *d'una* (dune), люк *l'uk* (trap-door).

(2) *yu* (*a*) initially : юг *yug* (south), юбка *yúbka* (skirt), юноша *yúnosha* (youth, young man); (b) medially : дают *dayút* (they give), умеют *uméyut* (they are able), линию *líniyu* (the line, acc), поют *poýút* (they sing), уют *uyút* (cosiness).

ы transliterated as *ï*, is the corresponding "hard" vowel to the soft *i*-vowel (*u* in Russian orthography) which is a front sound with the lips spread. *ы* is a type of *i*-sound retracted towards the back of the palate with an *u*-quality (as in *rule*), but with lips spread exactly as for *i*. It occurs only after hard, non-palatalised consonants and never initially (whereas *i* occurs only initially and after soft, palatalised consonants). If words beginning with *u* have a prefix ending in a hard, non-palatalised consonant the *u* changes to *ы*. Cf. идущий (going) = предыдущий (preceding); играть (to play) = подыграть (to accompany, to play to); иск (suit, claim) = розыск (inquest, inquiry); итожить (to total) = подытожить (to total up); искать (to search) = подыскать (to find something suitable).

It is logically correct to transliterate *ы* as *ï* as belonging to the same family. The symbol *ï* for *ы* is recommended by the Conference of University Teachers of Russian.

u transliterated as *i* (with the value of the *i* of *machine*).

Note.—In the few foreign loans words initial *u* with the following *e* (*ye*) ought to be transliterated as *iye*: иерарх *iyerárh* (hierarchy),

переміада *i yerimidda* (jeremiad), иезуит *i yezuit* (Jesuit), Иегова *Iyegová* (Jehovah), etc. *Yerárh*, *yezuit* would be a phonetic transcription of the spoken word and not a transliteration of the written word. In all these words the first letter is *и* not *й*.

й transliterated as *y*.

TRANSLITERATION OF CONSONANTS.

х transliterated as *h*. The English aspirate, represented by *h*, is fairly similar in acoustic effect to Russian *х*; so much so that Russians, in attempting to pronounce English words like *hot*, *head*, *how* often use the sound of Russian instead of *h*. The combination letters *kh* would always be taken by an Englishman to represent the sound of *k* which he invariably uses in pronouncing words like *khaki*, *khan*, *khedive*. The transliteration of *х* by *kh* would be inadequate and misleading. It would result in the reading of transliterated words like *их* (their), *тех* (those), *всех* (all), etc., as *ik*, *tek*, *vsek*. The transliteration of *х* by *kh* is, in the writer's opinion, incorrect and misleading.

Note.—In the group *сх* which occurs in very few words of Greek origin, eg. *схема* (scheme), *схизма* (schizm), *схоластика* (scholastics), and in some compound words with the prefixes *с*, *рас*, *вос*, *нис* before *х*: *сход* (peasant meeting), *восход* (rise), *расход* (expense), *снисходить* (to condescend), *s* may be separated from the *h* by a hyphen, so as not to be taken for *sh*, representing Russian *ш*: *s-héma*, *s-hízma*, *s-holástika*, *s-hod*, *vos-hód*, *ras-hód*, *snis-hodit'*.

ц transliterated as *ts*.

ч transliterated as *tch*, and not as *ch*; *tch* has always the same value in English, whereas *ch* is often pronounced as *sh*: champagne, machine, etc. Besides, *tch* is more effective for *щ* (*штч*).

ш transliterated as *sh*.

щ transliterated as *shtch*.

ж transliterated as *zh*.

ъ or ' omitted when final, and transliterated as *y* after a consonant in the body of a word: *объявить* *obyavit'* (to announce), *объект* *obyékt* (object), *отъезд* *otyézd* (departure), *подъезд* *poduyézd* (porch, entrance), *разъезд* *razyézd* (departure).

ь transliterated with an apostrophe when final (see above) and, as *y* after a consonant in the body of a word: *пьян* *pyan* (drunk) *бьёт* *bjot* (or *bjét*) (beats), *бью* *byu* (I beat).

Note.—A distinction should be made between *Дарья* *Dárya* (woman's name) and *Варя* *Vár'a* (dim. of *Варвара* *Barbara*); *Маланья* *Malányu* (woman's name) and *Таня* *Tán'a* (dim. of *Татьяна*).

SUMMARY OF SYSTEM.

a a (as in <i>calm</i>)	я a, ya
e e (as in <i>met</i>)	е e, ye
ы ĭ	и i
o o (as in <i>cross</i>)	ѐ o, yo (or è, yě)
y u (as in <i>rule</i>)	ю u, yu
й y	ш sh
x h	ж zh
ц ts	щ shtch
ч tch	ъ y when necessary to transliterate ь ' and y

(Ѣ = b, в = v, г = g, д = d, з = z, к = k, л = l, м = m, н = n, о = o, п = p, р = r, с = s, т = t, ф = f; ѣ = e, е = f).

The following passages transliterated by Mr. Morison and Mr. Jopson are here transliterated according to my system

(a) Poydú tepér' mezavisimo ot vseh sobiráf gribí a to moí priobre-téniya nezamétni—skazál on i poshól odín s opúshki lésa, gde oni hodíli po shelkovístoy nízkoy travé mézhdu rédkimi, stárimí ber'ózami (or ber'ezami), v seredínu lésa, gde mézhdu bélími ber'ózovými (or ber'é-zovými) stvolámi seréli stvoli osíni i temnéli kusí oréshnika. Otoy'd'á shagóv sórok i zayd'a za kúst bereskléta v pólnom tsvetú s yego rózovo-krásnymi ser'ózhkami (or ser'ézhkami) Sergéy Ivánovitch, znáya, tchto yego ne víd'at, ostanovíls'a. Vokrúg nego, bilo sovershénno tího. Tol'ko vverhú ber'óz (or ber'ez), pod kotórimí on stoyál, kak róy ptchol, neumolkáyemo shuméli múhi, i ízredka donosílis' golosá detéy.

(b) Petrúshka! Vétchno tí s obnóvkoy—s razódrannim loktóm (or lok'tem)! Dostán'-ka kalendár'. Tchítáy, ne ták, kak ponomár', A s tchúvstvom, s tólkom, s rasstanóvkoy. Na listé tcherkní na zapisnóm Protívu búduštchey nedéli: K Praskóvye F'ódorovne (or F'edorovne) v dóm Vo vtórník zván ya na foréli. Kudá kak tchúden sózdan svét! Pofilosófstvuy—úm vskruzhíts'a! . . .

(c) V odnóm iz stolíchníh utchrezhdéníy po lésnitsam hodíli lomovíki vtázhólih sapogáh, snosíli, vniz stoli, shkapí, pílníye sv'ázki bumág i kláli in ha vozá, tchtóbi veztí v drugóye pomeshtchéniye. Mézhdu lomovi-kámi soválas' starúshka v bol'shóm platké i iz pod rúk zagl'ádivala vverh poléstnitse, gde snováli vzád i vper'ód (or vperéd) l'údi i sheptála pro seb'á:

— góspodi, báfushka . . . kak v lesú.

— Pustí starúha, nógu otdavl'ú. Tchto tebé nádo tut?

— Posóbiye, báfushka, prishlá polutcháf.

C. B.

OBITUARY

KING ALEXANDER

FEW events of our time have been received with such a chorus of condemnation as the Marseilles outrage on 9 October, 1934, when King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated by a Macedonian terrorist, within five minutes of landing on French soil, and on his way to a perhaps decisive discussion of foreign policy in Paris with M. Barthou, who shared the same fate. This brief obituary is devoted to the man rather than the statesman, and an inquiry into the background of the crime is reserved for a later occasion. For the moment it will suffice to point out that Yugoslav opinion, from one end of the country to the other, was quick to realise that the assassin and those behind him had aimed not merely at an individual, but had sought to deal a fatal blow to Yugoslav unity. It was this consciousness that gave so poignant a character to the demonstrations which followed the homecoming of the murdered King. For the moment, all discontents and discords—and they are numerous and deeprooted—were laid aside, and King Alexander's last words, "Protect for me Yugoslavia" (Čuvajte mi Jugoslaviju) roused the liveliest echo on all sides. "*We will protect Yugoslavia,*" was the universal refrain.

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Alexander Karagjorgjević, fourth in descent from the first heroic leader of Serbian independence, was born at Cetinje on 17 December, 1888. His grandfather of the same name had reigned in Serbia from 1842 to 1858, but had then been expelled in favour of the rival dynasty of Obrenović and had died in exile. Thus his father, Peter, grew to manhood as a pretender, with no great prospects. He served with distinction as a volunteer in the French army in 1870, and in 1876 he joined a band of Bosnian insurgents in the mountains, and by his example did much to force the hands of his two rivals (Prince Milan of Serbia and Prince Nicholas of Montenegro) and to make their rash plunge into war with Turkey inevitable. After the long Eastern crisis of the seventies ended, he lived quietly as an exile at Geneva. His marriage to Zorka, daughter of Prince Nicholas, had a certain political background: for this alliance between the Petrović and the Karagjorgjević was regarded in Belgrade as a demonstration against the Obrenović, and the favour with which it was received by Tsar Alexander III was interpreted as a deliberate rebuff to King Milan for his Austrophil policy.

Of this marriage there were two sons, George and Alexander, and a daughter, afterwards married to Prince Ivan of Russia. Both were educated at the Corps des Pages in St. Petersburg, where their two aunts, princesses of Montenegro, eventually married the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael. The regicide of June, 1903, brought their father to the throne of Serbia; and thus the children completed their education in Belgrade, but without the advantage of a mother's care, since Princess Zorka had not lived to become Queen. During the international crisis of 1908-9, due to Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia, Crown Prince George associated himself with the noisiest section of Serbian opinion, and revealed an unbalanced, not to say unhinged, character, such as filled all responsible circles with misgivings for the future, if he should ever inherit the crown. The scandal of his assault upon his own valet, who died of injuries received, provided a drastic warning and an excuse for altering the succession: and thus, on 28 March, 1909, his younger brother, Prince Alexander, was officially proclaimed as Crown Prince. George receded into the background and has since then lived under strict control.

The young Prince took part in the Balkan campaigns, as nominal commander of the First Army at Kumanovo, and showed a natural aptitude for a military career. His political attitude remained reserved and correct; circumstances were not favourable to his travelling widely or learning from the experience of western Europe; and he first figured prominently before the public when he and the Radical Premier, Nicholas Pašić, visited St. Petersburg early in 1914, to express their thanks to Tsar Nicholas for Russian help and sympathy during the recent crises. It was on this occasion that Nicholas II coined the famous phrase: "I only did my Slav duty."

Serious ill-health made it increasingly difficult for King Peter to take an active part in affairs, and on 24 June, 1914, Alexander was proclaimed Prince Regent in his place. Four days later the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was murdered at Sarajevo, and Serbia became involved in a fresh conflict with Austria-Hungary, with all its immense consequences for Europe. This conjuncture of dates deserves special attention, for unscrupulous propagandists have put forward, and superficial opinion has sometimes accepted, the allegation that the crime was inspired by the Serbian Government, and that the Prince was privy to it. On this latter point not a shadow of proof has ever been put forward: and that responsible statesmen should have chosen for a life-and-death struggle the moment when a youth of 24 had taken up the reins for the first time, when Parliament

had been dissolved and a fierce electoral campaign was being waged round the question of constitutional reform, and when, incidentally, the commander-in-chief was taking a cure at an *Austrian* spa—all this seems, to say the least of it, improbable. Similar legends have gathered round the rôle of the Russian Minister and Military Attaché in Belgrade and their relations with the Prince; and it has been alleged that Serbia's refusal of two points in the Austrian ultimatum was due to the fact that the Regent's telegraphic appeal to the Tsar had brought the desired promise of help. In reality, it appears to be quite certain that Belgrade had to take its decision before an answer could be received from St. Petersburg; and this had almost certainly been one of Count Berchtold's aims in fixing so short a time limit.

Once again, however, it is not my intention to dwell upon these and similar controversial questions. The Prince-Regent's rôle in the Great War needs no emphasis; it has no parallel save that of the late King Albert. He shared victory and defeat; his gallantry during the tragic retreat through Albania, his refusal to avail himself of an Italian destroyer to take him across the Adriatic, his defiance of ill-health and a necessary operation, his firm resolve to remain with his troops until the last remnants could be transported to Corfu—all this is fixed indelibly in the minds of thousands of peasant soldiers. There were many devoted British Red Cross and relief workers, men and women, at the time, whose testimony could be invoked; and when the Prince, exiled but undaunted, visited London in April, 1916, he received a spontaneous popular ovation such as surprised even the warmhearted Londoners. It is worth adding that it was on this occasion—in replying to an influential deputation at Claridge's—that he took a momentous initiative. In his speech the idea of "Jugoslavia" and a common Yugoslav fatherland was for the first time embodied in a Serbian official pronouncement; and it is no secret that his Premier, Mr. Pašić, who was imbued with the old-fashioned Pan-Serb notions, was far from edified and actually absented himself. It was also on this occasion that the Prince renewed his acquaintance with Dr. Trumbić, president of the exiled Yugoslav Committee, and established an understanding which bore fruit in the Declaration of Corfu of July, 1917—the theoretical basis of subsequent union.

Prince Alexander remained with the army to the very end, sharing its almost superhuman efforts at Monastir and Kajmakčalan and its final victorious advance in the autumn of 1918. Events then moved at a breakneck pace, for the collapse of Austria-Hungary followed the surrender of Bulgaria, and long before he reached

Belgrade, the Yugoslav provinces under Habsburg rule had proclaimed their independence and established their own Government at Zagreb. Difficulties of telegraphic communication led to grave confusion, and there was a parallel development at Paris (where the Serbian Premier Pašić was engaged in conflict with the Yugoslav Committee under Trumbić, backed by the united Serbian Opposition), at Geneva (where delegates from all the contending groups met to negotiate), at Zagreb (where Italy's Adriatic attitude caused grave alarm), and at Belgrade (where the Regent appointed Stojan Protić as head of a composite Cabinet). In the complex situation that ensued a delegation from the Zagreb Provisional Government visited Belgrade, and on 1 December, 1918, offered the Crown of the united provinces to the Prince-Regent of Serbia, who had in the meantime been acclaimed by the Montenegrin provisional assembly of Podgorica. In light of subsequent history it is clear that the delegation was unwise to make its offer unconditional, instead of appending conditions such as are implicit in the Corfu Declaration; but at the moment the urgency of the foreign situation and the reserved attitude of the Allied Powers towards Yugoslav recognition made union the paramount consideration and drove all else into the background. The prolonged uncertainty on every one of the new State's seven frontiers was a further disturbing factor; and the internal confusion, due to war, invasion, economic exhaustion and lack of co-ordination in law and every branch of the administration—all served for the time to strengthen a tendency, common to all the new States, towards extreme centralisation as the only means of safety. This exaggerated centralism fitted in only too well with the designs of the Pan-Serb and Orthodox clique round Pašić, and culminated in the so-called "Vidovdan" (St. Vitus' Day) Constitution of June, 1921. Even it could not have passed into law but for the mistaken policy of abstention pursued by a large section of the Croats, and notably by the Croat peasant leader Stephen Radić. The exact share of the Prince-Regent in the responsibility for these events is not easy to determine. On the one hand, he understood the natural interest of the dynasty to preserve a neutral attitude as between Serb, Croat and Slovene and as between the various historic provinces. On the other hand, his whole inheritance and upbringing conspired to strengthen in him a specifically Serbian and Orthodox patriotism, and it is also certain that in the years immediately following the war he lacked the power to enforce his will upon the parties, and especially upon Pašić and the Old Radicals. But as Pašić grew older, and especially after his death in 1927, King Alexander—for on 16 August,

1921, less than two months after taking solemn oath to the new constitution, he succeeded to the Crown on his father's death—asserted his political influence more and more, and tended to play off the factions against each other and to entrust the power to men who placed personal allegiance to the Crown before all other considerations. This explains his estrangement from men like Davidović, to whom democratic principles were a reality, but whom the King regarded as unduly doctrinaire, or like Pribičević, who had a will as domineering as his own, or like Radić, who, weathercock though he may have been, had a single-minded, perhaps unpractical, belief in a peasant State.

Certain it is that in these years the King convinced himself that democracy was not a workable form of government in Yugoslavia, though his critics may be excused for pointing out that his own methods contributed materially towards making it unworkable. Once more we are confronted with problems of an extremely controversial nature, which are fundamental to any understanding of the man, and cannot be altogether passed over even in an obituary notice. The Skupština murders in June, 1928, produced an absolute cleavage between Zagreb and Belgrade, and even the King himself used the ominous phrase of "amputation" as a possible solution: and though his personal tact in visiting the wounded Radić in hospital and making himself responsible for the education of Pavle Radić's family did something to allay the tension, he clung to ministers whom the Croats regarded as compromised and withheld even a minimum of concession. And, meanwhile, amid the dearth of statesmanship, there was ripening in him the conviction that Personal Government was the true ideal and that he was predestined for the experiment. Perhaps one day even upon a wider Slavonic stage: for there is no doubt that his Russian memories and connections blended with the parlous example of inverted autocracy in Russia, and with the influence of many civil and ecclesiastical Russian refugees in Yugoslavia, to whet his ultimate ambitions.

On 6 January, 1929, then, the King abolished the Vidovdan Constitution, with all existing political liberties, and established himself as dictator, expressly assuming the entire responsibility for the change, instead of sheltering himself behind some civil or military puppet. In the early days of the new régime he had proclaimed his desire to revert to a democratic system after the interval necessary to root out existing abuses. But already on 3 October, 1929, another royal decree was issued, adopting the official name of Yugoslavia (instead of the cumbersome "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and

Slovenes") and dividing it into nine new and artificial provinces; and a third royal manifesto of 3 July, 1930, declared that there could never be any return to the historic provinces or to the old parties. Finally, the dictatorship emphasised still more strongly the permanent character which it desired to impart to the new régime, by the promulgation of the new constitution of 3 September, 1931. Of this it must suffice here to say that it assures to the Crown powers such as no other reigning sovereign in Europe even remotely possesses, and indeed makes the Crown the axle upon which the whole body politic turns.

King Alexander occupied the position of dictator for nearly six years, but the problems which he had set out to solve remained unsolved. Yugoslav liberties remain suspended, the new Skupština and Senate have no claim to be regarded as elected bodies, their composition being as artificial as that of the Reichstag, the Sejm or the Fascist Grand Council. The Press is completely muzzled, there is no freedom of association or assembly, the Bench is subject to political influence, all the old parties continue to be suppressed and their leaders are interned or under police supervision. No concession of any kind has been made to Croat, and, of course, still less to Macedonian, aspirations. There have been countless overtures and "feelers" put out; emissaries of the Court have approached the various leaders of opinion and discussed the possibilities of a new régime; but no result has been achieved, for the simple reason that they were expected to give and not to receive, to submit and not to bargain.

If the vast silent mass of opinion in the former Habsburg provinces—the so-called "Prečani" or people "from the other side"—dissent as strongly as ever from the double denial of national equality and political liberty, and if a strong proportion of the Serbs also resent their loss of self-government, a subtle change had none the less come over the political scene during the last year or eighteen months of the King's life. If incapable of concessions where his prerogative was concerned, he had latterly revealed an increasing initiative in the field of foreign policy; and a series of royal visits to Roumania, Bulgaria and Turkey did much to improve the political atmosphere and to prepare the way for Balkan co-operation on an undreamt-of scale. King Alexander was consistently loyal to the Little Entente and fully concurred with the efforts of MM. Beneš, Titulescu and Jevtić to deepen its foundations and extend its political and economic scope. At the same time he devoted much effort to building up a new Balkan League—compris-

ing Yugoslavia, Roumania and the reconciled enemies, Turkey and Greece—on lines which are intended to exclude foreign intrigue and interference. The Gladstonian watchword of "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples" is at last to become a reality; they are no longer to be incited against each other by this or that Great Power. But it was the special merit of King Alexander that while eager to complete the ring by including Bulgaria also, he recognised the delicate character of the problem, the impossibility of demanding political renunciations of any kind and the need for making the new policy as easy as possible for Sofia. His State visit to Sofia, only ten days before the fatal journey to France, was from this point of view an unqualified success and laid foundations upon which it should prove possible to build further.

What gives this movement for co-operation and peace in south-eastern Europe so hopeful a character is the fact that it has not merely the active support of France and the negative approval of Britain, but is now favoured from two very different angles, by Germany and Soviet Russia. It was in the direction of Moscow that the late King showed special reserves, and he was not ready to move so fast as his allies in Bucarest and Prague; personal antipathies and loyalties again played their part. But he was, of course, fully aware that events were moving in that sense, and that in the international field Russia once more had parallel interests with his own country. Where the present situation differs so curiously from that of pre-war days, is that this no longer precludes cordial co-operation between Belgrade and Berlin, which are both watching with absorbed attention developments on the Adriatic and in the Eastern Alps.

King Alexander had an ideal family life. He married on 8 June, 1922, Princess Marie of Roumania, and thus his three sons—King Peter II, Tomislav, named after the first Croatian King, and Andrew—are great-grandsons at one and the same time of Kara George, King Nicholas, Queen Victoria, and Tsar Alexander II, and they also have Hohenzollern, Beauharnais and Murat blood in their veins.

In private life he had studious tastes and was something of a bibliophile; his health was not sufficiently robust for him to devote himself to violent exercise. None the less he was essentially a soldier in outlook and temperament, and was never happier than in the company of his brother officers. He was simple in his tastes, had a winning and attractive manner, and listened with interest and attention to all and sundry. But everything seems to suggest that he found it increasingly difficult to act upon advice where big issues

were concerned, and preferred subservient ministers to men of outspoken or independent character. This followed fatally from the authoritarian view of the State and of State policy to which he leaned more and more after the death of his constitutionally-minded father, and in proportion as the elder statesmen died and gave him his opportunity.

In a country where religion sits lightly, he was a loyal son of the Orthodox Church; but here, too, his influence was used in a reactionary sense. Under his rule the democratic constitution of the Patriarchal See of Karlovci has been undermined in favour of the Erastian and rigidly clerical outlook of pre-war Belgrade; and though there are new elements working in the Church—partly under Anglican influence—the main tendency is essentially reactionary, inspired by Russian exiled clerics and by a Patriarch who is, above all, interested in the Serbisation of Macedonia and in proselytism against the Catholics.

Unquestionably the King's outstanding quality was courage, and it might, indeed, be contended that he had more than his due share and took many unnecessary risks with his eyes open. The assumption of the entire responsibility for an unpopular régime did him honour, but was a grave political blunder and led him into a blind alley from which he was still seeking an outlet; just as his concentration of all power in his own person has accentuated the constitutional difficulties now that that person is removed. But whatever the view which may be taken of King Alexander, no one can deny that he has left a deep mark upon the history of his country and made his own contribution to the cause of national unity. Last winter, when a terrorist outrage against his life had failed in Zagreb, the sculptor Meštrović reproached him for his lack of precautions, and he replied, "I know it may happen at any moment. We must be ready for it. They are wrong if they think that by killing me they can kill Yugoslavia. I am only a man, and many have built before me. It will only be the stronger if I fall for it." The extraordinary outburst of grief and indignation which swept the country after his murder, and for which some kind of appeasement must be found at Geneva if grave dangers for Europe are to be averted, was in no sense an endorsement of the dead King's régime, but an instinctive feeling that with all his faults he was the living symbol of Unity and had, as it were, paid a vicarious sacrifice for each one of his subjects.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY (1844-1934).

EKATERINA KONSTANTINOVNA BRESHKOVSKAYA was born in a family of squires with a long pedigree, seventeen years before the abolition of serfdom in Russia. Her childhood and youth were spent on the estate of her parents. She might have grown up and "made a good match," but from her childhood she was attracted to everything that concerned the peasants, and her favourite playmates were the children of serfs. She was always darting out from the comfortable manor to visit the poor peasant huts. The exploits of Christian saints, whose lives her mother was always reading to her and the rest of the family, strengthened her passionate longing to serve the simple and ignorant people.

After the emancipation of the peasants she with her father and husband devoted herself entirely to cultural work in the *zemstvo*. The reaction which came so soon in St. Petersburg roughly uprooted this local work of education. To this her father and husband submitted, but she abandoned all her personal life and in 1874 went out for ever to conspirative revolutionary work.

At that time had begun the pilgrimage of the young Russian student folk to the people. The Government arrested hundreds of enthusiastic "Narodniks," and set up the trial of "the one hundred and ninety three," which was famous in Russian political history. Breshkovskaya was, of course, among those condemned to convict labour. Prison, the long march, work as a convict in Siberia, an attempt at escape, more hard labour, and then exile to a settlement at Barguzy, on the Chinese frontier—thus were spent some twenty years. After twenty-two years Breshkovskaya at last returned to Russia. To find rest? No! The period from 1896 to 1903 was for her one of the most active work. While the police followed on her heels, she secretly travelled through literally the whole of Russia, creating the Party of Social Revolutionaries, and everywhere inspiring young folk to fight for freedom for the whole people and for land for the peasants—under the motto of "land and liberty."

In 1903 she went abroad for two years. She carried out a great campaign in the United States for the Russian movement of liberation. In 1905, even before the manifesto of October 17/30, she returned secretly for revolutionary work in Russia. The famous *agent provocateur* of the police department, Azef, betrayed her in 1907 in Saratov. In 1910 she was again tried in St. Petersburg.

"Your occupation?" asked the president of the court at the

beginning of the trial "My occupation?" said the old woman of sixty-six with surprise, "Revolution" "What can you say to justify yourself?" said the president at the end of the trial. "I have nothing to justify I have not changed in any way from the time when you tried me in 1878, and you, too, have not changed at all Then give judgment on me again" The sentence was settlement for life in Siberia This time they sent "Granny" to the remote little town of Kirensk on the Lena It was there that I met her myself in 1912 when I was on my way to investigate the brutal massacre of workmen at the Lena goldfields.¹ From this very first meeting there was formed between us a quite exceptional relationship, which could only be interrupted by death Soon afterwards Breshkovskaya made another attempt to escape She was caught near Irkutsk, and was given a year and a half of solitary confinement. Every evening the governor of the prison himself set the crown seal on the door of her cell Then came her new exile to a settlement—her fourth—this time she was sent to the very extreme north, to the village of Bulun, on the Lower Lena. The War had already begun (1915) Numerous friends of "Granny" in America organised a very strong campaign to save this old lady of seventy. The Government brought her back from her journey to Bulun, and let her settle in the nearer and more civilised little town of Minusinsk.

The 27th February, 1917, saw the fall of the monarchy. In the very first hours of the existence of the Provisional Government I, as Minister of Justice, sent a telegram to the proper authority to set Breshkovskaya free at once, and bring her to St. Petersburg. Her passage from Siberia to the capital was a triumphal march. Next followed only a few months of free life in Russia—only a few months for her whole life. Then came the reactionary *coup d'état* of Lenin. "Where there is no freedom there is no revolution," said Breshkovskaya. From the very first day of the dictatorship she became an irreconcilable enemy of the Bolsheviks. Again she engaged in secret work, this time calling others to rise against the betrayal of the freedom and rights of the people A short, sharp struggle on the Volga under the flag of the Constituent Assembly, which had been dispersed by the bayonets of the Red Letts; retreat through Siberia with the Czech legions; Japan; once more America; and then the heavy conditions of emigrant life in Prague, and here again a hard war with speech and pen against the heirs

¹ One of the first signal occasions for Mr Kerensky's great gift of oratory was his impeachment of the officials responsible for this massacre —ED

of Lenin, and besides that an enormous mass of educational work among the impoverished and destitute people of Carpathian Russia, which after the War had become part of Czechoslovakia.

Such is a very short account of a wonderful life. Many will write of Breshkovskaya, and they will have much to say. The chronology of her life is the chronology of Russia from the Emperor Nicholas I up to the dictatorship of Stalin. Her public life is the history of the Russian revolutionary movement for almost three-quarters of a century. Her political thoughts are to be studied in connection with the development of populist ideas, right up to those which were taken as the foundation of the party of Social Revolutionaries.

All this will later be described in detail, but that is not the unique significance of the life of Ekaterina Breshkovskaya. It lies in the inspired discovery of the final and most intimate meaning of human life. Tolstoy wrote a tale entitled "What people live by." Breshkovskaya showed by her life that people live by their love for their fellow men, by service to their God in spirit and in truth. Where is the source of the inextinguishable force of her love for her fellow men? I will answer this fundamental question in her own words, which she wrote a few years ago:—

"My attraction to all that suffered grew up with me, and the teaching of Christ served as my support and comfort. The often repeated idea that people have not the strength to follow in the steps of Christ did not touch me. *He* taught. That meant that He thought us able to follow His teaching. My view of life was full of this consciousness before I had ever read a single socialist book. I first got to know them in prison . . . The theories of socialism—both old and new—were not for me the full discovery of the truth of life. The socialist teaching has profound significance only when it is illuminated by the light of the words of Christ: Love thy neighbour as thyself."

The service of truth through love for one's fellow men was throughout her life Breshkovskaya's religion. The ways in which she understood her faith changed, but the substance remained unchangeable, and, indeed, it is only by profound faith, by inextinguishable and ardent love that a present-day man can be moved to live the life which was lived by Breshkovskaya. Going out in the morning of her mature life from a rich home, from a beloved family, she for all the rest of her days had never the security of a roof or property or even clothing of her own. And if her friends gave her a spare frock or shift, she at once gave this extra to someone who was poorer than herself. She entered prison as if it were a

palace, for prison was for her simply a continuation of a life devoted to love for her fellow men. "It is not what people are afraid of," she said, "that is terrible—poverty, persecution and prison; but something that does not frighten them, life in a groove, life for oneself." To all she was unvaryingly affectionate, to revolutionaries or to the warders driving her on her march to Siberia. "That man is a bad sort," she said about one of them, "but you must treat him as a decent fellow, and perhaps he will feel that he is a human being." Professional politics never engaged her interest, but her religious attitude to the right of man to social justice turned her life into a steady political struggle which allowed of no mercy for herself or for others—even involving revolutionary terrorism. Speculators in politics she drove away unmercifully, because for her politics was not "dirty work" but a matter of life, the service of truth. The whole life of Breshkovskaya was one burning torrent of unreckoning love, which swept away on its path every barrier set up by calculations of reason. And here is what is so wonderful: the unreckoning proved to be the highest reason; for all with any insight cannot fail to see at once that the path of Breshkovskaya, the path of service to truth through love for one's fellow men is the only path by which men can be saved from the civilised barbarism that now clutches at them from all sides.

ALEXANDER KERENSKY.

METROPOLITAN PLATON

ON 20 April this year one of the most outstanding Bishops of the Russian Church died in New York. Metropolitan Platon was a learned theologian, but above all he was a great leader of the Church, upon whom fell the heavy burden of administering its affairs in the very difficult years of the Russian Revolution.

In secular life Porfiry Rozhdestvensky, he was born on 23 February, 1866, in the Government of Kursk. The son of a village priest, he at first followed the career of his father, but the early death of his wife completely changed his destiny, for, like many other widowed priests in Russia, he took monastic vows and entered the Kiev Theological Academy. He was first in his Honours Degree and was asked to join the staff. In 1898 he was elected professor, after obtaining the degree of Master of Divinity for his work *The Ancient East in the Light of Divine Revelation*. In 1902 he was nominated Dean of the Academy and Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Kiev.

The stormy years of the first Russian Revolution, 1904-5, brought him to the public notice. He was one of the few bishops who was able to deal successfully with the excited revolutionary mob, and his popularity was such that he was elected a member of the first Russian Duma, representing the city of Kiev.

In 1907 he was transferred to America, where he succeeded the Archbishop Tikhon, the future Patriarch of Russia.

In 1914 he was appointed to the See of Kishinev in Bessarabia.

The Revolution of 1917 found him occupying the high post of Exarch of Georgia. In this critical year, when the three leading Metropolitans of Petrograd, Moscow, and Kiev, compromised through their association with Rasputin, had to retire, it was Platon who undertook the difficult task of governing the Russian Church. He was nominated Senior Bishop of the Holy Synod, and the most responsible work of the preparation of the first All Russian Church Council was done by him. As a reward for his exceptional services, the Holy Synod awarded him the personal title of Metropolitan, which had few precedents in Russian Church history.

The advent of the Communists in October, 1917, gave an opportunity for a further manifestation of the extraordinary courage and wisdom of Metropolitan Platon. He led the negotiations with the Communist authorities, and it was he who secured permission from the new Government to enthrone the Patriarch in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour. He was also able to save the lives of many military cadets who were captured by the Communists during the Civil War in Moscow. He had the privilege of leading the Metropolitan Tikhon to the Patriarchal Throne on his election as Patriarch, and put upon him the insignia of his new office.

For a short time he was Metropolitan of Kherson, after which he returned to America, and his last years were spent as head of the Russian Church in the United States and Canada.

This period was probably one of the most difficult in his career. The Russian Church was rent asunder by schisms, and Metropolitan Platon had to face the rival claims of Metropolitan Kedrovsky, a member of the Living Church, a sect which split off from the main body of the Russian Church in 1921-22. The latter won his case in the Courts of Law in the struggle over Russian Church property, and seized the Russian Cathedral in New York. Later, in 1926, another split occurred, which was caused by the bishops, adherents of the Russian Synod, which meets at Karlovtsy in Yugoslavia. Metropolitan Platon was, however, able to retain the allegiance of the large majority of Russian parishes in North America, having the

support of five suffragan bishops. The part of the Russian Church in the States led by him was on particularly friendly terms with the American Episcopalian Church, which generously helped it in its time of distress and even offered to Metropolitan Platon the use of part of the Episcopalian Cathedral in New York, which place remained his official residence until his death.

Metropolitan Platon shared all the vicissitudes of the last fifty years of the Russian Church's history. He began as a bishop of the Established Church in Russia, strictly controlled by the Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod. He experienced the years of revolution and died as the presiding bishop of a self-governing church. Throughout all these trials he never lost his faith and courage, and above all, his acute sense of the responsibility entrusted to him through his high calling, and these qualities of his, combined with great natural intelligence and strength of character, made him one of the most distinguished bishops of his generation.

N ZERNOV.

BRONISŁAW PIERACKI

BRONISŁAW PIERACKI, Polish Minister of the Interior, was killed on 15 June in a Warsaw street by an assassin who has not yet been traced.

He was born in 1895 at Gorlice in the south of Poland (then under the Austrian domination), and when still a schoolboy he joined the patriotic Sharpshooters Association formed by Pilsudski. When the war broke out he enlisted in the Polish Legion, and fought in a number of battles in the Carpathians, in one of which he was severely wounded. He was under fire again at Lwów in 1918, and after the Polish-Soviet campaign of 1920 he was decorated with the cross of the order "*Virtuti Militari*."

After the war he passed through the High Military College, and he was appointed adjutant to the Minister of War, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

After the *coup d'état* of 1926 he began his work at the Ministry of the Interior, becoming Under Secretary of State in 1929, and Minister in 1931.

In 1928 he was elected deputy to the Sejm as a candidate of the "Non-Party Governmental Block," of which he was one of the most energetic and enthusiastic members.

Perhaps the best characterisation of Pieracki was given by Professor Kozłowski, the Prime Minister, in his funeral address: "The

directing idea and principal aim of his work was to deepen the conception of the authoritarian order and to harmonise it with freedom and with the liberties of the citizen. It was a long-term policy of bringing together on the common platform of the State all social and national groups of citizens—seeking for understanding, reconciliation and the elements of community life in the name of the strength and power of the Republic.”

WACŁAW BOROWY.

ALEXANDER POTRESOV

ALEXANDER NIKOLAYEVICH POTRESOV, who died recently in Paris as an *émigré*, at the age of 65 or 66, played a prominent part in the Russian social-democratic movement.

From the moment when I finally broke with Marxism and parted with Social Democracy, that is from 1901, my personal intercourse with Potresov had almost ceased. But in the emigration I met him again not so long ago, and the impression of this our last meeting merely helped to revive my old personal sympathy for him and strengthened my high estimate of his personality. But in the period of the formation of Russian Social Democracy, that is from 1890, when I first met Potresov, up to early in 1901, we were bound by close personal ties, and I feel prompted to an appreciation of this morally and intellectually fine, gifted and honest man whom I always loved and valued.

Of all the Russian Social Democrats and Marxists who remained true to the doctrine of the movement, he was, next to or after Vera Zasulich, the finest.

He was very fine intellectually, and I could never understand, it was almost a puzzle to me, how he could have worn all his life long the “Marxist” stays. There was in this something of the psychology of the “conscience-stricken gentry”¹—Potresov came from a good old family and in his youth was a man of independent means—as well as a peculiar longing of a tender, almost poetic soul for the austere shackles of some dogma. His “Marxism” was a kind of spiritual “obedience” (*obœdientia*), almost a self-castigation, of an artistic nature.

¹ This was the name by which Nicholas Mikhaylovsky described the frame of mind of those members of the privileged class in Russia who regarded not so much their legal prerogatives as their material well-being and the very possibility of leading a life of the spirit, as a kind of “sin against the people.” This sin had to be redeemed by working for the benefit of the people in the spirit of Socialism. This psychology was typical of “Populism,” but it was unconsciously shared by some Marxists.

As a man of artistic inclinations, tormented by an insatiable desire for repentance, longing for the shackles and chains of a dogma, Potresov could not, however, share the Bolsheviks' revolutionary contempt for law and humanity. Therefore Bolshevism and the Soviet régime were repulsive to him, this inflexible "Marxist" went into emigration, where he edited his anti-Communist *Diary of a Social Democrat*.

It was a nervous and sickly disposition, I think, that prevented Potresov from showing himself in his full stature as a writer. His literary legacy is small, but it contains things which are of first-rate importance for the history of Russian public life and in particular of the revolutionary intelligentsia, both as the testimony of an eyewitness and as a subtle historical analysis by an intelligent and meticulously honest man. Such, for instance, is his long, really classical, article on legal Marxism in the miscellany *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX veka*, published before the war under the joint editorship of Potresov himself, Martov-Zederbaum and Maslov. But Potresov also had in him the makings of a good scholar. He was the author of an extremely interesting and original article, full of subtle observations of his own, on the padlock handicraft in the famous village of Pavlovo, in the province of Nizhny Novgorod, which appeared in the miscellany *Materialy dlya kharakteristiki nashego khozyaistvennago razvitiia* (SPB 1895)—this miscellany was suppressed and destroyed by the censorship.²

Potresov's outward appearance, his face, with its vast forehead, which remained handsome even in his old age, reflected the noble and attractive qualities of the mind of this intelligent and gifted man.

PETER STRUVE.

LEONID SOBINOV

NEWS has recently reached this country of the death of Leonid Vitalievich Sobinov, one of Russia's most popular operatic singers, at the age of sixty-two.

Sobinov, who was born at Yaroslavl, on 26 May (O.S.), 1872, was Shalyapin's senior by more than a year. He came of a merchant family, but was sent to study law at Moscow University. Before he had qualified in jurisprudence, in 1894, he discovered that he was gifted as a singer, and entered the Philharmonic School of Music

² One of the few copies saved from destruction of this miscellany, which was *de facto* edited by Potresov and myself, was at the time sent by us to the library of the British Museum. It is now a great bibliographical rarity.

carrying on his classes under Dodonov and Santagana-Gorchakova simultaneously with his legal studies. In 1897, Sobinov was engaged at the Imperial Opera House, Moscow, and at once embarked upon a very successful career. He was a lyric tenor of great charm and reliability, but he had not Shalyapin's heart-shaking power of dramatic expression, nor his subtle psychological insight. Sobinov excelled in such parts as the King of Berendey, in Rimsky-Korsakov's folk opera, *The Snow Maiden*, and the unhappy Lensky in Chaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin*. It was in these parts that the writer remembers hearing him in the early years of the present century. He was also very much admired in cosmopolitan opera, especially in Gounod's *Faust* and *Romeo and Juliet*. Sobinov was nearly as popular in St. Petersburg as in the old capital, and was known in all the great cities of Russia as a concert singer no less than as an operatic singer. Rakhmaninov dedicated many of his favourite lyrics to him. Sobinov remained in Russia after the Revolution and accepted the title, bestowed on him by the Soviet Government, of "People's Artist of the Republic."

ROSA NEWMARCH.

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XI.)

(Selection of Decrees and Documents)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

On the establishment of the All-Union People's Commissariat for Home Affairs.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR decrees :—

1. To establish the Pan-Union People's Commissariat for Home Affairs and to include in it the United State Political Department (OGPU)

2. The People's Commissariat for Home Affairs is to be charged with the following duties :—

- (a) Ensuring of revolutionary order and security of the State.
- (b) Safeguarding of public (socialist) property.
- (c) Registration of civil acts (registration of births, deaths, marriages and divorces).
- (d) Guarding of frontiers.

3. To form the following departments in the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs :—

- (a) Department of Security of the State.
- (b) Department of Workers' and Peasants' Police.
- (c) Department of Security of frontiers and of order in the country.

- (d) Department of Fire Defence.
- (e) Department of correctional and labour camps and labour settlements.
- (f) Department of Civil Acts.
- (g) Administrative and Economic Department.

4 To organise, in the allied republics, republican People's Commissariats for Home Affairs which are to function on the basis of the same Regulations as the Pan-Union People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, and to establish in the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, instead of the republican People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, the office of Plenipotentiary Representative of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the USSR. To organise in autonomous republics, provinces and regions, local departments of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the allied republics.

5. To abolish the judicial commission of the OGPU.

6. The People's Commissariat for Home Affairs and its local departments are to hand over the papers regarding criminal offences which are investigated by them, after the investigation has been completed, to the courts in correspondence with their jurisdiction and in accordance with the existing legal procedure.

7. Documents relating to cases investigated by the Department of Security of the State in the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, are to be handed over to the Supreme Court of the USSR, and the papers relating to such crimes as treason, espionage and the like, are to be handed over to the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR or to the Military Tribunals according to their jurisdiction.

8. To form a Special Council attached to the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the USSR which, in accordance with its Statute, shall have power to issue orders regarding administrative deportation, exile, imprisonment in correctional and labour camps for a term not exceeding 5 years and deportation outside the confines of the USSR.

9 To instruct the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the USSR to present the Statute of the Pan-Union People's Commissariat for Home Affairs to the Council of People's Commissariat of the USSR for confirmation.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 10 July, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 11 July, 1934, No. 160-5408.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—On the same date a decree was issued by the Central Executive Committee appointing Comrades H. G. Yagoda, Y. S. Agranov and G. E. Prokofiev to the posts of People's Commissary of Home Affairs,

and first and second assistant respectively. H. G. Yagoda was the vice-chairman of the OGPU, and, owing to the chronic illness of its nominal chief, the late Comrade Menzhinsky, was the virtual head of this institution. Comrades Agranov and Prokofiev also occupied important posts in the OGPU administration.)

Decree of the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR.

On the supplementing of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR with Article 192a.

In correspondence with Article 2 of the Decree of the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee of 7 June, 1923, "Regarding the Alteration of the Codes" (Collection of Laws, 1923, No. 54, file number 530), the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR decree:—

To supplement the Criminal Code of the RSFSR with Article 192a, the contents of which are as follows:—

"192a. Repeated infringements of the established Regulations regarding the registration of passports or temporary certificates by persons who arrive at localities where the passport system had been introduced, if they have the necessary documents, are to be punished by imprisonment in correctional and labour places of detention for a term up to six months. Persons who reside in such localities without having passports or temporary certificates and who had already been punished for such an offence by administrative bodies, are liable to be sent to prison up to a term of 2 years."

President of the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee,
M. KALININ

Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the
RSFSR,

T. RYSKULOV.

Assistant Secretary of the Pan-Russian Central Executive
Committee,

Moscow, Kremlin, 1 July, 1934.

NOVIKOV.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 11 July, 1934, No. 160-5408.)

To all Public Prosecutors of the Allied Republics.

During the last few days a number of facts have come to my notice testifying to the deceiving of the State by some directors of sovkhozy, chairmen of kolhozy and managers of Machine-Tractor Stations. They maliciously send false reports about poor harvests (Odessa province, Azovsko-Chernomorsky region, North Caucasus, South Kazakstan, Middle Volga region, Saratov province, and so on), withhold deliveries of grain to the State, do not fulfil their obligations with regard to the payments

in kind, and so on. Together with this, in a number of districts the losses during harvesting were very large (for example, in the Chardzuisk district of the Turkoman Soviet Socialist Republic about 20 per cent. of grain was left in the fields after the harvesting). According to information received by the Chief Public Prosecutor of the USSR, the local public prosecutors do not always react in time to such criminal offences and in many cases the culprits remain unpunished. In many districts the public prosecutors and criminal investigators do not conduct the necessary struggle against pilferers of grain and illicit traders in grain.

I instruct you, in correspondence with my former directions, to order immediately all public prosecutors subordinated to you, to increase their efforts in respect of the struggle against fraudulent reports on the harvest, criminal negligence during harvesting, pilfering of grain, illicit grain trade and all other actions of class-hostile and anti-soviet elements which hinder the punctual and strict fulfilment of grain deliveries. You must organise this work in such a manner as not to leave a single report made by Political Departments, not a single fact revealed in the Press or made public at meetings, without immediate investigation. Inform me immediately of the measures you have taken.

The Chief Public Prosecutor of the USSR,

I. AKULOV.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 2 August, 1934, No. 178-5426.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On changes in the assessment of individual peasant households for obligatory deliveries of grain to the State.

In connection with the discovery of cases of non-fulfilment, by individual peasants, of the programmes of autumn and spring sowing fixed for them by law, and also of cases of infringements of the law regarding the obligatory deliveries of grain to the State, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decrees :—

1. To instruct the Commission for the Purchase of Agricultural Products attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR to assess the individual peasant households which have had no sowing programmes fixed for them, for obligatory deliveries of grain to the State in accordance with the actually sown areas under grain cultures and in quantities of 50 per cent. in excess of the tax levied on the kolhozy which are not served by the Machine-Tractor Stations (instead of the tax fixed for individual peasants who have sowing programmes, which exceeds the tax levied on the kolhozy not served by Machine-Tractor Stations by 5 or 10 per cent. per hectare).

2. In alteration of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR of 17 July, 1933 (Collection of Laws of the USSR, 1933, No. 45, file number 268) and of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-

4. To reprimand the Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, Comrade Shverník, for the absence of a systematically organised control on the part of the trades unions over the work of the Departments of Workers' Supply and of the consumers' co-operatives, on account of which criminal facts of cheating of the consumers and infringements of the regulated retail prices have remained unpunished; to instruct the All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions to take criminal proceedings against officials of factory and office committees of those undertakings and institutions where cheating in weighing and measuring and infringements of retail prices have been practised.

5. To reprimand the head of the Central Board of Weights and Measures, Comrade Shur, for inefficient work in respect of securing the retail trade with correct balances, weights and meters, and for not taking steps to prevent the use of inaccurate measuring appliances.

To instruct the Commission of Soviet Control to examine, within a month's time, the work of the Central Board of Weights and Measures and of its local branches and to report to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR on their suggestions for ensuring the fulfilment of the duties imposed upon this Board.

7. To instruct the People's Commissariat of Supply, the Centrosoyuz and the Main Boards of Workers' Supply of all Commissariats to test, under the personal responsibility of their heads, within a month's time, the correctness of balances, weights and all other weighing and measuring appliances in shops, kiosks and bars under their authority and to replace immediately all defective and not correctly tested appliances. To instruct the Commission of the Party Control to see that this Resolution be carried out and to report to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party not later than on 15 August.

8. To instruct the Central Committees of the National Communist Parties and the provincial and regional committees of the Party to take criminal proceedings, when cases of cheating and infringements of retail prices are discovered, not only against shop managers, shop assistants and managers of higher trading organisations, but also against the secretaries of the Party committees of those undertakings and establishments where cases of cheating and infringements of regulated retail prices have been allowed to occur.

9. To instruct the editors of *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and other central and local papers (provincial, district, factory) to brand mercilessly organisations and persons guilty of infringements of regulated retail prices, as bourgeois degenerates.

26 July, 1934.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party
(Bolsheviki).

(Published in *Izvestia*, 5 August, 1934, No. 181-5429.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

Regarding the extra tax imposed on individual peasant households in 1934.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree:—

To assess the individual peasant households for an extra tax on the following basis:—

I. The extra tax is to be levied on individual peasant households in the villages, as well as in those settlements and towns the population of which is liable to pay the agricultural tax in 1934.

II. The rates of extra tax are fixed as follows:—

(1) Individual households assessed in 1934 for the agricultural tax at fixed rates, are to pay extra tax at the following rate:—

(a) Those who do not possess working animals and income from trading and who are liable to pay agricultural tax—from 15 to 25 roubles;

(b) Those who do not possess working animals, but have an income from trading—from 30 to 50 roubles;

(c) Those who possess working animals—from 50 to 125 roubles.

2. Individual householders who are liable to pay the progressive agricultural tax, are to be assessed for extra tax at the following rates:—

(a) Those who do not possess working animals and do not have any income from trading—from 75 to 100 per cent. above the 1934 agricultural tax, but not less than the rate of the extra tax levied upon corresponding households which pay the fixed agricultural tax (Art 1),

(b) Those who possess working animals or have an income from trading—from 100 to 175 per cent. above the 1934 agricultural tax, but not less than the rate of the extra tax levied upon corresponding households which pay the fixed agricultural tax (Art 1).

(3) Kulak households pay extra tax at the rate of 200 per cent. above the agricultural tax levied on them in 1934.

(4) Households which maliciously fail to fulfil the sowing programmes fixed for them and to carry out the obligatory deliveries of agricultural products to the State, are to be assessed for extra tax on the basis set forth above, but the rates of tax demanded from them should be doubled.

III. The Councils of People's Commissaries of the Allied Republics which are not divided into provinces and regions, the Councils of People's Commissaries of autonomous republics, provincial and regional executive committees are to fix the final rates of the extra tax for each separate district; for the localities with especially large money incomes, the rates may be increased, but not more than by 50 per cent., in comparison with the maximum rates fixed in Article II of the present Decree.

IV. The times for payment of extra tax are to be fixed by the Councils of People's Commissaries of the Allied Republics which are not divided

into provinces and regions, by the Councils of People's Commissaries of autonomous republics and by the provincial and regional executive committees in such a manner as to arrange that 50 per cent. of the taxes are paid not later than on 15 November, 1934, and the whole sum not later than 15 December, 1934. Kulak households must pay the extra tax in one instalment and not later than 15 November, 1934.

V. In case of non-payment of tax in time, the village soviets must apply measures of compulsory exaction towards the defaulters in strict correspondence with the laws regarding the exaction of defaulted taxes.

VI. The following categories are fully exempted from the assessment for the extra tax :—

(a) households of workers and officials who are engaged in agriculture in their kitchen-gardens and who possess not more than one cow, one head of small cattle and meadows, but do not have arable land and working animals, if the main source of their income is wages,

(b) households of members of kolhozy;

(c) individual households exempted from the 1934 agricultural tax owing to their poverty;

(d) households the membership of which includes :—

1. Heroes of the Soviet Union, persons decorated with the Orders of the USSR or with honorary revolutionary arms, and the heroes of labour;

2. Private soldiers and also officers of the lower rank in compulsory and voluntary service in the armed forces, including those who are to be called to the colours in the autumn of 1934.

3. Active and reserve officers of the middle, senior and superior ranks of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

4. Officers of lower rank who have been transferred from the category of "on long leave" to the category of "temporary complement of territorial units."

5. Those officers of the middle, senior and superior ranks who are "on long leave," in reserve and in the temporary complements of territorial units of the Workers' and Peasants' Army and who are employed in military training of the toilers in the capacity of permanent officers of the Osoaviokhim.

6. Former Red Guards and Red Partisans.

7. Persons on the administrative staff and in the rank and file of militarised guards and militarised fire-brigades employed at undertakings and constructions of special State importance, members of the Workers' and Peasants' police force, and also all persons on the staffs of correctional and labour establishments.

8. War and labour invalids of the first, second and third categories.

(e) Households of families of village activists who have suffered from kulak vengeance, and the households of foresters murdered while carrying out their duties.

(f) Individual households, the members of which have contracted

themselves, for not less than one year, for underground work in the coal industry; households, the members of which have contracted themselves in 1934 for permanent work in sovhozy for a period not less than one agricultural season; households of colonists exempted in 1934 from the agricultural tax, and the households of small prospectors for gold.

(g) Individual households of the northern borderlands and of some other localities of the Union exempted from the agricultural tax in correspondence with Art. 86 of the Regulations regarding the Agricultural Tax, and those households which are exempted from the agricultural tax on account of the losses they suffered in 1934 from elemental disasters.

VII. To grant power to the village soviets to exempt, fully or partially, from the extra tax weak individual households. The lists of households which are to be exempted, fully or partially, from the extra tax on account of their weakness, are to be presented by the village soviets to the district executive committees for their approval.

VIII. The district executive committees are granted power to exempt, fully or partially, from the extra tax those households which have fulfilled, fully and in the time specified, their obligations towards the State in regard of payment of money taxes and obligatory deliveries of agricultural products.

IX. The money accruing from the extra tax is to be divided as follows: 75 per cent. to the State budget; 10 per cent. to the provincial and regional budgets, and 15 per cent. to the district budgets.

X. The People's Commissariat of Finances of the USSR is to issue detailed instructions as to the practical application of the present Decree.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

A. CHERVYAKOV.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 26 September, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 27 September, 1934, No. 227-5475.)

To all workers of heavy industries.

Comrades!

3½ years ago, when the socialist and economic reconstruction had developed itself, our leader, Comrade Stalin, at the conference of the economic workers, gave the slogan: "Bolsheviks must master technique." Six months later, at another conference, Comrade Stalin formulated six historical conditions which have become the leading principles of all economic work. On the eve of the second Five Year Plan, the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party, upon Comrade Stalin's

suggestion, called upon the builders of Socialism to couple "enthusiasm of construction with enthusiasm of mastery." The XVIIth Congress of the Party, when ascertaining the results of the industrialisation of the country and of the organisation of socialist economy, pointed out to us that one of the most essential conditions of the successful development of industry is the correct organisation of all links in our industrial system.

Proceeding along the path pointed out by Comrade Stalin and carrying out the decisions of the Party and of the Soviet Government, the workers of heavy industries increased the output, during eight months of 1934, in comparison with eight months of last year, by 28.4 per cent., fulfilled 64.3 per cent. of the annual programme, raised the production of labour by 11.8 per cent., and decreased the cost of production by 5 per cent.

Comrades! We have every possibility not only to fulfil, but even to surpass the 1934 programme as far as heavy industries are concerned.

In connection with this, it is necessary to emphasise that a number of branches and undertakings of heavy industries are lagging behind, do not fulfil their production programmes, and, owing to that, retard the further progress of all industries and all the national economy. We call upon workers of copper, lead, sulphuric acid, cement, oil (especially the Grozny Oil Trust) industries, the Steel Pipe Trust, undertakings producing metal goods for mass consumption, to have done with slackness and to attain the standard of production reached by the foremost undertakings of the heavy industries.

In 1934 we have failed to overcome seasonal difficulties. In July and August the output of heavy industries was less than in June. This seasonal decrease, which repeats itself every year, indicates that our organisation is inefficient. We must especially remember that, when the winter is approaching. We must carefully ascertain our preparedness for the conditions of winter work and, while learning by former experience, carry out all the measures which should ensure a regular progress of production and not permit the falling of production during the winter of 1934-35.

But the matter rests not only with the ceasing of retardation in a number of branches of industry and with the overcoming of seasonal difficulties. All our undertakings which are fulfilling their programmes, can produce considerably more than they are producing now, because the reserves which are at the disposal of our heavy industries are exceptionally large. We earnestly call the special attention of all economic workers, engineers, technicians, all Party, trades union and Komsomol organisations, all workers engaged in heavy industry, to the question of mobilising these enormous reserves.

The Party and the Government have concentrated the greatest efforts of the country in order to create, in an unprecedentedly short period of time, a powerful heavy industry which is the base of the whole economic reconstruction. Powerful heavy industries armed with up-to-date technique, have been created in our country. Thirty-two milliard roubles have been invested in their reconstruction since 1929. During

this period new investments, amounting to 21·7 milliard roubles, have been applied to actual work. The material reserves, which are invested in heavy industry, are estimated at 40 milliard roubles. The army of workers employed in heavy industry has reached the figure of 6 million persons.

We must always compare the increase in production with these material resources which have been given to us by the Party and the Soviet country. We have not yet utilised all these resources in full, we have not put all these forces at full speed, we can give far more to the country than we are giving now.

The seven-hour working day in our socialist undertakings is utilised productively to the extent of 5 or 5½ hours. Equipment of machine-building factories is working only to the extent of 80 per cent. of its capacity, and in a number of undertakings even less. Out of the total number of mechanical drills and hammers in the coal industry only 60 or 70 per cent. are working, the rest remaining idle. The drilling equipment of the oil industry is utilised for actual drilling and for deepening of oil wells only to the extent of 50 per cent. of the working time. In the iron industry the idleness of Martin furnaces and rolling mills accounts for a considerable deficiency in the production of metal. Rolling mills remain idle 22–25 per cent. of their working time, and in many cases considerably more. We have huge losses, a large amount of defective production, excessive expenditure of materials and fuel in all undertakings. All this shows how large are the reserves which are in the possession of the heavy industries. To mobilise these reserves, to make full use of the powerful equipment—means to master the new technique.

We have in a number of factories and plants excellent standards of working, which often can be favourably compared with the best examples of the world technique, and these factories and plants are working under the same conditions as the rest of our industries. What prevents our heavy industries in all factories and plants from achieving the same success? There are no objective obstacles to attaining better results, because the basic condition—the up-to-date technique—is present in our heavy industries.

The principal means of making use of the enormous reserves of the heavy industries is the correct organisation of labour, correct and efficient management. Because of that, the six conditions of Comrade Stalin have at present even more actual importance. Because of that, the realisation of the resolutions of the XVIIth Congress on improvement in organisation and management of industry is the most essential condition of victory.

We must ensure Bolshevik management, efficient work in all links of our industry, without any exception. We must finish with red tape and bureaucratism, ensure everywhere genuine Bolshevik practical management, go into all details, organise work efficiently. This is the principal and essential condition of a further triumphant advance of all branches of heavy industries, the mobilisation of all our resources.

The struggle for practical management, the merciless struggle for complete uprooting of bureaucratic methods, for efficient work must be permanent, tenacious and persistent. It must be carried on day in and day out in the People's Commissariat, in the factories, in shops and in the workers' homes, at the machines and in the coal mines, in the factory yards and in the warehouses.

By what methods can we triumphantly solve the complicated and responsible problems with which the heavy industry is faced, how must all workers of heavy industry organise the every-day work in order to realise, in all the links of the system, the six conditions of Comrade Stalin, to utilise all our reserves?

Study carefully industrial processes in all their details, organise production correctly, select and correctly distribute necessary—and only necessary—men in order to make the equipment entrusted to you work to its full capacity. Insist upon intensive, but even and steady work according to a clear-cut programme for each month and for each day, and fight the so-called "storm work" and uneven work. Endeavour to achieve improvement in organisation of labour, improvement of technical standards. Director, head of department, instructor, you must yourself be interested in the rate of wages and must correctly place every individual working man in accordance with the results of his work, of his skill and the quality of his production. You must arrange all the questions of wages, because the wages are the mighty lever for increasing productivity of labour and for full utilisation of the working time. Persistently strengthen iron proletarian discipline in all the links of industry. Check the execution of any decisions, without exception, of directing bodies as well as any of your own, and see that they are carried out. Remember always that it is your first duty to see that the State programme is fulfilled in a true Bolshevik spirit. In your instructions and orders always fix the dimensions of the tasks, the time-limit of their execution, and name the persons who are entrusted with the work. Before issuing orders, study all the details of the matter. Study carefully the people with whom you are working, watch them at work, exercise special care about young engineers and technicians, educate them, create for them conditions for improvement of their qualifications and for advancement, develop and encourage their creative initiative in every possible way. Director, you must know personally not only the engineers and technicians, but also the instructors, foremen, and best shock-workers of your factory.

Preserve the equipment, machinery and tools entrusted to you, keep them in good order and cleanliness, examine them properly and repair them in accordance with a carefully thought-out plan, do not permit any damage to them. Keep in exemplary cleanliness the whole factory, departments, benches, warehouses, yards and roads. Remember that you are entrusted with very valuable equipment, which is the sacred property of the proletarian State. Consider it a matter of your proletarian honour to achieve a high quality of goods produced. Establish severe

technical control, watch over the careful finish and packing of goods, mercilessly fight every kind of negligence. Deliver production in full, in due complement and in the time agreed upon. Keep contact with the purchasers and check through them the quality of your production. Struggle persistently to make the reputation of a soviet factory, the reputation of the Commissariat of Heavy Industries higher and higher.

Save the soviet copeck and strengthen financial discipline, insist on the lowering of the cost of production, on the growth of the socialist accumulation of wealth, insist upon better standards in the expenditure of raw and other materials and fuel, organise prompt and exact control, systematically study its results and make use of them in your practical work.

Improve persistently your political and cultural standards, study technique, be a genuine master of the business entrusted to you, follow technical progress in the Soviet country and abroad, and make use of its achievements for persistent improvement of industry. Mechanise all suitable operations, introduce all sorts of machinery which replace and lighten human labour, beginning with the simplest and finishing with the most complicated machinery. Make use of every possibility of rationalising production, do not neglect any trifles. Remember always that there cannot be any good work in the factory when the social conditions of the workers are bad or when the needs of workers, engineers and technicians are neglected. Take constant care for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers, engineers and technicians and also of their families. Exercise care of crèches, kindergartens, schools. Conduct a merciless war against low social conditions, against dirt in the houses, against bugs, against dirt in settlements and on the streets. Remember that bugs and dirtiness are enemies of good work in the same way as dirt on the territory of the factory, choking up of work benches with odds and ends, or a dirty grease-can. The struggle for improvement of organisation, for Bolshevik management, for good work, is the duty of all workers, of all directors, engineers and technicians, of all Party, trades union and Komsomol organisations. The duty of everybody is to choose his own field in the huge and many-sided economic work, and to concentrate his efforts on it in order to help in solving the problem.

Heavy industries, to which special attention is being paid by the country, the Party, its Central Committee and personally by Comrade Stalin, have achieved considerable successes. But we must conduct a determined struggle against the slightest symptoms of self-praise and self-conceit. Our reserves are colossal. Our possibilities are great, and have not yet been utilised in actual life. Exceptionally serious and responsible are the tasks which we are facing; because we, the workers of heavy industries, are charged with the duty of ensuring the complete reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of up-to-date technique. We all, Party and non-Party workers of heavy industries, are soldiers of the Party and of the Soviet State on the most responsible sector of socialist

reconstruction. We are led from victory to victory by the great Party of Lenin, the mighty advance guard of the working classes, at the head of which stands Comrade Stalin, the inspirer, leader and organiser of our victories

Workers of heavy industries, true sons of our socialist fatherland! Forward to the effort to surpass the 1934 programme, to mobilise the mighty reserves of heavy industry, to Bolshevik preparedness to execute the programme of the third year of the second Five Year Plan!

Conference of economic workers, engineers, technicians, party and trades union workers employed in the enterprises of heavy industry.

"I order that this appeal be accepted for unfailing direction and execution."

People's Commissary of Heavy Industries,
S. ORDZHONIKIDZE.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 27 September, 1934, No. 227-5475.)

Resolution of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) upon the Report by Comrade V. M. Molotov; passed on 26 November, 1934.

On the Abolition of the Card System of Distribution of Bread and some other Products.

1. The speedy growth of the towns and of the new industrial districts, in connection with the colossal progress of industrialisation in the USSR, and the unchecked raising of the standard of living of the workers and peasant masses produced a large demand for bread and other products, and this demand began to increase very rapidly from the inauguration of the first Five Year Plan. Together with this, the speedy development of technical cultures which were necessary for ensuring the supplies of our industries with our own, soviet agricultural raw materials, demanded that the peasant population of the districts where the cultivation of technical plants was practicable, should be supplied with bread in larger quantities than before. But, during that period, the number of kolhozy and sovhozy was small, and our agriculture, especially the grain production, was on a very low level. The small individual peasant farming which was predominant at that time, could not, owing to backward technique and low productivity, meet the growing demand of the towns, industrial districts and the districts where the technical plants were cultivated. This caused the introduction of rationing of supplies (the card system of distribution).

2. The introduction of the card system of distribution of bread and other products was not only necessary, but has been, during the latest years, a most important condition for the improvement of supplies. The card system of distribution during that period was especially necessary

because the workers were supplied with bread at a firm State price, although the prices on the free market were much higher and there were elements of profiteering in this branch of the trade. Thanks to this system only, the State, though limited in its resources, was able to ensure the supply of towns and industrial districts, to ensure the preferential supply of the most important centres and of the shock-workers, and also to ensure the supplies of bread at firm State prices to the purveyors of agricultural raw materials: cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, etc., in the interests of advancement of the technical cultures and of the increase of the raw materials for industry.

3. At the present moment when, instead of the parcelled small individual farms, we have in agriculture a large mechanised production, when the predominant position in agriculture is occupied by the kolhozy and sovkhozy, when we have already achieved a considerable organisational and economic strengthening of the collectives, the situation has radically changed. This is confirmed not only by the successful collection of grain, but also by the successful buying of grain which is purchased at higher prices. The State has now at its disposal sufficiently large reserves of grain to ensure full and adequate supplies to the population without a card system of distribution, by means of developing everywhere the free selling of bread. Under such conditions, the card system of distribution of bread and of some other products may only obstruct the improvement of supplies and therefore must be abandoned. The abolition of the card system of bread distribution will be a new and very important step towards superseding the system of centralised supplies by a system of Soviet trade, in correspondence with the directions for the second Five Year Plan, given by the XVIIIth Conference of the Party.

4 The abolition of the card system of distribution of bread and of other products will remove the existence of double prices (fixed and commercial) and ensure the establishment of firm State selling prices, uniform for each province or republic. These uniform prices of bread and of other products should be fixed approximately as the mean price between the existing high commercial prices and the extremely low card prices; the differences in respect of transport and other conditions existing in various districts should also be taken into consideration. As this will result in some raising of the fixed prices of bread, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) think it necessary to raise correspondingly the wages and salaries of workers and State officials.

5. Simultaneously with the abolition of the card system in the towns, the system for ensuring the purchase of agricultural raw materials (cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, etc.) by means of supplying the peasants with bread-stuffs at low prices, should also be abolished completely. As the fixed prices of bread will be raised, the abolition of the centralised supply must be accompanied by a corresponding increase of prices paid to the peasants for cotton, flax, hemp, etc.

6. The abolition of the card system and the introduction of the general sale of bread and also of flour and of some other products must be accompanied by an increase of the number of shops in towns and in villages, with a general development of the State and co-operative bakeries and with a correct distribution of the grain resources in the provinces. While leaving in force the established system of kolhoz trade, we must conduct an incessant struggle against any attempt at speculation in bread and against other tricks of the class enemies who may make use of the present most important measure.

Taking all this into consideration, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) think it necessary :—

1. To abolish, as from 1 January, 1935, the card system of distribution of bread, flour and groats and to introduce everywhere the unrestricted sale of bread and other products to the population out of the State and co-operative shops.

2. To abolish all kinds of existing retail prices of bread, flour and groats and to introduce retail State prices of bread, flour and groats uniform for a territorial division, which should include certain groups of provinces, areas and republics.

3. In connection with the abolition of the card system and introduction of uniform retail prices of bread, flour and groats, to increase, as from 1 January, 1935, the wages and salaries of the workers and State officials, stipends of students and pensions. To instruct the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR to fix the rates of increased wages for separate branches of the national economy in such a way as to preserve the existing privileges which are established for certain groups and categories of workers in the card system of distribution.

4. To abolish, as from 1 January, 1935, the existing system of supplying breadstuffs to the purveyors of agricultural raw materials at low prices in all districts where agricultural raw materials are collected.

5. In connection with the establishment of uniform prices of bread and flour, to raise the purchasing prices of agricultural raw materials for the sale of which to the State the kolhozy, members of the kolhozy and the individual peasants have received bread at low prices. To instruct the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR to fix new purchasing prices of various kinds and grades of cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, etc., for each belt or district separately, and also to fix new purchasing prices of coarse tobacco, pods, Persian lamb, furs, wool, and the fish delivered to the State by the fishermen's kolhozy.

6. To establish the general sale of grain forage from the State and co-operative storages and shops to the population as well as to the State, kolhoz and co-operative consumers, at State prices uniform for each territorial belt.

7. To establish that the sale of baked bread be effected through the special State and co-operative bread shops, as well as through other

provision shops belonging to the State or to co-operative organisations adapted to the sale of baked bread, the sale of flour is to be made through the State shops, the departments of workers' supply and also through the co-operative shops on the permission of the local organs of the Commissariat for Internal Trade.

8. To take immediate steps for increasing the number of State and co-operative bread shops in such a way as to open by 1 April, 1935, not less than 10,000 new shops; the existing shops must be correspondingly re-equipped and adapted and the new shops and kiosks should be built in correspondence with the plan fixed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

9. To establish monthly plans for the delivery of flour and groats to trading organisations, industrial undertakings and other State consumers for each province, area and republic in such quantities as would be sufficient to ensure the general and uninterrupted free sale of bread and the full satisfaction of the demand, and to form for these purposes sufficient stocks of flour and groats in each province, area and republic.

10. To instruct the local Party and Soviet organisations to allot the premises necessary for the development of the trade in baked bread and flour, and to give every assistance to trading organisations in the building of new shops and bakeries.

* * * * *

The abolition of the card system of distribution of bread and other products and the general introduction of the free sale of bread at uniform firm State prices, and also the sure possibility of an additional lowering of these prices in future, and together with this, the lowering of prices of industrial goods, create favourable conditions for the further growth of the wellbeing of the workers' and peasant masses.

The inauguration of this measure has been made possible thanks to the victory of the kolhozy in the villages and to the progress of agriculture, and, at the same time, it will promote a further and even speedier growth of agriculture and industry on the basis of the steady value of the Soviet currency and of the development of exchange of goods between the town and village population.

The great and complicated practical tasks with which the Party and the workers' and peasants' State are faced in connection with the realisation of the present resolution, demand from all Party, soviet and trades union organisations that they should be properly organised and that all local conditions should be carefully taken into consideration; on the other hand, a resolute resistance should be made to all and sundry attempts of class enemies to wreck the working of the new system of distribution.

The realisation of the present resolution should find its response in the further strengthening of the union of workers and peasants and in the victorious Socialist advance in our country.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 29 November, 1934, No. 278-5526.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

On the amendment of the existing Criminal Codes of the Allied Republics.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR decrees :—

To introduce the following amendments in the existing criminal codes of the allied republics on the investigation and consideration of cases relating to terrorist organisations and terrorist acts against agents of the Soviet Government :—

1. The investigation of such cases must be terminated during a period of not more than ten days.
2. The indictments should be presented to the accused twenty-four hours before the hearing of the case in court.
3. The cases must be heard without participation of Counsel.
4. Appeal against the sentences and also petitions for pardon are not to be admitted.
5. Sentence to the highest degree of punishment¹ must be carried out immediately after the passing of the sentence.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.
M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 1 December, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 5 December 1934, No. 283 (5531).)

CHRONICLE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Foreign Affairs.

THE friendship with France received fresh impetus from a visit paid to Paris by a squadron of the Red Air Force in return for the one paid to Moscow last year by the French Minister of Aviation. The Soviet airmen were received with great cordiality. They visited the principal French aviation centres and exchanged views with the leading French aviation authorities. Later they flew to Lyons, where they were accorded a civic reception by the Mayor, M. Herriot, and the municipality. Both the Soviet and French Press welcomed this "fresh proof of Franco-Soviet friendship."

A similar visit was paid to Rome by another Air Force squadron, the leaders of which were received by Signor Mussolini.

¹ This is the ordinary legal expression for the death sentence.—ED.

There was also an exchange of visits between units of the Soviet and Polish fleets, and a Soviet air squadron visited Warsaw and Demblin, the centre of Polish aviation. Although an atmosphere of great mutual cordiality prevailed during these visits, it did not prevent extremely acid comment on Poland's attitude to the proposed "Eastern Locarno" pact from appearing in the Moscow Press.

During the early part of the summer M. Litvinov, in conjunction with M. Barthou, was extremely active in propagating the scheme of the "Eastern Pact." Great satisfaction was expressed in Moscow at the attitude of the British Government towards it, as expressed by Sir John Simon and other British statesmen. The Baltic States were brought into line with the Franco-Soviet scheme. The Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian governments issued statements declaring themselves in favour of the conclusion of a regional pact for mutual assistance in Eastern Europe, and the success of the scheme appears to have been frustrated at the time by the failure of Poland and Germany to comply with it. It was resumed in the autumn, and at the time of going to press it is once more being debated between M. Litvinov and the French and Polish Foreign Ministers.

The Franco-Soviet rapprochement was largely instrumental in bringing about the entry of the USSR into the League of Nations. Indications of the Soviet Government's change of attitude towards the League became apparent already more than a year ago, and negotiations between Moscow and the League Council went on for months. The *sine qua non* condition for the USSR's entry into the League laid down by the Soviet Government was a permanent seat on the Council, and that it would come in not as an applicant for admission, but at the invitation of the Powers which were members of the League. This entailed long and arduous discussions within the Assembly. France was the chief sponsor of the idea, acting with the "cordial support" of the British Government, all the Great Powers showing themselves favourable to the USSR's entry. Some of the smaller nations either raised objections or abstained from voting. Switzerland alone, in a speech by Dr. Motte, voiced a protest on the ground of religious, ethical and political principles. At the final vote, thirty nations signed the formal invitation, which was sent to the Soviet Government on 15 September. M. Litvinov, on behalf of his Government, accepted the invitation in a letter addressed to the President of the Assembly, in which he said: "The Soviet Government, which has made the organisation of peace the main task of its foreign policy, and has never been deaf to proposals for international co-operation in the interests of peace, considering that . . . this invitation represents the real will to peace of the League of Nations and a recognition of the necessity of co-operation with the USSR, is willing to respond to it and become a member of the League, occupying therein the place due to itself and undertaking to observe all the international obligations and decisions binding on members in conformity with Article 8-I of the Covenant."

Conforming to the conditions set down by the Soviet Government, a permanent seat on the Council was allotted to their representative, and on 18 September the Union of Soviet Republics was formally received as a member of the League of Nations. The Soviet delegates are M. Litvinov, Commissary for Foreign Affairs; M. Potemkin, Ambassador in Rome; and M. Stein, Minister in Finland. In his inaugural speech, M. Litvinov emphasised the practically unanimous decision of the members of the League to invite the Soviet Union, the policy of isolating it having proved the impossibility of forwarding the work of peace without its active co-operation. The USSR entered the League without conceding any of its social and political ideals and structures, but was ready to combine its efforts with those of other States in pushing forward disarmament and averting war.

Normal diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and Bulgaria in July, and between the former and Albania in September.

The Far East.

In the Far East the situation remains about the same, with alternating constriction or relaxation of the existing tension. The arrests of Soviet employees of the Chinese Eastern railway, train-wrecking, kidnapping and murders, protests and counter-protests and mutual accusations, punctuated at intervals by diplomatic notes between the Soviet and Japanese Foreign Offices, followed one another with almost unfailling regularity. Meanwhile, the negotiations for the sale of the Soviet part in the Chinese Eastern Railway, which had been going on for months under the auspices of the Japanese Government, and had several times been suspended, appear to be near settlement. The final price, on which an agreement has been reached, is 140,000,000 yens (the Soviet's original demand was 625,000,000 yens), two-thirds of which are to be delivered in goods and one-third in cash, exclusive of compensation for the Soviet employees. The agreement has not yet been signed, owing to quibbling over the terms for the transference of the railway to Manchukuo, and especially over the guarantees which the USSR is demanding from Japan as security for the payments to be made by Manchukuo, and which so far Japan does not seem to be prepared to give.

Internal Affairs.

The actual results of the harvest are still unknown outside the USSR, as no figures, either official or unofficial, are available to the public. It is known from Soviet publications that during the spring a severe drought prevailed in Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, the central black-soil territory, and most of the Volga region, the rainfall being below that for the corresponding period of 1921, the year of the great famine. Large areas had to be resown, as the winter and early spring crops had perished. Nevertheless, in July and later it was several times stated officially that the total grain yield throughout the Union was at least equal to and in places

exceeded that of the record harvest of 1933, "the triumph over unfavourable weather conditions" being attributed to the advanced agricultural technique due to collectivisation. At the same time, great stress was laid on "losses" during the harvesting owing to slackness and inefficiency, and heavy punishments were dealt out to local officials for failure to gather in the amount of corn fixed as the "estimated crop" for any given district by the "commissions for determining the harvest." A number of directors of State farms and machine and tractor stations and local authorities were dismissed for "anti-State" tendencies in "purposely diminishing" the figures of the estimated yield in the areas under their control. The appearance of a good harvest was kept up till late autumn, and grain-collecting was pursued with such energy that, except for a small percentage, the full quota was levied by November. At the end of October, however, the secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party admitted publicly that in Ukraine the harvest was below the average for four years and "well below" that of 1933. The sowing of winter crops began somewhat earlier this year, but as usual was protracted well beyond the normal season.

There was a marked advance in the output of heavy industries, both as regards actual production and the productivity of labour. The average output for the nine months of the current year was 73 per cent. of the annual plan. The production of tractors, coke, pig-iron and electric power is expected to exceed the plan; that of steel, rolled metal and machinery to be up to it, while that of locomotives, rolling stock, crude oil, copper and chemicals remains below the plan. The "super-giant" heavy machine building works in Kramatorsk in the Donets territory were opened in October. The works, which were named "The Stalin-Kramatorsk," occupy an area of 160 hectares, and their annual production when completed is to provide equipment for blast and Martin furnaces, Diesel, rolling and turbine plant, etc.

By a decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, dated 10 July, the OGPU (the Unified State Political Department, the former Cheka) was abolished in its present form and merged in the newly-created Commissariat of Internal Affairs.¹ Cases of treason are henceforth to be tried by military tribunals, while the Commissariat of Internal Affairs deals with minor cases entailing punishment without trial up to five years' forced labour. It also controls the entire police, frontier guard services, and labour camps and settlements. The organs of the OGPU incorporated in the Commissariat will continue to detect and investigate crimes, but these are to be tried by the regular judicial organs. The OGPU's right to pronounce and inflict penalties by resolution is limited to "administrative" punishments. The death penalty was not specifically mentioned in this decree. It appeared as though such sentences could only be given by the regular courts; but since the reform several persons accused of counter-revolution and espionage on behalf of foreign countries

¹ The Decree is printed on page 436.

have been sentenced to death and shot by the "Military Collegium." The chief personnel of the OGPU has been transferred to the new Commissariat, M. Yagoda, chief of the OGPU and close collaborator and successor of Dzerzhinsky and Menzhinsky, being appointed Commissary of the Interior, and his two assistants, Agranov and Prokofiev, have also served many years in this organisation.

Elections for the All-Union Congress of Soviets.

The All-Union Congress of Soviets is to be convened in January after an interval of nearly four years. Elections to the rural, municipal, regional and republican soviets, which began in November, are therefore of particular importance, as delegates from these bodies will be sent to the Congress. The Communist Party and Soviet Government are devoting much attention to the elections in order to ensure that the proper persons will be chosen. Over 90,000,000 voters are expected to go to the polls, including 10,000,000 youths and girls who will vote for the first time. Some of the restrictions with regard to disfranchised persons have been withdrawn. The children of "kulaks," deported or otherwise, and such members of the disfranchised classes as have proved their loyalty to the Soviet régime during five years in exile or three years' work in the mines, were restored to civic rights. In his address to the population M. Molotov, President of the Council of People's Commissaries, however, made it quite clear that "there could be no question of any opposition party daring to show its face," and "that it was the duty of every elector to prevent any such elements from attempting to penetrate into the soviets."

REVIEWS

HISTORICAL STUDIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

In the progress of Russian historical studies the last fifteen years form a special and quite exceptional period. Its special character is due, above all, to the fact that the Communist Party, which has been ruling in Russia since the end of 1917, has evolved its own official historical theory, its own philosophy of history. Marxism, now usually advanced in its "Leninist" variety, is at present regarded as the only scientific historical theory, all other historical conceptions being swept aside and condemned as groundless and unscientific and often as openly hostile to the only authentic doctrine. In this attitude there is not only the lawful dose of criticism of one doctrine by another, but also the all-decisive moment of political condemnation and adjudication. This was sufficiently clearly revealed in the campaign of the Soviet Government against the representatives of the older Russian historiography which, in 1929 and the following years, led to a number of arrests and banishments of Russian historians belonging to different academic generations. Official exponents of Marxist historiography in Soviet Russia (the most prominent among

them was its leader, Professor Pokrovsky) have more than once said that any differences from them in the field of historical ideology were tantamount to an act of political opposition to the Soviet Government and that consequently the struggle against the "bourgeois" non-orthodox, that is, non-Marxist and non-Leninist, historians meant a clearing of the field of political life. Therefore, the "historical front," the front of struggle against non-Soviet and non-Marxist historical opinions and methods, represents a fighting line in the general political war that is being carried on in Soviet Russia. It is to be noted, however, that the active part on this front is played only by one side, the Marxist, the other side being in a passive or, to be more exact, a suffering position. This suffering position is common both to the representatives of the free historical method (alas! their number is constantly dwindling) and to those who have adopted or accepted the Marxist ideology, but not in the variant which at the given moment is deemed orthodox and fully corresponding to the current official interpretation (this changes from time to time) of the historical ideas of Marx and Lenin (and Stalin).

The situation here described does not date back to the early days of the Soviet régime. The "historical front" in its actual form came into existence after the discontinuation of the NEP. Up to the mid-twenties the position of historical studies was somewhat different. It was then influenced chiefly by the general conditions of life in Soviet Russia—the drying up of the material resources of all scientific and auxiliary institutions, the abolition of some and the coming into existence of others, the complete interruption of all publication possibilities, and, most important of all perhaps, the sharp lowering of all the material and moral possibilities of spiritual and intellectual work. The offensive against free learning was even then felt, but nevertheless for some years still it continued to live and create despite all the political and material difficulties. Scientific production could only go on by fits and starts unless, of course, it satisfied the practical wants of the Government and the interests of the historical ideology of Marxism. For the sake of exposing the "secret diplomacy" of Imperial Russia and throwing light on the history of popular and revolutionary movements in Russia and to some extent outside her territory, the immediate tasks of historical science properly speaking were relegated far to the background. None of the new publishing enterprises of a purely scientific historical character proved to be stable; the publications like *The Annals*, *The Russian Past, Centuries, Russia and the West*, *Labours and Days*, *The Russian Historical Journal* (1917-1925), which were called to replace the old historical reviews, showed a lack of vitality not, it is true, on account of their intrinsic weakness, but because of lack of means and the unfavourable attitude of the official circles. Even such an undertaking as the collections of learned works of the newly-created Association of Scientific Institutes in Moscow (Ranion) succumbed to that unfavourable attitude; it was just that Association which had to undergo one of the first onslaughts of the official historical school—the

first fighting line of the "historical front," went over the head of that Association. It had, however, had time to say its say in the domain of pure and independent historical studies. The Academy of Sciences also felt the influence of the general conditions of that period. Nor must we forget that during the early part of that period the ranks of the historians working in Soviet Russia had thinned considerably. Not a small number went abroad, including many scholars of repute who possessed great creative and organising ability—they displayed much energy in their work outside Russia.¹ There were others who died during the early years of the Soviet régime—let us mention Shakhmatov, Lappo-Danilevsky, Dyakonov, Turayev. The devastation of 1929 and the following years cut off from scientific work a number of other scholars who were at the height of their development. This raises the problem of succession in historical science. It must be said that the younger generation of historians—in the existing circumstances of life in Soviet Russia—have only one way of asserting and strengthening their position, and that is to follow the line of official historiography, if not necessarily in their ideology, at least in their choice of subjects. The official Marxist historians take steps to ensure a succession, they find followers and disciples, while the successors of the "bourgeois" historians are weak and have no influence.

It is necessary to bear in mind these general conditions of the evolution of historical science in Soviet Russia when considering what after all has been done there in the course of the last fifteen years in the field of historical studies. To this one must add a few preliminary hints. These general conditions have greatly affected the composition and contents of literary production. In the first place, as far as the theory and philosophy of history are concerned, a decided uniformity prevails in Soviet literature with a few individual early exceptions (for instance, the old work of Lappo-Danilevsky, *Methodology of History*, Leningrad, 1923, 278 pp.); here there is only one doctrine—the theory of Marxism-Leninism in its most varied general and special applications. This theory is a sort of acid test for the ideological content of any scientific and literary phenomenon. Among other things, there are already attempts to estimate from this point of view all the most important representatives of Russian historical learning of the 19th and early 20th century. We mean in the first place Pokrovsky's book, *Class War and Russian Historical Literature* (two editions, 1923 and 1927), then the collective work, *Russian Historical Literature in Class Interpretation* (works of the Institute of Red Professors, Moscow, 2 vols., 1927–28); but the most striking example of the application of this acid test of party origin is to be found in the little book of M. Zwiebeck and G. Seidel, *The Class Enemy on the Historical Front* (M.-L., 1931, 232 pp.), where the works of the late Professor Platonov and

¹ See my note on *The Work of Russian Emigrés in History* (1921–1927), *Slavonic Review*, VII, 10, 1928, and detailed surveys in the *Bulletin d'information des sciences historiques en Europe Orientale*, Varsovie, I, 1928, and II, 1–2, 1930.

Professor Tarlé are subjected to an unprecedentedly biased "criticism." Examples of similar "analyses" and "estimates" are currently to be found in the pages of the leading Marxist review, *The Marxist Historian*. It is curious that lately the Marxist theory is being energetically introduced also into the organisation of archæological research—this tendency finds a striking expression in the *Communications of the State Academy of the History of Material Civilisation*. It is just as curious that in the methodology of historical linguistics this theory finds expression in the Japhetic hypothesis of Professor Marr, one of its theses being that language and dialect proceed not only and not chiefly from racial characteristics, but from production and class relations.

Another general fact typical of the evolution of historical literature in Soviet Russia relates to the scope of the problems discussed in that literature during the last fifteen years. The first place is, of course, occupied by literature dealing with the history of modern times and especially with problems of practical political interest for our generation. History of revolutions—above all, of the Russian Revolution—history of political parties and, in the first place, of the Communist Party, history of Russia in the period immediately preceding the Revolution, problems of the social and economic relationship between classes—such are the subjects of the great majority of publications. The publication of historical sources of the modern and quite recent periods (reports of judicial trials, correspondence, diaries, memoirs) has been proceeding on a large scale and is in itself an important and valuable fact. Matters are different when it comes to the publication of sources bearing on earlier periods. What has been published in this field is for the most part a continuation of pre-revolutionary work (for instance, a series of new editions of some of the volumes of the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, a *Collection of Papers of the College of Economy* (three volumes, 1922–1931), *The Russian Historical Library*, vols. xxxvi and xxxviii, etc.). Very little has been prepared and published since the Revolution, and that only quite recently, since the old and most deserving Archæographical Commission has been more or less revived in the form of the Historico-Archæographical Institute, attached to the Academy of Sciences (e.g. three volumes on *Serfdom Manufactures in the 17th Century*, the *Records of the town of Kazan in the 16th and 17th centuries*, and other publications). It is necessary to note that most important historical documents from the archives of the Troitse-Sergievsky Monastery, formerly but little studied, have become available for historical study only in ten lithographed copies, only a small part existing in print (*Documents of Social and Economic History of the Moscow State of the 14th–17th centuries*, ed. by Veselovsky and Yakovlev, I, M. 1929, 397 pp.).

Let us recall to mind that during the period we are concerned with, an important change took place in the life of the Russian archives, a change that had been prepared, it is true, by previous suggestions of historians and archivists: on 18 June, 1918, a centralisation of all the archives was carried out, and a special Department of Archives created. This reform

was of great importance. It is typical, however, that this department, too, has been placed at the service of the Government and the Party, the archives being regarded as weapons of political struggle and exposure, and this is reflected both in their organisation, especially in the capital where the materials for the history of the October revolution enjoy privileged attention, and in the contents of archive publications, even though their value as regards some facts of past history (the Decembrist rising, the political trials of the 19th and 20th centuries) is beyond dispute.

Further, one notices an important gap in present-day historical literature; a whole cycle of subjects, which always attracted and cannot help attracting historical interest and attention, is absent from it. We mean the history of the Church and of religious culture. In view of the official policy of militant atheism and anti-religiousness, the absence of such literature is quite understandable. The history of the Church can only be viewed from the critically-atheistic standpoint: scientific objectivity here would verge on a political blunder, if not a crime. Besides, in the sense of organisation, the former scientific tradition in this field has been broken. What is being written now is rather controversial than purely scientific and strictly historical. The same applies to the history of law and culture (*правовая культура*) which occupies very little place in Soviet historical literature.

Being denied by the Government and by its exponents, the Marxist historians, all freedom of opinion and method in the science of history as, according to the late M. N. Pokrovsky, the most political of all sciences, Russian historians have thus to work in quite exceptional circumstances. And yet historical science in Russia continues to exist and develop, and that which is being published enlarges considerably the scope of objective information and contributes to the objective knowledge of historical facts and processes. This must be stated with absolute clarity; even in the exceptional conditions of Soviet life, free scientific creation and objective historical reality assert themselves—quite often even beneath the political bias and through tendentious party interpretations.

It is quite natural, of course, that in Soviet Russia it is chiefly the history of Russia that is being studied; the so-called universal history, that is in the first place the history of Western Europe, is represented much more feebly. There is an interesting tendency to study the past of various separate peoples of Eastern Europe and Russian Asia. This regional movement continues and expands the former Russian local historiography with a certain emphasis on regional and ethnographic peculiarities. It is not for nothing that Soviet Russia lays stress in its official title on the element of federativeness. But quite of late the scientific activity of the most important of the regional movements—the Ukrainian, as well as the White-Russian, has been considerably curtailed—the spirit of nationalism which it showed called forth a violent reaction on the part of the “federative” Government. This very interesting movement is, in what follows, excluded from our survey.

The general trend of Russian history, during the period with which we are concerned, has received a new and detailed treatment and interpretation only in the works of Marxist historians. It is true that Klyuchevsky's famous work, as well as the books of Dyakonov and Platonov, have been reprinted, but they were subjected to criticism and even condemnation from the official Marxist historians, and have been overshadowed by new authors with the official bias. N. A. Rozhkov has published a *Russian History in Comparative Historical Interpretation*, in twelve volumes, covering in it the whole process of Russian historical development from the point of view of Marxism, but in its no longer recognised orthodox variant. A much greater influence was and is exercised in Soviet Russia by the handbooks of the late Professor M. N. Pokrovsky, as best complying with the existing official interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and giving a most clear-cut interpretation of Russian history from its point of view. Economic life and class contradictions and conflicts are given here the outstanding place and laid at the base of the whole historical conception and periodisation.

Problems of the early history of Eastern Europe constitute an object of great attention for the historians in Soviet Russia. Archæological studies have brought to light much new material, which is of cardinal importance for an understanding of primitive life in Russian territories in Europe and Asia, especially as far as the palæolithic age is concerned. The scientific study of the materials obtained lags considerably behind its accumulation; but some idea of it can be got from the bibliography of archæological literature during the period 1918-1928 compiled by O. Magnus (*Information of the State Academy of the History of Material Civilisation*, vol. viii, Nos. 4-7, 1931, 116 pp.), as well as from the periodical publications of that Academy (*Communications and Information*). There is as yet no summary of all that literature; the works of Prof. Yu. V. Gautier (Gotye) (*Studies in the History of the Material Civilisation of Eastern Europe up to the Foundation of the First Russian State*, Leningrad, 1925, 271 pp., and *The Iron Age in Eastern Europe*, L.-M., 1930, 280 pp.) are, of course, considerably behind the present supply of materials available. This applies both to prehistoric civilisations and to the civilisation of the Slavonic and foreign populations of Russia. As regards the latter, the attention of Soviet archæologists is drawn both towards the remnants of primitive civilisations (e.g. the Finns) and towards higher civilisations, such as the Volga Bulgars, the Khazars, and especially the Scythians (the works of Borovko), the Greek settlements on the Black Sea (Grinevich and others), the Golden Horde (Ballod), etc. It is interesting that the most complete summaries of some of these archæological problems have been given by foreign scholars, namely, by Tallgren in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, and by Merhart (Siberian bronze).²

Archæological studies are closely bound up with the study of problems

² Cp., S. A. Zhebelev, *Introduction to Archæology*, Leningrad, 1923, in two parts.

of the historical ethnography of Russia. Here there is a curious movement towards a revision of the principal problems of the settlement of Slavonic and non-Slavonic peoples in Eastern Europe. Here we find an application of the Japhetic theory (Bykovsky's articles) and a thorough revaluation of all the information of the Chronicles, which have been more than once reshuffled with a large degree of freedom by V. A. Parkhomenko, whose conceptions of the early history of Russia (7th–10th centuries) are, however, rather daring than plausible. This author follows in the path of Shakhmatov's hypotheses,³ but he has far outstepped the limits of the latter's method, and of his scientific cautiousness. Some other authors have also studied the problem of the origins of Russia, as, for instance, P. P. Smirnov, who has put forward the hypothesis of Russia in the Volga-Oka basin, or V. A. Brim who has concentrated his attention on the problem of the name "Rus" and the Varangians in Russia. In this connection some interest is offered by the articles of A. I. Lyashchenko, Mme. Rydzevsky, and others, who study the traditions of the Russian epics and chronicles from the point of view of North-German elements.

As regards the actually historical period in the life of Russia, its study proceeds in a few main directions. It is especially the history of social and economic relations that is being studied, then comes political history, i.e. the history of the State and of the main factors of its development, to a lesser extent the history of the foreign relations of Russia, of migrations of population, etc. More recent periods—the Muscovite Russia, the Empire—are being studied more thoroughly. Only a few short studies could be quoted for the 10th–15th centuries. Special mention must be made of the articles of B. Grekov and I. Troitsky on the origins of the Novgorod political régime.

The early period of the Moscow State has received a new treatment on a large scale in the works of the late A. E. Presnyakov (*The Formation of the Great-Russian State*, St. Petersburg, 1920), and M. K. Lyubavsky (*The Formation of the Main State Territory of the Great-Russian People. Colonisation and Unification of the Centre*, Leningrad, 1929, 175 pp.). For the political history of the Moscow State in a more detailed form a series of valuable monographs has been produced, among others, by the late S. F. Platonov (*John the Dread, Boris Godunov*), and R. Yu. Vipper (*John the Dread*). In the period of the Revolution a special interest naturally attached to the Time of Troubles. Platonov's schemes, once more repeated and newly formulated during the period with which we are concerned, were put under suspicion and even openly attacked by the Marxist historians, for the latter are interested not so much in the process of the constructive triumph over the political and social-economic crisis, as in the tendencies and elements leading up to the destruction of the old régime. For the political history of the later period great interest is presented by the works of Platonov and Bogoslovsky on Peter the Great. Bogoslovsky, however, had time to publish only a few fragments of his

³ See his *Earliest Destinies of the Russian Race*, St. Petersburg, 1919.

history of Peter the Great in several volumes—alas! it is doomed to remain at present in the shape of a few typescript copies in a couple of the most important libraries of Russia. The more we approach modern times, the more obvious is the prevailing tendency to study not the political history of the country, but the critical periods, upheavals and crises. In the 17th century it is, above all, Razin's movement, in the 18th century—the Pugachev rising; a great deal of new archive material has been published bearing on both these movements, and many new indications, interpretations and generalisations have been produced. Of the events of the 19th century most attention has been paid to the Decembrist rising, especially in connection with its centenary (see N. M. Chentsov, *The Rising of the Decembrists: A Bibliography*, M.-L., 1929, 794 pp.; cf. Paradizov, *Studies in the Historiography of the Decembrists*, M.-L., 1929, 287 pp.); at present this event is open to wide and ample investigation. Further, the revolutionary movement of the forties (in particular the Petrashevtsy), the political circles and attempts of the sixties and seventies, the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III, 1 March, 1881, the origins of the Socialist party organisations, etc.—all these themes have obtained a wide basis of study in the abundant publications of documents and memoirs. The Revolution of 1905 (see A. Derman, *The First Russian Revolution: Index of Literature*, I. M. 1930, 18 + 712 pp.), the régime of Nicholas II, the events preceding the Revolution of 1917 and the principal stages of the latter—all these are topical problems of current political interest in Soviet Russia; there is a vast accumulation of materials bearing on them, but a free scientific approach to them is lacking which would enable—as far as this is possible nowadays—an objective description and interpretation of all those significant events, of interpretation from the point of view of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government there is, of course, no lack. The very choice of material for publication, so long as it is in the hands of the official centres of Marxist historiography, such as Tsentrarkhiv, Istpart, etc., bears the imprint of the political sympathies of the Government.

Next to the works dealing with the history of Russia's political life one must put the study of Russian foreign relations. The interest of the Soviet Russian historians is centred on Russia's foreign policy during the last pre-revolutionary decades. For the earlier periods only very little has been added to the existing literature (c.p. e.g. the publications of M. A. Polievktov on Moscow's relations with Transcaucasia, the articles of N. Ernst on the relations between Moscow and Crimea, or the works of B. G. Kurz on the relations of the Muscovite State with China).

On the other hand, there are numerous publications dealing with Russia's foreign policy in the eighties and nineties of the 19th century and during the years preceding the Revolution of 1917. A valuable book on the Balkan policy at the beginning of Alexander III's reign has been written by S. D. Skazkin under the title, *The End of the Austro-Russo-*

German Alliance : A Study in the History of Russo-German and Russo-Austrian Relations in Connexion with the Eastern Question in the Eighties of the 19th Century, vol. I (1879-1884) (Moscow, 1928, 356 pp.). In a series of publications of the Central Archives (Tsentrarkhiv) have been "exposed" the secrets of Imperial diplomacy relating to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles question, the dismemberment of Asiatic Russia, and Greece; the book of B. Romanov (*Russia in Manchuria : 1892-1906*, Leningrad, 1928, 605 pp.) discusses on a large scale the facts of Russian influence in Manchuria just before the Russo-Japanese War, using the archives of Count Witte. *Krasny Arkhiv*, a review published by the Central Archives, provides in each issue some new material bearing on the history of Russian foreign policy before the Revolution, in *The Marxist Historian* one also finds numerous documentary articles on these questions, but these always come from the pen of Marxist historians. The leading example in this respect was set by the late M. N. Pokrovsky in his books and articles.

Of the internal processes of Russian life two attract more particular attention : that of colonisation and that of social and economic development. It has long ago become a commonplace to say that one of the main peculiarities of Russian history was the interesting fact of constant, chiefly economic, assimilation by the Russian people of new lands and regions. In the historical literature produced in the period 1918-1933 new light has been thrown especially on the Russian colonising movement towards the north and north-east, both as far as the materials and their generalisation and systematisation are concerned. A series of works of Platonov, A. Vvedensky and A. Andreyev has been devoted to the colonisation of the Russian north (Kola, Pomorye); the work of the Stroganov family in the Urals has been systematically treated in the studies of A. Vvedensky; there are other works, e.g. by A. Savich, on the Sub-Urals; Siberia and her colonisation by the Russians have received an outstanding historian in the person of S. V. Bakhrushin. Other regions of colonisation have been touched upon only sporadically (c.p., e.g. A. Markevich on the Crimea). Of course, the subject of Russian colonisation is closely connected with the facts of Russian economic life and social relations.

We have just mentioned the field which in Soviet Russia is being explored with particular intensiveness in all its ramifications, especially as regards the agrarian régime and the destinies of the rural population, and the industry and the industrial workers (c.p., the review *Archives of the History of Labour*, fourteen issues, 1921, and ff.). The gentry class and the merchant and industrialist milieu are treated chiefly from the point of view of these general problems, those of land and factory labour being brought to the foreground.

As regards agrarian relations, new studies have been in the first place devoted to the origins of the patrimony system (вотчинный) (see S. B. Veselovsky's book, *The Problem of the Origin of the Patrimony System*,

Moscow, 1926, 128 pp.), and also to the complex and important process of the formation of serfdom-relations in votchina and pomestye. A number of new documents and close investigations in this domain enable us now to speak in a new way of the reglamentary origin of peasant bondage (articles of Grekov and others). The system of serfdom is being treated in historical literature in its various aspects; among other things there are studies of its manifestations on church and monastery estates (for the Solovetsky monastery—the works of A. Savich; for the Trinity monastery—those of S. V. Veselovsky; for the Novgorod House of St. Sophia—those of B. Grekov, etc.), as well as on the private estates; in the latter case facts dating from a later period, the end of 18th and the 19th centuries—up to 19 February, 1861—predominate. The study of the history of the large estates in the period when serfdom was at its height has made great progress lately in view of the number of private archives, such as those of the Princes Yusupov, of the Shakhmatovs, Elagins, the Counts Shermetev, etc., which have become accessible.

The history of industry and the working class begins with the Muscovite period. A. N. Speransky's work, *Studies in the History of the Masonry Office of the Muscovite State* (Moscow, 1930, 221 pp.), throws an interesting light on the plight of building workers in Moscow in the 16th–17th centuries. Serf manufacture of the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century is represented by a large choice of documents in a special publication of the Archæographic Commission. Then follows a long series of more modern subjects and problems. It must be specially emphasised that the organisation of the study of the history of factories and factory work is being pursued in Soviet Russia on a wide scale. A special monthly review, *History of the Proletariat*, deals with these problems, and there are already several monographic researches into the past of various old and recent industrial undertakings. In the country where, in theory, the power belongs to the workers and peasants, these social elements are being intensively studied also in their past, often against the background of the industrial development of Russia. A much less conspicuous place is occupied by subjects relating to the history of old Russian crafts and Russian trade. But in this field, too, not a little has been done, and there are some quite valuable works (articles of Bakrushin, K. V. Bazilevich, and others).

There is no need to mention specially that the study of all the social movements on the background of serfdom or the old industrial order is being pursued with great intensity. There is already a vast and varied literature on peasant riots in the age of serfdom and on the workers' movement in all its forms and stages. In particular, much is being done for the workers' movement and, above all, for the recent decades—in connection with the history of the Russian Social Democratic Party and of its Bolshevik section. The history of the Communist Bolshevik Party is really the history of the antecedents of the Soviet Government, the latter's autobiography. A special organisation entitled "History of the

Party" (in abbreviation "Istpart") caters for the interests of the Soviet public in this field. The question of the study of the history of the Party is one of topical problems, and recently the resounding voice of Comrade Stalin spoke on this matter, urging a revision of methods, of attitudes, of points of view. A new slogan was issued—"For the Bolshevik history of the Party," and the pens of Party historians and critics started away along new lines (*cp.* the volume, *For the Bolshevik Study of the History of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party, Collection of Materials for the letter of Comrade Stalin to the editors of "Proletarian Revolution,"* Moscow, 1932, 487 pp.). Not to mention the fact that the history of the Soviet Government as such—including the October Revolution—is represented in Soviet historical literature by a whole library of books and articles. Mass trials and Bolshevik hero-worship in which Lenin holds the most prominent place, form part of this literature.

Let us now pass to a short survey of the study of general history in Soviet Russia. Here work proceeds in several directions. Of the ancient world, the study of Egypt and Greece takes the foremost place; as regards the past of Western Europe the historians' attention is concentrated on the history of England and France, to a lesser extent Italy, and least of all, Germany. The history of the Slavonic world hardly commands any attention, and only a few individual authors work in this field, as, for instance, A. N. Yasinsky (who died recently)—during the last fifteen years he continued his work on the social and economic history of Bohemia. Poland and the Southern Slavs have hardly any place in the historical literature of Soviet Russia, at least there is no organised study even of the separate aspects of their life. The interest of the recently created Institute of Slavonic Studies attached to the Academy of Sciences is directed chiefly towards the history of literature, as far as one can judge from the first volume of its *Works* (Leningrad, 1932). At the head of it stands N. S. Derzhavin.

To this distribution of interests of historical study in Soviet Russia corresponds the choice of actual subjects and problems. Here too, problems of social and economic life occupy the foremost place, particular attention being devoted to the history of the English Revolution of the 17th century and the French revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. This is the domain where the Marxist historians are especially active. They follow with great interest the most radical currents of European revolutionary thought. Among works dealing with the English Revolution one can mention, besides the general textbook of A. N. Savin (*Lectures on the History of the English Revolution*, M., 1924, 428 pp.), the special studies of I. L. Popov-Lensky (*Liburn and the Levellers. Social Movements and Class Struggle in the Age of the English Revolution of the 17th Century*, M.-L., 1928, 229 pp.), and S. I. Arkhangelsky (*From the History of Agrarian Legislation in the Age of the Great English Revolution*, in the "Information of the Academy of Sciences," 1931-32). In the Great French Revolution Soviet historians are especially interested in

the problems of Jacobinism (the works of Monosov and Staroselsky), the ideology of the "furious" (Zacher), the Ninth Thermidor and the Thermidorean reaction (Zacher, P. Shchegolev, and others). The Paris Commune of 1871 and the ideas of the International also occupy an important place in Marxist historical literature. In Italian history, a place of honour is given to the opposition movements, like the Florentine movement of Ciompi in the 14th century. This distribution of interests is, generally speaking, very typical of the position of historical studies in Soviet Russia—the political interest prevails over everything else. The former tradition of study of the spiritual culture and spiritual movements in Western Europe has been interrupted; only in the first years of the Soviet régime was it possible for the St. Petersburg medievalist school to produce something positive in this direction (*see*, for instance, the miscellany *Life in the Middle Ages—Srednevekovy byt*). In the study of the Middle Ages, most of all has been done to investigate the agrarian régimes of England and France—here one feels the organising influence of the school of Professor D. M. Petrushevsky, who, during the period under survey, has published his *Studies of the Economic History of Medieval Europe* (M.-L., 1928, 323 pp.). Among the historians of Western Europe of the older generation, great activity was shown by E. V. Tarlé, who published a number of works of a general synthetic character dealing with European history in the 19th century, as well as some books of a more special character. N. I. Kareyev produced a vast historiographical work, *The Historians of the French Revolution* (three volumes, L., 1924–25). A general survey of historical studies in Russia has been given by V. P. Buzeskul in a two-volume work. The late V. A. Butenko pursued his study of France under the Restoration.

In the study of the ancient world, one must specially mention the development of Russian Egyptology. The first place is occupied here by the works of the late Professor Turayev on Egypt and her literature; then come a number of studies on various questions by V. V. Struve. Of the other ancient civilisations, those of Transcaucasia (Van, etc.) engage the interest of several scholars (e.g. Meshchanikov). Further, one may mention the history of Ancient Greece; in this study Marxist historians also take part, but as yet nothing of much account has been produced by them. The works of S. A. Zhebelev on the history of Greece bear on a number of separate questions; of late this esteemed historian has been studying the history of the Bosphorus State. The history of Ancient Rome cannot be regarded as a field of systematic research in Soviet Russia. But there has been some intensive study of the past history of Central Asia—especially owing to the great energy displayed by the late V. V. Bartold, who, for the most part, studied the past of the Moslem world.

The European Middle Ages, as has been pointed out above, are studied chiefly in their social and economic aspects. Great attention is paid to the problem of Feudalism. We must not forget that according to the

Marxist scheme feudal relations are a necessary and universal stage of the social and economic evolution of every nation, and therefore the existence of a feudal period in Russian historical development is also being asserted and the problem of Russian feudalism assumes great methodological significance.

A special group of serious historical studies is formed by books and articles on Byzantine history—the influence of the old Russian tradition is continued here; the late F. I. Uspensky, V. N. Beneshevich, A. A. Vasilyev, V. E. Waldenberg, I. I. Sokolov and others have produced, during the period under review, a long series of important publications and researches. It is true that the Marxist historians have already raised their voice in favour of applying the class interpretation also to this field of historical studies. And the nearer one comes to modern times, the more practical becomes the treatment of the problems involved, and objective scientific interpretation is swept aside—except in the works of some historians of the academic school. On the history of Europe in the age of Imperialism, besides the works of Tarlé, there are some attempts at Marxist interpretation (Volgin, Lukin).

We are not in a position, of course, to give in this short essay a full estimate of Soviet works on general history. The movement of historical thought in this field is quite lively and active, the old tradition is alive and fruitful, but the influence of the Marxist school is here, perhaps, still stronger and more obvious than in the treatment of Russian history. But then it is chiefly the latter that offers a really wide and even unlimited scope for Russian historical research. Russian historians have before them a vast sea of historical sources awaiting exploration and interpretation.

Let us conclude. Our essay cannot claim to be a complete and thorough survey of all the historical studies in Soviet Russia.⁴ It merely aims at pointing out certain general conditions and characteristics of historical research. On the whole, even these disjointed remarks enable one to affirm that historical literature in Russia is abundant and rich in valuable products. A vast stock of materials of cardinal importance has been accumulated for the study of the past, especially of Russia and the Russian people. But this wide movement of historical research and scientific perseverance is overshadowed by the spirit of negation of freedom of scientific thought, of free choice of objects of study and, above all, of description and interpretation. The spirit of partisan historical ideology is the principal factor in the general atmosphere in which Russian historical thought has to develop.

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⁴ A detailed survey of Russian historical literature published in Soviet Russia during the period 1918–1933 is being given by me in the *Bulletin d'information des sciences historiques en Europe Orientale* (Warsaw).

JUGOSLAV POPULAR BALLADS

Prilozi proučavanja narodne poezije (Contributions to the Study of Traditional Poetry). Edited by Rad. Medenica and Dr. A. Smaus, God. I, sv. 1, pp. 144. Beograd, March, 1934.

Studije o narodnoj poeziji (Studies in Traditional Poetry). By Svetislav Stefanović. Pp. 318. Beograd, 1933. (Sabrana Dela S. Stefanovića, III and IV).

Starost narodnog epskog pesništva našeg (The Age of our Traditional Epic Poetry). By Drag. Kostić. Pp. 74. Beograd, 1933.

Tvorci narodnog epa (The Makers of the Traditional Epic Poetry). By Sv. Matić. Pp. 17. Beograd, 1931.

Principi umetničke versifikacije srpske (Principles of Modern Serbian Versification). By Svetozar Matić. Pp. 105. Beograd, 1930.

THE study of Yugoslav traditional poetry, and particularly of the heroic songs, has recently gained much ground in Yugoslavia. Following upon two interesting essays by Svetozar Matić, published in the *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* (vols. XXXIX, XL, XLI), and in the *Srpski Književni Glasnik*, vol. XXXIII, Professor D. Kostić published, in the *Južnoslovenski filolog*, vol. XII, an equally interesting essay.

Matić believes that, according to numerous indications, blind men were not only the chief carriers of the popular heroic ballads, but that they were also their principal makers. Their trade was the composition and chanting of these ballads, and in order to keep themselves alive it was necessary for them first to keep alive the heroic ballads. Almost all devoted themselves to this occupation only after they had become blind, and some of them had to pay other blind men for instruction in composing and chanting the ballads, as well as in playing the *gusle*. In his opinion many of the heroic ballads in which Christian and ecclesiastical ideas are emphasised were composed by blind men, who thus expressed their gratitude for the protection and help which the monasteries and churches afforded them in their wanderings.

The earliest known mention of a blind man chanting a heroic ballad in Dalmatia dates from 1574. The first mention of the *gusle* among the ancestors of the Yugoslavs dates from the 7th century, but, according to available sources, many centuries passed before they were mentioned again. At the time when the traditional songs were collected, more than a hundred years ago, by Vuk Karadžić, some of the leaders of the First Rising of the Serbs (1804) kept their own *guslari* in their camps, not only in order to be entertained by their chanting, but also so that they should compose ballads glorifying the deeds of their patrons. This fact explains the comparatively small number of heroic ballads dealing with events of the distant past, whereas the number of those about more recent events and historical personalities is very large, such ballads being composed by contemporary chanters, whose compositions were soon recorded in writing by the collectors of traditional poetry.

The author further states that it is not accidental that the number of

the *hajdučke pesme*, in which the deeds of the *hajduci* are recorded, is large, for these "brigands" were themselves, like the blind men, makers of ballads that glorified their own bravery and intrepidity. But whereas the blind men made ballads in order to earn a living, the *hajduci* composed them for their own enjoyment, to make known their own achievements and so advertise themselves.

Matić maintains that the heroic songs composed by the *hajduci* are cruder and rougher than most of the others, and that, although some of the national traits are truly reflected in them—such as spite, hatred, revenge—the real national characteristics of the Yugoslavs—love of home and family life, industry, sobriety and honesty, qualities emphasised in the women's songs—are on the whole unfavourably represented in them. That some of the earlier heroic songs (those about Marko Kraljević, for instance) are cruel is, in his opinion, to be attributed to the fact that they were recomposed by the *hajduci*, but he perhaps forgets that the selection of tragic and cruel motifs is one of the chief objects of traditional heroic poetry, and that "no one feels the necessity of apology either for ruthless aggression or for useless blood-letting, the bloodier the fray, the better for ballad purposes."

In his other essay the author has drawn a comparison between the versification of traditional songs and that of modern Serbian poetry, and has shown that the same practice is carried through in both. Space is too limited to allow of dealing here at any length with this scholarly piece of work, and we can mention only that the accent in the traditional poetry is as free and arbitrary as it is in the prose, but however great the variety of accent, and whatever the quantitative system employed, the lines of Serbian traditional songs are always rhythmical.

While Matić emphasises that the real makers of the Yugoslav heroic ballads were the blind men and the *hajduci*, Professor Kostić is anxious to prove that the antiquity of these ballads is greater than is usually accepted by some students. He disagrees on some points not only with A. Sørensen's views and those of Professor Pavle Popović, who supports them, but also with the views of Dr. Svetislav Stefanović, who disagrees with both Sørensen and Popović!

To determine the age of the Serbian epic ballads, Kostić begins by examining the present conditions of the traditional epic poetry, and he believes that the conclusions thus derived could be applied to the life and condition of the traditional epic poetry of earlier times. Having examined the most recent heroic ballads, recorded during the Balkan wars (1912-3), he goes back to the 19th and earlier centuries, always trying to trace the rhythmic lines of popular origin in prose writings, a feature commonly noticed by many previous students of traditional poetry.

Whether he examines the heroic ballads published either in one of the Belgrade daily newspapers during and after the Balkan wars, or in various popular collections of such ballads printed after the wars between Serbia and Turkey in 1876-78, he reaches always the same conclusions as those

at which a Serbian critic, S. Vulović, arrived in the last century, and in whose footsteps Kostić, in fact, follows. The first makers of historical heroic ballads were mostly the men who either took an active part in the fighting they describe, or merely witnessed it. In some instances, the maker of such a ballad was no more than a contemporary of the event he describes. The second conclusion reached by both is that the main feature of such heroic ballads is their absolute truthfulness. Finally, all newly-created heroic ballads, in which the most recent events and personalities are described, have been modelled on the old ones, in order to be entitled to a proper standing in the traditional poetry.

Besides many folk-tales in which the typical decasyllabic line of the heroic ballads is found, the first Serbian newspaper, published in Vienna in May, 1793, and several chronicles and genealogies of the same century, contain not only the lines of ten, but also those of eight syllables, so common in traditional poetry.

Going back to the 17th, 16th, and all earlier centuries down to the 12th, Professor Kostić constantly discovers lines of popular origin in numerous notes, manuscripts, chronicles, charters, and the works of Serbian mediæval writers. Such lines—and among them the most frequent is that of ten syllables—are mostly accidental, for the rhythm of the decasyllabic line is hardly to be distinguished from the rhythm of the every-day Serbian language. Professor Kostić believes, however, that many such lines were intentionally composed under the influence of existing heroic poetry. His arguments are interesting, but not convincing.

Dr. Stefanović, too, maintains the view that the Yugoslav heroic ballads are much older than the 16th or 15th centuries. He is a keen student of traditional poetry in general, and his conclusions are a result of his comparative studies of such poetry in other countries. We cannot help mentioning that on the ground of our comparative researches we have come to different conclusions. His *Studije* form the third and fourth books of his collected works, and they contain about a dozen essays on folk-tales and popular ballads, already printed in various Yugoslav periodicals. They make a valuable contribution to the study of Yugoslav traditional literature.

The appearance of a periodical devoted to the study of traditional poetry is justified and must be welcomed. It claims to be, in the words of Professor G. Gesemann, the only periodical of the kind in the world. No less than sixteen contributors assisted in producing the first number, published in March last. We find among them the names of Professors M. Murko, S. Stanojević, S. Matić, and D. Kostić; their articles, like those of the other contributors, are briefly summarised in German, but unfortunately each *Zusammenfassung* consists of only about ten lines and is therefore hardly of any service to students not acquainted with the Serbian language. The editors promise to issue a number every six months.

DRAGUTIN SUBOTIĆ.

Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst zur Zeit des Grossfürstentums Moskau. Von Demetrius Ainalov. Berlin und Leipzig (de Gruyter), 1933. Pp. 135, 70 plates. Rm. 19.30.

THIS volume is the second instalment of Ainalov's four-volume *Geschichte der russischen Kunst*. It covers the period from the rise of Moscow, which accompanied the decline of Tartar power in the 14th century, almost to the time of Peter the Great; but it is not clear whether any mention will be made in the next volume of the later 17th century (but pre-baroque) architecture of Yaroslavl and elsewhere. This important and beautiful style, which constitutes one of the climaxes in Russian architectural development, is left unmentioned in the present volume.

Only one-third of the text and a similar proportion of plates are devoted to architecture; the rest to icons, frescoes, and ornamental textiles. The longest chapter in the book gives a general account of iconography from the Kiev school to Simon Ushakov (d. 1686).

The architectural illustrations are somewhat disappointing, being mostly old and familiar. It appears that Ainalov takes more interest in the other aspects of his subject, and the numerous plates depicting frescoes and icons form a really valuable collection; they are mostly new photographs by the author or the Moscow Restoration Workshops, and two welcome coloured subjects find a place among them.

To me the most interesting chapter is the second, in which new light is thrown on the relationships and the true antiquity of the north Russian wooden style. An attractive 15th-century drawing reproduced at plate 9 shows a very typical tall "tent-roofed" church of much earlier date than any surviving example, and written records prove the existence of wooden octagonal churches of some kind as far back as 1290. Rectangular ones must have a much earlier and no doubt pre-Christian origin.

The comparison made between wooden cruciform churches and such Byzantine buildings as the old church of the Apostles at Constantinople is interesting; but it seems unnecessary to assume any connection, for, given churches based on either quadrangular or octagonal plans, the transition to a cross by the addition of square compartments to north and south was simple and obvious. Probably there is more reality in the comparison between these northern churches and those of Vladimir, also remarkable for their tall, attenuated form. The wooden style certainly borrowed many minor ornamental subjects from Vladimir, and so may be said to be linked both with western Europe and the Byzantine world.

Of still greater interest, though perhaps far-fetched, is the suggestion that a recently described conical stone tower at Khiva (dating from the 13th century) may indicate a central Asiatic origin for the wooden "tent-roof." It is possible, in view of this discovery, that a common origin will be demonstrated for the northern "tents" and the conical stone roofs of Transcaucasian architecture, the former having become attenuated, while the latter remained squat.

Turning to matters of detail, the remarkable wooden church of Kizhi has twenty-two domes, not twenty-one. It is strange that this misstatement should be so persistently repeated, and that no writer should re-examine this building or even photographs of it. The tent-roofed church of Panilovo, famous from Grabar's pictures, should be referred to in the past tense, for it was burnt down some years ago, as I was distressed to find when visiting the site in 1932. Incidentally, one may remark that the word *mächting* applied to its roof by Ainalov is inappropriate, for this charming building was of the tiniest dimensions.

D. R. BUXTON

Poland. By Roman Dyboski: (The Modern World.) London (Ernest Benn), 1933.

It is a matter for gratification that this admirable study on Poland has taken its place in Messrs. Benn's series, *The Modern World*. Professor Dyboski's book is the best and most comprehensive work on contemporary Poland that has as yet appeared in the English language. "Poland"—so the book opens—"presents in many ways a unique and therefore most fascinating spectacle in European history." She is first a small Slavonic State that develops "into a large Empire . . . wiped out from the map of Europe by an unprecedented and hitherto unparalleled act of dismemberment . . . and again—a spectacle even more wonderful—the divided and subject nation, under three widely different systems of foreign rule, maintains firmly, through more than a century of captivity, its sense of unity and distinctness. . . . It holds its own against the strongest pressure, both administrative, economic and even educational, and it keeps all the Cabinets of Europe busy with the 'Polish problem' . . . What is more, the nation produces under these abnormal conditions its very highest achievements in learning, literature and art. Finally—a third and certainly not a lesser historical marvel—a reborn Polish State, brought to life . . . in a thoroughly ruined and devastated country . . . and placed in a most precarious international and a fairly desperate economic position, succeeds not only in repelling a massed attack of the huge forces of Bolshevik Russia, but gathers strength in ten short years to occupy a place of considerable importance both in the political and economic system of the new Europe."

That the history of the Polish nation abounds in drama and extraordinary psychological situations is well known to every student of that history. But that Poland's remarkable self-reconstruction, involving, as it did, the complete building up of a national existence in every department and against every sort of obstacle, both normal and abnormal, is one of the most astonishing chapters in her story, no one will be inclined

to dispute after a careful perusal of the facts and statistics gathered together in Professor Dyboski's pages. He prefaces his account of contemporary Poland by a summary of Polish history up to the partitions, of her post-partition existence when she was politically dead but still lived on, of her terrible situation during the Great War, and of the first decade of her restored life. The reader is thus equipped with some general idea of the nation's remote and recent past, that will enable him better to appreciate the present problems of contemporary Poland—the only Poland known to the rising generation—which is the subject of Professor Dyboski's book. We owe a debt of gratitude to the author for the painstaking and lucid manner in which he guides us through the intricate details of finance, administration, economics, and so on, rendered doubly complex by reason of Poland's abnormal position before her restoration, providing us throughout not only with instructive but highly interesting reading. We may single out for special attention the chapter on Poland's minorities, not only on account of the recent utterances of Polish statesmen on the subject, but also because it is one of the most interesting sections in the book, including some valuable particulars on the condition of Polish minorities in foreign countries.

The longest chapter of the book is necessarily devoted to the economic condition of Poland. Together with every other country, Poland has suffered from the world crisis, and consequently Professor Dyboski has been obliged to make certain reservations in his account of Poland's material development. This however does not alter the main fact, which the reader will find out for himself after a careful study of the details that Professor Dyboski has put together with the strict impartiality and care for accuracy that distinguish all his work : namely, that the progress of the Polish nation has been altogether remarkable, and sufficiently disproves the now exploded legend of Polish lack of practical qualities.

Professor Dyboski has also much to tell us of Poland's present educational work, in many instances founded and carried on with self-sacrificing zeal during her bondage and now developing freely in her independence. We learn of her educational system, her schools, universities, historical and scientific work, and so on. Technical and vocational schools figure conspicuously in the educational foundations which the Republic has set on foot. The work of instructing the peasants, initiated by heroic men and women in penal days, is being vigorously proceeded with. A terrible legacy of the war in devastated Poland was the sickliness of the generation whose childhood had been spent in starvation and privation, and who fell victims in alarming numbers to tuberculosis. It is satisfactory to learn that the question of hygiene has been effectively dealt with by the Polish State and private enterprise. Sickness insurance societies, sanatoria for students, convalescent and rest homes, and so forth have been so efficacious that the youth of Poland is growing up strong and healthy ; so much so that, as the English reader will be edified to learn, young Poles are taking a prominent and honourable place in international sports

competitions. Their successes in the air are well known; and while on the subject of aeronautics, we may note that Professor Dyboski draws attention to the excellence of the Polish air service. As regards the research and scientific work carried on by Poles, Professor Dyboski provides facts of which Poland has good reason to be proud. Mme. Curie Skłodowska, whose lamented death has occurred since the book was written, is a name of world-wide renown; and Professor Dyboski is able to enumerate other Polish scientists whose work in their own branches stands at the head of European medicine and science. These include, to mention only two, Dr. Funk, the originator of the theory of vitamins, and Professor Weigl, who has made valuable investigations on spotted fever. Literature and art, which stand for so much in a people's civilisation, especially in the case of a nation which, like Poland, has a noble literary and artistic tradition, are not omitted in Professor Dyboski's book, and we are given a useful chapter on the subject.

Having taken the reader through every side of the life of the restored Polish State, Professor Dyboski concludes with a chapter on Poland's position in the world of today and tomorrow. Here the question of Poland's relations with her neighbours, and especially with Germany and Russia, is investigated. The case of the misnomered Polish "Corridor," in plain language Polish Pomerania, being the principal point of contention between Poland and Germany, it is treated at some length by the author. He proves by historical and ethnological evidence Poland's inalienable right to these lands, concluding that "unimpeded access to the Baltic is a fundamental condition of Poland's continued existence." Upon Poland's relations with Soviet Russia, Professor Dyboski has some very interesting and suggestive observations. According to him, the attitude of his nation to Russia should be that of "the peaceful penetration by European cultural influences of a country now in the grips of a fanatical and furiously propagandist doctrine. Deeply and instinctively as all Polish minds . . . abhor the extremism of Bolshevik doctrine, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, Poland is obviously destined and (in the persons of her more farsighted citizens) quite willing to play a part of some importance in the great task of reconverting Russia to our common civilisation."

Professor Dyboski does not shut his eyes to such disquieting features as the insecurity of his nation's frontiers, "the imperfect inner consolidation of the new State . . . the economic difficulties attendant upon the great social transformation of Poland," and so on. He presents the dark side of his picture as frankly as he does the bright. But, with one of those touches of Polish national idealism which has made this book, for all its sober presentment of fact, something more than a compendium of useful information, Professor Dyboski emphasises that confidence in the future is for the Pole a part of his dogma, learned and leaned upon as his salvation in the darkest hours of national suppression, and triumphantly justified by the miracle of resurrection. That faith Professor Dyboski supports by historical evidence. He points to the successful rebuilding

of a strong Polish State out of the wreckage of a country more ravaged by the war than any other in Europe; to the victory by which a people only just risen from the grave hurled the Soviet armies back from Warsaw and Western Europe; to the frequent triumphs through the course of Poland's history over cataclysms that threatened her very existence. All these things he adduces as proof of the indomitable vitality of the Pole, that will not accept defeat. This, he says, "is sufficient to provide the Pole . . . not with a creed merely, but with a certainty." On this optimistic note, founded on no romantic sentiment, but in the language of Krasiński, on "the eternal law of history, where nothing is brought about easily, but little by little, laboriously, gravely and sternly," Professor Dyboski concludes a book which should be not only read, but frequently consulted by every Englishman and Englishwoman desirous of understanding the internal and external problems of a country whose preservation and prosperity are essential to the interests of the European commonwealth. We may add that in addition to the ordinary index there is a detailed Table of Contents which greatly facilitates the work of reference.

MONICA M. GARDNER.

The Revolutionary Emperor: Joseph II. By S. K. Padover. London (Cape), 1934.

JOSEPH II. is in many respects the most outstanding and attractive, as he is certainly the most tragic, figure among the crowned exponents of XVIIIth century "Enlightenment." Though his failure was complete, nothing was ever quite the same after him as before him, throughout all the wide lands which owned Habsburg sway: and his name long remained a programme—a warning or an inspiration to rival schools of political thought. It is therefore surprising that no biography worthy of the name should ever have been written of him; that the only book of first-class importance dealing with his career came from a Russian writer, and after an interval of over a century; and that our best guide to his mental processes should still be his published correspondence with his mother, brother, sisters and Chancellor. It is perhaps no accident that his own Austria should have produced a ten-volume biography of Maria Theresa, but only the most perfunctory essays upon her no less remarkable son.

Mr. Padover is therefore to be congratulated on his choice of subject and also on the thoroughness with which he has studied the principal sources and the vivacity with which he recounts his hero's career. It may be that as an American he was severely handicapped in his attempt to recapture the atmosphere of Austria in the XVIIIth century: and

more than one passage reveals his utter failure to appreciate the charm of Viennese baroque or the culture that lay behind it. One can only marvel at his description of Vienna as "a crude and uninspiring cluster of structures" (p. 102). It is the merest travesty to say of the great Empress that "in all the 40 years of her reign she never did a generous thing and never thought a noble deed." Moreover there is little to show that Mr. Padover realises the very far-reaching administrative and social reforms to which Maria Theresa gave her sanction, despite her conservative instincts. Much of what Joseph attempted might indeed be described as an improvisation, resting upon foundations already laid by his mother, but marred by his own tactlessness, haste and doctrinaire outlook. If the Habsburg Monarchy survived so long as a Great Power, it was very largely because the whole bureaucratic machine had been modernised under Maria Theresa: whereas in the ten years of his undivided rule Joseph admittedly brought it to the very brink of ruin.

It is in no way intended by this criticism to detract from the immense services of Joseph to the cause of humanity, but rather to insist that only by a careful and sympathetic comparison of the characters of mother and son can either of them be really made comprehensible.

Meanwhile Mr. Padover is no blind admirer of the Emperor, and makes no attempt to conceal the crass contradictions in his character—so profoundly devoted to principles of progress and outraged at the selfish despotisms around him, and yet trying to remedy existing abuses by still more arbitrary and interfering methods. "Good God," said the cynical Mirabeau, "even their souls are to be put in uniform." Moreover, high-minded social reformer though he was, Joseph at the same time pursued in foreign policy grasping and cynical aims of conquest and compensation such as reduced Maria Theresa to tears of despair and threw even his unprincipled contemporaries—Catherine, Frederick and Louis XV—into the shade. And yet there will always be a special niche for Joseph in the hearts of all who believe in the twin principles of monarchy and progress: what he did for peasant emancipation and religious toleration assures him an imperishable name, yet these were but two out of many activities.

Mr. Padover has added a scholarly bibliography, but there is not a single footnote reference throughout the volume: and this is all the more regrettable because he relies upon unusually full (and, be it added, most effective and often lively) quotations from contemporary sources. The book fills a serious gap in English, and it is to be hoped that the author will pursue his studies further.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

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POEMS BY ADAM MICKIEWICZ

*Translated from the Polish of ADAM MICKIEWICZ by MARJORIE
BEATRICE PEACOCK and GEORGE RAPALL NOYES*

NOTE.—The following poems are the first three episodes of the “Digression” at the close of *Forefathers’ Eve*, Part III. (A translation of the opening scenes of that work appeared in the *Slavonic Review*, vol. III, pp. 499–523, and vol. IV, pp. 42–66.) Mickiewicz, writing as an exile in Paris in 1832, gives his impressions of his journey to St. Petersburg in October, 1824, as a prisoner of the Russian Government, and his ideas of the life in the Russian capital. The boys mentioned in the last lines of *The Road to Russia* are Mickiewicz and his fellow exiles, former students of the University of Wilno; the “proud captive” is the poet himself. The Polish lads reappear at the close of *St. Petersburg*, Mickiewicz under the name of Konrad; see *Slavonic Review*, vol. III, p. 507.

The footnotes signed “M” are by Mickiewicz, the rest were added by myself.—G. R. NOYES.

THE ROAD TO RUSSIA

Across the snow, through ever wilder land,
Like desert wind the lone kибитка¹ flies;
And like two questing falcons, my sad eyes
Circle above the glistening waste unspanned.
Borne by the storm, they cannot reach the shore,
And under them the angry waters roar:
Nowhere they have to fold their wings and rest;
They feel their grave is on the ocean’s breast.

¹ A light Russian carriage in use at that time.—Ed.

No cities and no mountains meet the eye ;
No works of man or nature tower on high :
The plain lies bleak and barren to the sight
As if it had been fashioned yesternight.
And yet sometimes a mammoth comes from here,
An ancient sailor that the Deluge brought,
And in a strange speech that the peasants fear
Relates that long ago these lands were wrought ;
That in the days when Noah was alive
Traders from Asia here were wont to roam—
And yet a book will now and then arrive,
Stolen by bandits from a Polish home,
Which says that these bleak plains, today so drear
Mothered great peoples that went forth from here.
And as the Deluge swept across the land,
Leaving no pathway in its raging strife,
So hordes of peoples crossed it, band on band,
Leaving no traces of their mode of life
Yet on the Alpine mountains far away
They left their mark in that long-distant day ;
And farther still, upon Rome's monuments
One reads of those bold robbers coming hence.

This level plain lies open, waste, and white,
A wide-spread page prepared for God to write.—
Will He trace here His message from above ;
And, using for His letters holy men,
Will He sketch here His writ of faith again,
That all the human race is ruled by love
And offerings remain the world's best prize ?
Or will that fiend who still the Lord defies
Appear and carve with his oft-sharpened sword
That prisons should forbid mankind to rise,
And scourges are humanity's reward ?

The wind roars o'er this barren, white expanse
And lifts the snowdrifts in a ghostly dance,
But this white, swelling sea does not grow black :
Called by the storm, it rises from its bed,
Then, as if swiftly petrified, falls back
Upon itself, immense and white and dead.
At times this vast, engulfing hurricane
Sweeps from the very poles ; unchecked and swift

As far as the Black Sea it scours the plain,
Piling its swirling snow-clouds drift on drift.
Oft it engulfs kibitkas in its path,
Like Arabs smothered by the simoon's wrath.
Above the flat, white surface of the snow
Great towering walls of blackish colour soar :
These are the pines and spruces, row on row,
That stand like islands on a dreary shore.

These mighty trees have here and there been cut,
Stripped bare and laid together, side by side,
To make strange forms, a roof and wall, a hut :
Such are the dwellings where the people hide.
Still farther on these heaps by thousands rise
Upon the plain, identical in size :
Their smoke drifts out like hat plumes on the air,
Like cartridge boxes their small windows shine.
Such houses here march in a double line ;
There form a circle, there a hollow square.
This regiment of houses, squat and brown,
Is called with conscious pride a district town.

I meet the men who dwell within this land,
Broad-chested, great of strength, a stalwart band ;
And, like the trees and creatures of the North,
They pulse with life and health that knows no pain :
But every face is like their home, a plain,
A waste, on which no inward light shines forth.
Their hearts, like underground volcanoes, throw
Upon the cheeks no flame of fierce desire.
Their moving lips reflect no ardent glow ;
No wrinkled brows fade with the dying fire
Seen on men's foreheads in more favoured lands,
O'er which have passed, through many weary years,
Such strong traditions, sorrows, hopes, and fears
That in each face a nation's history stands.
And here the eyes of men are large and clear,
Like their unstoried towns ; no storm-tossed heart
Makes anguished glances from their pupils dart
Or hopeless sorrow in their depths appear :
Viewed from afar they seem austere and great ;
But near at hand, empty and desolate.
Each body is a web, a coarse-spun roll,

In which there sleeps a caterpillar's soul,
Ere it transforms its tiny breast for flight
And weaves and tints its wings to fairy guise.
But when the sun of liberty shall rise,
What kind of insect then will greet the light?
Will a bright butterfly soar from the earth,
Or a dull moth, of dark, uncleanly birth?

Fair roads stretch out across this barren land :
No merchant industry devised their way,
Nor peasant footprints deepened day by day
The mighty Tsar put forth his royal hand ;
And if he pointed at some Polish town,
Or at the walls wherein a lord abode,
Village and castle straightway were torn down,
And his might strewed their ruins with—a road.
Through fields these roads are hidden by the snow,
But in the forest their smooth surface gleams.
Straight and unending to the north they go ;
Amid the trees they shine like mountain streams.
Who travels on these roads? Here swiftly ride
Snow-powdered troops of Russian cavalry,
And there are seen dark ranks of infantry,
With wagons, guns, kibitkas at their side.
By edict of the Tsar this regiment
Comes from the east to fight a northern foe ;
That from the north to Caucasus is sent :
Whither they march, or why, they do not know—
And no one asks. Here a Mongolian
Is seen, with slanting eyes and puffy face ;
And there a homesick Lithuanian,
With pallid brow and slow, uncertain pace.
Some men have bows, some English muskets hold ;
The Kalmucks carry bowstrings stiff with cold.
Their officers?—A German in a coach,
Humming his Schiller's sentimental lays,
Whacks on the back the men as they approach ;
A Frenchman, whistling his brisk Marseillaise—
A strayed philosopher—seeks a career,
And asks the Kalmuck chief, who stands near by,
How they may get supplies most cheaply here.
What if from famine half that rabble die?
Then they can plunder half the treasury ;

And if the deed is hidden carefully,
The minister will grant them an advance,
The Tsar a medal for their skilled finance.

Now the kibitka suddenly flies by :
The ambulances, guns, and guards who ride,
Rush madly from the road as it comes nigh ;
Even the leaders' wagons draw aside.
Still on and on it flies : the gendarme whacks
The driver with his fist ; the driver thwacks
The soldiers with his whip ; the throng gives way ;
The wheels crush any one who dares to stay.
Whither ?—Who rides within ?—No one will ask.
The gendarme speeds on some important task :
Surely he rides on orders from the Tsar.
“ Perhaps that gendarme travels from afar,”
A general suggests “ He may have brought
The King of Prussia, France, or Saxony,
Or other German whom the Tsar has caught,
And royal power has him in custody.
Perhaps a greater criminal is there ;
Perhaps Ermolov is the enemy !²
Although he sits in straw so wretchedly,
How proud that captive looks ! How brave his stare !
A famous man ! Behind him wagons throng :
Even his court attendants share his fate !
And see their eyes—their glances bold and strong !
I thought they were the first lords of the state,

² The common folk of Russia are fully convinced that the Tsar is quite equal to carrying off any other monarch in a police kibitka. And in very truth it is hard to say what answer a *feldjager* would receive in certain States if he came on such an errand. This much is certain, that Novosiltsev was wont to repeat “ There will never be peace until we so organise Europe that one of our *feldjägers* can execute identical orders in Wilno, Paris, and Stamboul with equal ease ” The removal from authority over Georgia of General Ermolov, whose name was very popular among the Russians, was regarded by them as a more important event than a victory over some petty king in western Europe. We need not wonder at this idea of the Russians. Let us remember that His Royal Highness the Duke of Wurtemberg, when besieging Danzig with the allied armies, wrote to General Rapp that a Russian general was equal in dignity to a king, and might assume that title if such were the will of the emperor. See *Memoirs of General Rapp* M.

Novosiltsev was the Russian senator who conducted the proceedings against Mickiewicz and his comrades ; see *Slavonic Review*, vol. III, p. 501. Alexander, Duke of Wurtemberg (1771–1833), was the brother of Friedrich who reigned as Duke of Würtemberg from 1797 to 1805, and as King of

Were generals, were chamberlains of the court.
 See, they are only boys, who look so proud !
 What can this mean ? And whither flies this crowd ?
 They are some monarch's sons of ill report."

Thus softly speak the leaders, great and wise,
 As toward the capital the carriage flies.

THE SUBURBS OF THE CAPITAL

The capital approaches, one can tell.
 On both sides of the wide and splendid road
 Are palaces wherein the mighty dwell.
 Churchlike, with cross and dome, stands this abode :
 There statues hide beneath the straw and snow ;
 Here, graced with Grecian columns in a row,
 A summer house, in style Italian,
 Next, mandarin kiosks, found in Japan,
 Or, from the classic times of Catherine,
 Ruins fresh-made in classic form are seen.
 Of varied orders, varied kind, each home,
 Like beasts that in their varied countries roam,
 Stands caged within its fence, a sullen guest.
 Only one form is missed among the rest,
 A palace showing native style and line,
 Their native child, built from their own design.
 How marvellously are these buildings made :
 On islands in a swamp the stones are laid !
 If theatres were desired in Rome of old,
 The people yielded forth a stream of gold :³
 The servants of the Tsars, heartless and bold,

Wurtemberg from 1806 to 1816 Alexander entered the Russian service in 1800. In 1813 he commanded the corps besieging Danzig and forced the city to capitulate. Mickiewicz slightly exaggerates the arrogance of his letter of 17 July, 1813, to General Rapp. The passage to which he alludes runs as follows: Alexander is in part sneering at the creation of kings by the now defeated Napoleon :

" Pour ce qui concerne mon frère, le roi de Wurtemberg, que votre excellence appelle un des plus fermes soutiens de la cause qu'elle défend, je puis assurer votre excellence qu'un général en chef russe ne se croit point inférieur en aucune manière à un roi de la confédération, puisqu'il ne dépend que de l'empereur Alexandre de m'élever à cette dignité, s'il le juge à propos, et alors je serai roi comme un autre. j'y mettrai cependant une petite condition, c'est que ce ne soit point aux dépens d'aucune puissance, ni de personne." (*Mémoires du Général Rapp*, Paris, 1825, p. 347)

³ Words spoken by a king of the Goths, when he saw for the first time the Coliseum in Rome. M.

To raise their gorgeous brothels from the mud,
Poured forth an ocean of our tears and blood.

To build these monuments unto our pain,
How many false, pretended plots were foiled ;
How many guiltless men banished or slain,
How many of our lands robbed or despoiled ;
Until with Litwa's blood, and Ukraine's tears,
And Poland's gold they purchased lavishly
All that the fashionable world reveres,
To dress their ornate dwellings stylishly ;
And with champagne the buffet floors were wet,
And trodden down with step of minuet.

Now all is silent here —The city calls
The Tsar in winter, and the courtly flies
Follow the scent of carrion to their prize.
Only the winds dance now within these halls.
Unto the city with its court and Tsar
Speeds the kибitka.—Snow is on the ground,
The clocks have thundered twelve from near and far,
And now the winter sun is westward bound.⁴
The spacious heavens their vaulted depths unfold,
Cloudless and silent, empty, pure, and cold ;
Quite colourless, a pale, transparent sky,
As lifeless as a frozen traveller's eye.

Above that city which we now draw near
Rise fairy castles gleaming in the sun ;
Pillars and walls and balconies appear
Like hanging gardens reared in Babylon.
From out two hundred thousand chimney throats
Upward the smoke in straight, dense columns floats ;
These like Carrara marble gleam and shine,
Those glow like rubies with a rosy light.
Aloft the summits perish and unite,
And into balcony and arch entwine,
While roofs and walls of pearl ascend the skies,
Like those illusive cities that arise
From out the Great Sea's waters, calm and clear,
Or in the Libyan desert haze appear :

⁴ In St Petersburg during winter dusk begins about three o'clock. M.

These from afar the weary travellers see—
They ever seem at hand and ever flee ⁵

But now the chain is down, the gates swing wide;
And questioned, searched, and passed, we are inside.

ST. PETERSBURG

In ancient times of Italy and Greece,
Beneath a temple men sought calm and peace,
Mid holy trees, a wood nymph's spring below,
Or on the heights took refuge from a foe:
And thus was builded Athens, Sparta, Rome.
In Gothic days, beneath a baron's tower,
Where it might be protected by his power,
The humble peasant built his cottage home.
And where some navigable stream flowed by,
Towns, small at first, with ages towered high.
These cities were by reverence inspired,
Or for defence or trading were desired.

How did the Russian capital begin?
Why did the Slavic thousands emigrate
To these far-distant corners of the State,
Torn from the ocean floor and from the Finn?⁶
This scanty soil yields neither fruits nor wheat;
The cutting winds bring merely snow and sleet.
Here heat and cold alike are too severe,
As fierce and fickle as a despot's mind.
Men did not choose such lands; a Tsar inclined
To these vast swamps and bade his subjects rear
A city not for their use, but for him,
A tribute to a tyrant's cruel whim.

In these loose, shifting sands, this swampy waste,
He bade a hundred thousand piles be placed.
What though a hundred thousand peasants died!
Upon the piles, upon their trampled forms
He built his firm foundation; other swarms
To wagons, ships, and wheelbarrows he tied,

⁵ In northern cities on cold days the smoke rises skyward in fantastic forms, making a spectacle similar to the *mirage* that leads astray sailors on the sea and travellers on the Arabian sands. The *mirage* counterfeits now a city, now a village, now a lake or oasis; all objects can be seen very distinctly, but it is impossible to approach them; they always remain at the same distance from the traveller, and at last they vanish. M.

⁶ The Finns . . . inhabited the marshy shores of the Neva, where St Petersburg was later founded. M.

To bring vast loads of stone and mighty trees
From distant lands and over northern seas.⁷

Recalling Paris, straightway he desired
Parisian squares. And then, having admired
The quays of Amsterdam, he built his own.
Rome had, he heard, great palaces of stone—
And here they stand. Venice, sublimely fair,
Which, half within the sea and half on land,
Swims like a siren-maid with dusky hair,
Greatly impressed the Tsar. Straightway he planned
To dig canals throughout this dreary swamp,
Hang bridges and float gondolas below.
He now had Venice, Paris, London's pomp,
Save for their beauty, charm, and inner glow.
The architects repeat a famous phrase,
That Rome displays the labours of mankind,
While lovely Venice was by gods designed,
But he who views St. Petersburg will find
That such a pile demons alone could raise.

The streets run to the river, side by side,
Like mountain passes, long and straight and wide.
The houses, brick or stone, are huge and gray,
Clay set on marble, marble laid on clay.
And all as uniform in roofs and walls
As is an army corps, newly equipped.
From every housefront here a signboard calls :
Amid so many tongues, such varied script,
The eye and ear find Babel. "There," one tells,
"A Khan of the Kirghiz, a Senator,
Head of the Polish Office, Achmet dwells."
"Here Monsieur Joco," states another door,
"Gives lessons in Parisian French. He plays
Bass viol in the band; he overlooks
Distilleries and schools; he also cooks."
A signboard over yonder sounds the praise
Of great Piacere Gioco, known to fame
As sausage-maker for the maids of court,

⁷ Many historians describe the foundation and the building of St Petersburg. It is a familiar truth that inhabitants for that capital were driven to it by force, and that more than one hundred thousand of them died during the time of its construction. Granite and marble were brought in by sea from distant lands M.

Who keeps a ladies' school of great report.
 That lengthy sign bears Pastor Diener's name,
 A knight of many orders of the Tsar.
 Today he preached a sermon on the theme
 That by God's grace the Tsar is Pope, supreme
 As lord of faith and conscience' guiding star.
 He likewise calls the Anabaptist bands
 And the Socinians and Calvinists,
 That, as the Russian Emperor commands
 And his ally, the Prussian King, insists,
 They all accept a new religious rite
 And into one new faith and church unite ⁸
 Here "Ladies' Clothes"; "Sheet Music" there we read,
 Or "Children's Toys," or "Knouts," or what you need.

The carriages that in the streets are seen,
 Despite their bulkiness and rapid flight,
 On gleaming runners vanish from the sight
 Like silent phantoms on a magic screen.
 A bearded coachman cracks his whip with pride
 Atop an English coach! The wintry clime
 Paints beard and garments with a silver rime
 In front two little boys on horseback ride,
 In sheepskin coats, true sons of Boreas;
 They whistle shrilly and the rabble flee
 Sleighs scatter and allow the coach to pass,
 Like flocks of ducks before a ship at sea
 Here all men run, urged by the biting chill;
 Nobody chats or looks about or stands;
 Their eyes are closed, their faces pale and still;
 Each chatters with his teeth and rubs his hands.
 The warm, moist vapour that their lips exhale
 Leaves in the frosty air a long gray trail.
 Seeing these thronging masses spouting smoke,
 One thinks they must be chimneys on parade.⁹

⁸ The confessions that have separated from the Catholic Church enjoy special protection in Russia, first, because their adherents readily pass over to the Greek faith, following the example of the German princesses and princes; second, because their pastors are the best support of despotism, by instilling into the populace a blind obedience to the secular authority, even in matters of conscience, in which Catholics appeal to the decision of the Church. It is well known that the Augsburg and Geneva confessions united into one church at the command of the King of Prussia. M.

⁹ During intensely cold weather the steam from the mouth becomes visible, forming a column often several feet in height. M.

Besides the crowding common herd of folk
Move two vast columns in slow promenade,
Like church processions, or like flocks along
A river bank, by rushing waters tossed.
And whither goes this slowly dragging throng,
This herd of saffians, heedless of the frost ?
This is the fashionable walking hour :
Who cares though wintry winds blow cold and keen ?
For after all, here may the Tsar be seen,
His Empress, and the mistresses in power.
Officials, ladies, marshals make their way ;
First, second, fourth, in even sets they pass,
Like cards thrown from a gamester's hand in play,
Kings, queens, and knaves, the mighty ruling class !
Court cards and common cards, both black and red,
Fall to this side and that. Alike they tread
The splendid street, magnificent and long,
The mighty bridges, granite-lined and strong.
First the officials come, the men of note.
One wears a partly-open warm fur coat,
'Neath which four cherished decorations lie.
What though he freeze, if but his crosses show ?
He seeks his equals with a haughty eye,
And being stout, crawls beetle-like and slow.
Then come the guardsmen, fashionably dressed—
Each flaunts a wasp-like waist and bulging chest—
Like moving pikes, parading jauntily.
Next walk the functionaries of the town,
With cautious glance deciding whom to see,
Whom to avoid, and whom to trample down ;
Each head bent low, and bowed each pliant spine,
They crawl like scorpions in human guise.
The ladies gleam like splendid butterflies,
With bright-hued cloaks and hats of brave design ;
Each glitters in Parisian elegance,
Her small foot twinkling in a fur-lined shoe,
Her face crab-red and showy white of hue.—
The Court rides off ; the groups check their advance,
For now the nobles' carriages draw near,
Like boats by swimmers in a narrow bay.
The first throng has already drawn away,
While those on foot have scattered in their rear.

Hard-racked by coughs, a man may reach his door,
 The while he groans : " How fine this daily walk !
 For I have seen the Tsar and bowed before
 A general and held a page in talk "

A few lads wandered in that crowded place,
 Unlike the others in both garb and face.
 They scarcely glanced at all the passers-by,
 But viewed the city with astonished eye.
 Upon the summits, walls, foundation rocks,
 Upon the gratings and the granite blocks,
 They fixed their gaze as though to ascertain
 Whether each brick were solid as it lay.
 Hopeless, they dropped their arms, as if to say,
 " To overturn them man will strive in vain."
 Thus musing, they went on.—Konrad alone
 Of the eleven stayed. Pale-lipped with hate,
 He laughed, raised his clenched fist, and struck the stone,
 As though he summoned down a vengeful fate.
 Then quietly he stood, arms crossed on breast,
 Deep plunged in thought, and on the palace wall
 His sharp and knifelike glances came to rest.
 He seemed like Samson then, after his fall,
 When, captured by deceit, and tightly chained,
 He brooded how revenge might be attained.
 On Konrad's quiet brow a sudden shade
 Fell like a pall upon a coffin laid.
 A ghastly darkness touched his proud, pale face,
 As though the evening, dropping from the sky,
 Sought first his pallid cheek and blazing eye,
 Then spread its veil o'er the surrounding space.

On the right hand of the now empty street
 There stood another man.¹⁰ No traveller
 He seemed, nor exiled Polish foreigner,
 For, giving alms to beggars, he would greet

¹⁰ Oleszkiewicz, a painter well known in St. Petersburg for his virtues, his profound learning, and his mystical prophecies. See the obituary notices of him in the St Petersburg papers for 1830. M

Józef Oleszkiewicz was born in Lithuania in 1777; from 1810 to his death he lived in St Petersburg. Mickiewicz, during his own stay in the city, became attached to him and was deeply influenced by him. To him he is said to owe his doctrine that the Polish nation received from God a special, sacred mission, to guide humanity in the ways of the Lord.

Each of the men by name who sought his aid,
 And ask how wives and children fared Alone
 At last, he leaned against the coping stone
 And lifting up his eyes as though he prayed,
 He gazed above the towering palace wall;
 But he had not that pilgrim's stern, rapt eye;
 He dropped his glance at every cripple's call,
 And every veteran's appealing cry.
 He stood, hands raised to heaven, long in thought,
 His gentle face with hopeless pity fraught.
 He gazed as might an angel, tenderly,
 When, sent to purgatory from above,
 He sees whole nations writhe in agony,
 And suffers with them through his perfect love,
 Foreseeing how far off is their release
 To lasting freedom, heavenly bliss, and peace.
 He leaned against the coping, weeping low,
 Hot tears ran down and perished in the snow;
 Each tear will be remembered by the Lord,
 And each will gain a vast and sweet reward.

It was already late : that lonely pair
 Stood separated, musing, till at last
 Each of the other had become aware—
 And each watched closely as the moments passed.
 At length the older man, as he drew near,
 Said : “ Brother, I perceive you standing here
 Alone, a foreigner, perchance in need.
 Command me in God's name, what is your plight ?
 I greet you with the Cross and with the Knight.”¹¹

Konrad, his thoughts too inwardly inclined,
 Shaking his head, fled swiftly from the quay ;
 But on the morrow, when his frenzied mind
 He ordered, and refreshed his memory,
 He rued his treatment of that kind Unknown.
 If e'er they meet again, he will atone :
 For though he cannot recognise the face,
 Yet something in the voice and manner seems
 Strangely familiar, that he cannot place.—
 Konrad perchance had seen him in his dreams.

¹¹ The arms of Lithuania are a mounted knight. The allusion is to the Lithuanian origin of Oleszkiewicz

SLOVENE IDYLLS

*Translated from the Slovene of IVAN CANKAR by A J KLANČAR and
GEORGE R. NOYES*

CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE

THE children were in the habit of talking together before they went to sleep. They sat for awhile on a broad, flat stove and told one another whatever happened to occur to them. The evening dusk peered into the room through dim windows, with its eyes full of dreams; the silent shadows writhed upward from every corner and carried away with them their marvellous fairy tales.

The children related whatever entered their minds, but their thoughts were only of beautiful stories spun from the sun and its warmth, from love and hope woven of dreams. All their future was just one long, glorious holiday; between their Christmas and Easter came no Ash Wednesday. Somewhere behind variegated curtains all life silently overflowed, twinkling and flashing from light to light. Their words were half-understood whispers; no story had either a beginning or distinct images; no fairy tale had an end. Sometimes all four children spoke at once, yet no one of them disturbed another; they all gazed fascinated at that wondrously beautiful celestial light, and in that setting every word rang true, every tale had its splendid end.

The children so much resembled one another that in the twilight one could not distinguish the countenance of Tonček, the youngest, a boy of four, from that of Lojzka, the oldest, a girl of ten. All had small, tiny faces and big, wide-open visionary eyes.

That evening something unknown, something from a foreign land, reached out with a violent hand into the celestial light and struck ruthlessly among the holidays, stories and fairy tales. The post had brought notice that father "had fallen" in Italy. "He had fallen." Something unknown, new, strange, totally unintelligible stepped in front of them; stood there, high and large; and had neither face, nor eyes, nor mouth. It could fit nowhere, neither into that noisy life before the church and on the street, nor into that warm twilight on the stove, nor even into their fairy tales. It was nothing happy, nor yet anything particularly sad, for it was dead; it had no eyes that could reveal with a look, no mouth that could tell them in a word why and whence it came. Thought stood helpless

and timid before this enormous vision—as if in front of a mighty black wall—and could advance nowhere. The phantom approached the wall; it stared there and stood mute.

“Well, when will he return now?” asked Tonček pensively.

Lojzka lashed him with an angry glance.

“How can he return if he has fallen?”

All were silent; all four stood before the mighty black wall and could not look over it.

“I shall go to war, too!” suddenly spoke up Matija, seven years old, as if he had seized with his quick hand upon the right idea, and knew just what he must say.

“You’re too little,” Tonček, the four-year-old who still wore smocks, admonished him in a deep voice.

Milka, the tiniest and the sickliest among them, who was wrapped up in her mother’s spacious shawl, so that she looked like a wayfarer’s bundle, asked in a soft, quiet voice that sounded as if it came from somewhere under the shadows:

“Tell us what war is like, Matija. . . . Tell us a story!”

Matija explained: “Well, war means that people kill other people with knives, strike with swords and shoot with guns. The more you kill and strike, the better; nobody says anything to you because it must be so. That is war.”

“But why do they kill and strike?” asked sickly Milka.

“For the Emperor!” said Matija, and they became hushed. In the far distance there appeared before their veiled eyes something awe-inspiring, radiating light from beneath a brilliant aureole. They did not stir; their breath scarcely ventured from their lips—they seemed to be in church at high benediction.

Upon this Matija again gesticulated with his nervous hand and seized upon his idea, perhaps in order to dispel the quiet that lay gloomily all around them.

“I shall go to war, too. . . . Down with the enemy!”

“What’s the enemy like? . . . Does he have horns?” asked Milka unexpectedly, in a feeble voice.

“Of course he has . . . how could he be an enemy if he didn’t?” affirmed Tonček gravely, almost angrily.

Even Matija himself did not know how to answer.

“I don’t think he has,” he said slowly but he stopped, inarticulate.

“How can he have horns? He’s a human being just like us!” Lojzka spoke up indignantly, and then she became lost in thought and continued: “Only he hasn’t a soul!”

After long consideration Tonček asked : " What's it like if a man falls in the war—backward like this ? "

He showed them how a man falls backward.

" They hurt him . . . to death ! " Matija explained calmly.

" Father promised me he would bring back his gun with him ! "

" How can he bring it if he has fallen ? " Lojzka retorted crossly.

" Then they have hurt him . . . to death ? "

" To death ! "

Eight young, wide-open eyes stared timidly and tearfully into the twilight . . . stared at something unknown, incomprehensible to the heart and brain.

Meanwhile their grandfather and grandmother sat on a bench in front of the house. The last red rays of the sunset shone through the dark foliage in the garden. The evening was a tranquil one; only heart-rending, choking and breaking sobs could be heard coming from the stable; their young mother, who had gone out to tend the cattle, was probably still there.

The two old people sat very close together, bent low; and they held each other's hands as they had once held them long years ago; they gazed at the dying sunset with tearless eyes and said nothing.

THE CAPTAIN

Long ago my dreams, and, indeed, the dreams of every man, acquired a wholly new and very singular aspect. No more vain wandering, no more fugitive mists that flow into one another without rhyme or reason and finally vanish into nothingness. No more of those dreams which on waking in the morning one glimpses vaguely and blankly, with drowsy eyes; dreams which one beats off with his hand, half laughing, half angry, as if saying : " May the devil take you back wherever he found you ! "—and which then creep down into an abyss in comically terrible shapes, just as at the first rays of dawn the gnomes hide themselves in the forest. The dreams that I am dreaming now and which you yourself are dreaming are shadows of real truth; to be sure, they are shapes horribly exaggerated, above all strangely maimed and transformed, but the truth still remains, you recognise it immediately, and your heart is filled with sadness.

It was a cool morning in autumn; the mists dragged themselves into the valley and crawled up the steep slopes; on the summits of the mountains the first snow, which had fallen during the night, glistened white in the rays of an early dawn. The sky was clear; it still reminded one of the recently fallen snow and the cold, morning stars, but it was already waiting to embrace the sun.

I was looking through a window. This window had never been washed, so that I saw things as through a web ; nevertheless, I could distinguish perfectly clearly all that went on before my eyes ; in the pure morning air the voices were so distinct that I heard and understood every word. The yard was covered a span deep with a blackish dust that overnight had been changed into greasy mud ; the low roofs of the barracks and the withered leaves of the walnut trees that stood solitary in the middle of the yard were also covered with that same dust ; under those walnut trees stood a soldier holding the reins of a saddled horse, which neighed and shivered from cold and restlessness.

A company of soldiers stood in a long, even file, prepared to start for the front within an hour. The soldiers stood there as if made of stone ; not an eye blinked ; their slim bodies were slightly bent under the weight of their heavy knapsacks. Never before had I seen in one cramped spot so much youthful beauty. Their faces were still very young, almost childlike ; and they were fresh as if bathed in dew and in the light of dawn. In their eyes glistened pearls of dew ; their gaze seemed to issue from a far-away source, from a beautiful dreamland ; but all their eyes were immovably fixed on the captain, who paced up and down the mute front rank with slow, indifferent steps.

The captain was very tall, fully a head taller than his soldiers ; he was draped in a loose black mantle ; under it were visible two very long, thin legs ; in his hand, which seemed bony and talonlike even in its glove, he held a cane, on which he supported himself in walking. I could not see his face, for it was fixed all the while on the rank of soldiers. Just behind him marched a young ensign, who at times timidly looked around, as a man might do who would like to escape but who realises that he is mercilessly enchained.

Once again the captain began his inspection. He stopped in front of the first soldier in the rank, before a tall, slender youth who stared at him with mute, gloomy eyes. The captain stepped directly toward him.

“ What’s your name ? ”

The boy told him his name, and then something gripped my soul : I surely know thee, thou handsome young lad ! Thou pensive stripling, staring with a heavy heart into the great beyond ! Man among comrades, obedient child among wise old men ! Thou art like the living branch of a tree ; if they cut it off, only the tree will be wounded ! . . .

The captain continued : “ Have you a father at home ? ”

" No, he is dead ! "

" And how many brothers and sisters ? "

" I have none ! "

" At least your mother is still living ? "

" Yes, I still have my mother ! "

And a light kindled in his mute eyes.

Then the captain raised his cane and with its iron tip he touched the boy's breast and motioned to the ensign who stood behind him. The young ensign pulled a list out of his sleeve and with trembling hand wrote down the boy's name. And the boy turned pale

The captain went past the second and did not look at him, he walked on to the third and examined him closely. This soldier was just a gay, talkative, noisy young man, a famous singer and a favourite with the girls. His round face radiated health; two bright, flaxen locks wound round his tiny ears; his blue eyes seemed to sing; his dark-red lips curled into a pleasant smile.

" You've a bride waiting at home ? "

" I have, sir ! "

His blue eyes sang still more vibrantly, and the song carried mirth with it.

The captain raised his cane and the ensign wrote. And the song in those blue eyes died away.

So the captain marched slowly down the long rank; he inspected, queried and selected. Sometimes he would release them by twos and threes; at some he did not even glance; sometimes he would just point them out by fives and sixes, one after the other. And it seemed to me that he was purposely and discreetly choosing the strongest and handsomest.

He came to the end of the rank, raised his cane for the last time, and then faced about. Then I saw his face and my heart stopped beating. That face was without skin or flesh; instead of eyes, two deep pits were dug out in the skull; long, incisive teeth grumaced beneath a naked, powerful jaw. The captain's name was Death !

" Forward . . . march ! "

The company flanked brusquely and descended with steady steps into the mist. At its head rode the Captain; high over the mist fluttered his black mantle.

" THE SUN ! . . . THE SUN ! "

On clear days when the hot sky glowed in the glittering, quivering rays of the sun, old, blind Krištov used to walk down the highway. Whoever met him would shout from afar : " Hey, Krištov ! The

sun . . . the sun ! . . . Do you see the sun, neighbour ? . . . Have you seen it ? . . . What's it like, neighbour ? ”

Krištov would sigh, straighten his long, bony body, clothed in its patched garments, and turn his white, sightless eyes toward the sky. His long, grey beard flowed down over his chest and hid half of his yellow, withered face, with its tracery of countless tiny wrinkles. When the sun shone on his brow, a childishly innocent, sad, ardent expression spread over his wrinkled features. He would sit for whole hours on a kerbstone with his head bare and his hands crossed. Near him in the grass played his nephew's daughter, chasing the butterflies that fluttered their dusty wings over her uncle's aged head, or teasing the ants that clambered and tumbled about on the tall blades of grass

“ Manica, tell me about the White Dawn ! ”

And Manica began to recite the old, oft-repeated legend of the unfortunate blind warrior who would cry with joy when he felt the sun shine on the golden roofs of Tsarigrad. She talked in a high, thin voice—slowly and monotonously, as if she were reading with an effort from a foolish, tedious book.

“ Is the sun high over us, Manica ? ”

“ Oh, so high up ! ”

“ . . . and beautiful ! ”

“ So bright and hot that I can hardly look around me. Have you never seen the sun, uncle ? ”

“ If I could only see it, Manica ! ”

As the parish bell rang the noon hour, they turned toward home. On the sidewalk he bent his body almost double and toddled on his legs as if he were looking for a safe place to step. He lived with his nephew at the edge of the village, on the highway . . . in a little, blackened hut recently damaged by fire. In cold, rainy weather he sat at home behind the stove and listened to the flies that hummed around him and tickled his face and beard, or he played with Manica and stroked her soft, silky hair. On winter nights his nephew, Tomaz's hired man, played for him on the concertina.

Krištov's face beamed with joy and godliness, as it did that splendid summer morning when he turned his face toward the rising sun. It seemed to him that the notes of the accordion wrapped him more and more closely ; that they patted and caressed him ; that they penetrated his heart and soul, softly and sweetly ; that they lifted him on light wings and carried him far off into infinity ; far away—to the sun. . . .

Sometimes he went into the village to Buchar's. . . . There

they sat in their special corner around a broad table—bald Grogar with his round white face and his grumpy black nails; noisy and irritable Primoz, who never left his place in order that he might the more readily keep pounding on the table with his fists; lame Koprivec with his tearful eyes and crooked red nose, which gave a shrewd, sly appearance to his countenance; and two or three other admirers of Buchar's taroc and juniper. Krištov sat quietly among them and raised his voice only when Koprivec began to make his "ludicrous, crazy, and wicked" comments on the sun.

"Yes, Krištov, it's just like this! The sun is only a soft, flaming mass and nothing more. . . What kind of a thing do you think the sun is anyhow?"

Krištov was at a loss. He did not know the answer. He felt the sun on his face and all over his body and at the bottom of his heart when he walked out on hot days; he felt it in the notes of the concertina; he felt how it soothed his soul with its rays and drew him to itself with a mighty force; he felt it when he patted Manica on her tiny face. It flowed in his veins like something infinitely sweet, glad and loving. . . And you say that it is only a flaming mass! . . . Holy Saviour!

After the brandy-drinkers had departed, Buchar's daughter, Nina, sat behind the table and sang and played the zither. Krištov stroked his beard. The wrinkles on his cheeks quivered at his good fortune.

"Nina! . . . Once more——!"

And Nina sang with a sad, quavering voice:

"Once more I would behold the sun arising!"

Dusk came. Through an open window one could gaze far into the village and still farther on over green hills covered with fields, over meadows and verdant plains. In the background, where the earth met the sky, the pine forest, as yet unclouded, merged into a bright mountain-blue, already translucent haze. Over the whole scene the sky was fused into a blood-red colour; and cloud after cloud melted away in this glow of gold mingled with blood.

In a room at Krištov's house everything was stealthily silent. Nobody dared to step with heavy tread on the clay floor; whoever had business outside, walked even in the yard with deeply bent body and with long, clumsy steps. The hall was full of women and children who whispered and sighed, now quietly, now a trifle louder, like the rustling of leaves on the trees.

Old Krištov was dying. He lay in a corner on his bed, exactly as when he had still walked in the sun in Main Street. Half of his

long, grey beard was hid under the coverlet; the other half lay twisted in dishevelled locks on the sheet. His face was yellow and gnarled as an oak. His eyes were white, expressionless, dead, like two balls of lime. Between his long fingers, so withered that the skin wrinkled around them like the bark around thick grapevines, he gripped a plated crucifix. Around his fingers was twined a rosary of thick black beads.

Mana Krištov, his nephew's wife, was finishing her prayers for the dying. Beside the bed on a small table burned a candle; the long, bright, yellow flame flickered now and then straight upward; then again it inclined to one side and died away.

Krištov lay quiet and immovable. His body seemed heavy and awkward, as if it were not his own. His limbs hung from him . . . sluggish and motionless . . . as if his veins were full of lead. . . . A sweet, blessed, intense longing possessed his whole soul; he awaited the splendid sunrise. But this waiting was painful to him. Yet he felt that there was something fortunate and free in this sweet unrest.

Mana jumped up and stepped to the bed. Krištov raised his head, so that his silvery hair fell in long locks on his forehead; with his left arm he leaned on the pillow and then stretched out his trembling hand. The wrinkles on his face suddenly disappeared; his face grew pale with a bright, holy bliss. . . .

His head fell back, and through his thin half-opened lips came his last words:

“The sun! . . . The sun!”

THE DEAD WILL NOT ALLOW IT

Gradually, one by one, they all departed and left me alone amid countless memories, which encompassed me like taciturn spirits wherever I went, stood by my bed and stared at me when I lay down to rest, harassed me in dreams and stretched out toward me their white hands.

Our home was slowly falling into ruin; stone from stone had fallen away; the plaster was coming down; the rafters sagged and mouldered. And it had become bleak, cold, and silent. All had fled as if afraid that the low ceiling might fall on them and the broken floors give way beneath their feet. The atmosphere was growing depressing; it seemed to reek of corpses. Now one man hurried away silently and warily as if ashamed of his own conduct. After him another prepared to move, and became sad-eyed and taciturn. . .

For me the air about the place was becoming close and heavy. I fancied that everyone who departed threw off from himself a thousand fetters and wound them around my body

They took away with them all life and left me not even the feeblest ray of hope. But I could not free myself. Whenever I stepped over the threshold for a single second in order to breathe more freely the pure, sweet air outside, invisible fetters tightened around my hands and feet. I was like a fly struggling in a web, and with every movement twining thin threads more tightly about its legs. It seemed to me that they had shut me out of the world; that I was standing far, far away from all life, that I heard only vaguely the world's intoxicating roar—as if somewhere in the distance the water of a spring were falling over a cliff. I ardently longed for those waters hidden underground in the warm, living body of the earth, but my hands had no strength to lift the cover. . . .

About ten o'clock in the evening I rode away from Poreč. The night was cold and splendid; the stars shone in the sky like ice crystals, and the moon rose red as if it had come forth from a sea of blood.

Along the road tall poplars stood in even rows; some ten feet from the street splashed the turbid water of the lake; here and there something glittered in the waves like a falling star. All around me not a sound was to be heard except the clatter of the horses' hoofs on the cobblestones. Now and then someone cried out in the distance, painfully and chokingly, so that the driver bared his head and made the sign of the cross. That was all.

I wrapped myself tightly in my overcoat and pulled my hat over my eyes.

Thus I fled like a thief in the night—the fetters had broken, and were left behind me, wet with my heart's blood. . . .

A warm and agreeable sensation came over me; and a warm soft blanket seemed to cover my limbs. Before my eyes everything grew dim and misty. My eyelids closed. . . .

Then *they* pursued me. They hurried after me and sat patiently beside me. They gazed into my face with tearful, suppliant eyes; their bony hands were clasped and their lips were quivering. And I realised all my injustice and heartlessness. My knees shook; my hands trembled at their words:

“The crosses will fall to pieces and rot away on our mounds; men will kick them about and sweep them against the wall.

“The flowers will wither and there will be no one to water them; weeds will grow over our graves.

"They will dig up our graves and stir our remains from their last resting place; and you, too, are now departing from us. . . ."

How deeply their fetters cut into my flesh! The phantoms clenched me in their dead, bony hands. Those cold, bloodless hands held me firmly and tirelessly, so that neither my eyes nor my thoughts could move. . . .

I woke up as if from heavy dreams. My head was clouded and taut, as if held in a vice. An unspeakable grief lay heavy on my heart. My eyes remained dry and stolid.

The bloodstained moon was still low on the eastern hills as I made my way back to my dilapidated home. Silently the tall poplars towered above me. The turbid waves of the lake splashed more dully than ever close to the street—and the invisible fetters cut deeply into my flesh. . . .

RUE DES NATIONS

It was as if I had risen from the grave. My sad, melancholy life had buried me deep under the heavy earth; and my hands were no longer strong enough to roll away my burden. I already felt like one who is dead, forgotten, and I heard the tread of men who trampled over my grave. They lived and talked noisily and happily, but I lay deep under the earth that weighed so heavily upon me and wearied myself with musty, egoistical thoughts—a dead man's reveries. I despised those other men because they did not think as I did and because they trampled happily and lightly over my grave.

Then I awoke; I heaved a sigh and shook off that burden.

Love came into my heart, the kind of love that alone is strong enough to make a man rise from his grave. Love had slumbered within me under the weight of a sorrowful and bitter life until a soft, warm hand touched her eyes; then her eyelids quivered and she awoke.

She embraced me with her great might. The spring wind blew from the mountains of the South and brought me greetings from the land whence an invisible hand had uprooted me, drawn me forth from my native soil so that the hand began to bleed with travail. It came sighing from Raskovec and from the mountains of Javor-nik; it brought the spring vapours of the fields that extend from Ljubljana up to Ringo; I heard in the wind the hollow singing of the bells of St. Paul's parish church. It was thus that the wind brought me greetings from the poor, forsaken mother whose son had forgotten her because she could give him nothing.

A letter had come from my half-forgotten sweetheart; and as I

opened it, there came from it the scent of those old times, of innocent kisses, of the fragrant, spicy meadows where we used to stroll, of the chestnut grove where we used to sit on a bench and she would press closer to me, while heavy drops of dew would fall from the leaves, so that her wet blouse would cleave to her hand. It was the fragrance of the past, of youth, of that beautiful land there in the South. The doors had been pushed open; the loving hand of my half-forgotten sweetheart, for ever lost to me, pushed them ajar and they opened wide; and then everything whirled before me with a mighty solar force. The death wrappings crumbled to ashes and fell from me; and the veil through which I had looked upon a gloomy world fell from my eyes.

This happened on a fair day when the houses of the Parisians shone in the sun and the moist verdure budded in the gardens

In the evening I went to a café and greeted my friend, who was sitting at one of the tables in a cloud of tobacco smoke. He noticed my flushed face and my buoyant spirits, and he was perplexed, almost grieved. Unfriendly, tiresome, insipid, and dead as he was, he did not like to see happy faces.

I told him that I was celebrating the holiday of my resurrection. And as I was full of a youthful strength that had been awaiting the time when it could be poured forth into courageous work, I told him of my plans, of my hopes for fame, and of countless other things. He smoked and listened to me and sometimes he would cast a side-long glance at me. When, under the cold glance of his eyes, I became somewhat quiet, downcast and shy, he leaned his elbows on the table and began to speak. He talked slowly and calmly, without looking me straight in the face

“Do you remember Multatuli’s *Max Havelaar*, his beautiful story of Saidyah? When Saidyah returned to his native village, he waited all night under the ketapan tree for his sweetheart to come to meet him at dawn just as they had agreed when they parted. He waited, and she did not come. And he went into the village and searched high and low, from one end of the village to the other, but his sweetheart’s house was nowhere. He ran up to the end of the street and returned—the house was not there. Poor Saidyah thought that he had gone mad. He ran up and down the street once more; all else was as it had always been, but his sweetheart’s house was not there.

“Look, all nations have settled in Paris. They have made their homes along the *Rue des Nations*, the Street of the Nations; and the smaller the nation, the larger and more beautiful is the home it has

built. And if you should come to this street seeking your home, you would walk the street like Saidyah; down to the end and back again—all the houses would stand there, but your home would not be among them. You would run down the street, your eyes would be bloodshot and mad with fear; and you would run backward and forward and not find your home

“All the other houses would be there, but not your own. If somebody should approach you and ask: ‘Who are you? Where are you from? Show me your home!’—you would lower your eyes, stoop, and remain silent.

“Consequently, every joy and every hope is foolish. You have no home; that is to say, you are like a branch without a trunk—a broken branch that has fallen on rotted leaves and withers there and finally decays.

“You have no home; your thoughts are foreign, as if the wind had brought them together for you from all lands; every work you produce is foreign, wrested from a foreign soil. Every word you utter is foreign, for even the language that you speak is no longer your own

“How can a branch broken from a trunk thrive on decaying leaves? We are like those decaying branches, for there is no sap from the trunk to give us strength. Tell me, whence came your enthusiasm for work, for life? Consider well, look into your soul with a clear vision, examine without bias the source and the purpose of your soul’s strivings and you will realise that you have no home. Your native home, my dear friend, is like a gypsy’s wagon that roams from place to place.

“Since you have no heritage such as would give you pride of race and love of country and the strength to fight for home and country, therefore you also have no one to whom you can be grateful. As all your conduct is foreign, so also it is insignificant. It would be foolish to give something to a man who gives you nothing in return. And it is impossible for you to give one anything. For there is no giving in the world; there is nought but the returning of gifts.

“What you have garnered elsewhere, return again to those who have given it to you. Go and seek them, if you owe them amends.”

And I went out to roam the streets, full of joy and youth, I, poor Saidyah.

I listened to his words and I heard within them the sigh of my own assent; I saw how each one of his words had blossomed from the warm blood of his heart. He was ashamed of his poor, forsaken mother and he beat himself on the face because he was ashamed.

It was a magnificent evening, and in the gardens everything was in bloom. The wind came sougling from Javornik and from the mountains of Raskovec; I heard in the wind the hollow singing of the bells of St. Paul's parish church. It was thus that the wind brought the greetings of my poor mother whose son had forgotten her because she could give him nothing.

My heart was heavy, yet I had a sense of marvellous sweetness. I walked the broad street, the Street of the Nations; and there stood the high, lofty mansions. I walked, a stranger without a home, but my heart rose and fell from my great grief and my joyous love for my mother who has no home. I would not have sacrificed that love for all the riches of the mansions which stood so boastfully along that street.

"Behold, you are a beggar and your coat is patched, and your bare feet are all sore and dusty from restless wandering!"

Oh, Mother Slovenia, my Mother, my life, the beginning and the goal of all my thoughts, of all my acts. How blistered and wrinkled are thy poor, holy hands—bless me, thy son; look upon the humble offering that the hapless son of a hapless mother brings to thee; look into my heart and accept it!

I roamed the broad street, past the tall mansions, and I was happy and proud, for there is no love more sweet and life-giving than the love of sons who have inherited nothing from their mother. That sweet and life-giving love is worth more than a spacious home and all these broad and proud streets.

FAITH

Translated from the Polish of GUSTAW MORCINEK by MONICA M. GARDNER

THE shattered ceiling, broken by its own weight and crushed into a hideous heap of rubble, twisted the slender props, bore them down, pounded them in the twinkling of an eye, crumbled them into splinters, and fell with a groan into the chasm of the chamber.

The rush of air flung the men against the wall, carried them off their feet, threw them on the top of one another. The lamps went out, and it was dark.

The last stifled crash of falling rocks rolled away, and died without an echo in the jaws of the darkness.

Silence followed; a terrible, stunned silence.

Only now and then, as though someone were scattering a handful of tiny pebbles, the dry whispering of gravel dripping downwards still rustled overhead among the broken pieces of the ruin

Then again there was silence.

And nothing else. A silence that might have been going on for centuries : if it were not for that stifled breathing, in which was the agony of terrified hearts.

" Ferda, are you alive? " A quavering human voice suddenly shot out.

" Yes "

And again silence

" Is there anybody else here? "

" Yes. Yes," Kubala answered through the darkness.

" I'm here, too," added young Pasierbek.

" Damn it, boys. That was a bang and a half."

" You may say so It's still drumming in my ears."

" Same as after a drop of brandy," added Witoszek.

" Has it killed anybody? "

" We must light a lamp."

" Wait. I'll light one."

A dry crack rang out, a small blue flame relieved the darkness, the wick caught yellow fire. They could see. Yellow light shed itself round them, like a church candle. The black shroud of night crawled away beneath a stone among the broken fragments of the avalanche. With the light a faint, faint, scarcely perceptible relief flowed into panic-stricken hearts. Human eyes met each other, held each other, like brothers clasping hands. " It's a good thing there are more of us here," was the thought of each one; " that I'm not alone here. Good! "

" Holy Mother of God ! Here's a rum go, boys ! "

Terrified eyes gazed.

" Dear Jesus ! "

" Holy Mary ! "

Close in front of them, hardly a dozen yards away, rose a steep, jagged wall of bristling rocks. Hurling down from the inside of the ceiling, they lay on the top of one another, grey and immovable, as a monstrous storm turned into stone by the finger of God in the midst of all its fury lies petrified at the puny feet of men, at the boundaries of poor human life. The smashed props tattered out of recognition, splintered beyond belief, stood out from the heap of

rubbish, white like torn pillboxes. A light and twinkling dust floated as far as their eyes could reach. There was silence

They all sat at the foot of the mountain of coal. One here, one there, but all in a huddled crowd.

Old Bonczek, capless, sat, and slowly scratched his bald head. Beside him was Ferda Witoszek, the man whose wife had died lately, leaving him with eight small children in the house. A little further Kubalok from Darkowe was crouching, sitting on his heels, and at his side, leaning against his shoulder, sat young Pasierbek.

They gazed in silence. Gradually the vision of the death that had come close to them took shape in their eyes. At that moment they were like little children chased by a mad dog who have taken refuge on a high fence, and gaze fearfully from there at his foaming jaws

"I say, boys. That was a close shave. We were pretty near being done for."

"Yes. Yes. A close shave," Ferda Witoszek agreed with Bonczek.

"The Lord God watched over us," added Kubalok.

"Or Pusteki.¹ Because he's a decent ghost."

"Pusteki or the Lord God, it's no odds which," said Bonczek irritably. "But what are we to do now, boys? I'm thinking we're hammered down here for good. How are we going to crawl out from here, I'd like to know?" He raised his lamp high above his head, lighting all the exit.

"Damn it all! I tell you the whole thing's down. What's to be done now?"

"What's to be done? Blest if I know. We're in a bad hole, and that's all there is to it."

Bonczek got up. Carrying his lamp in front of him, he lit his way. They all looked after him anxiously. He did not go far. He had hardly gone a dozen yards along the wall when he was brought up against the barricaded passage. Blocks of stone hermetically welded together were propped against the mountain of coal. And the avalanche had certainly reached the passage itself. He turned in the other direction. He knew there was nothing to go there for, as the chamber had not yet been excavated, and was a serried wall of coal. Yet he did go. He threw his light upon it, muttered something, turned back, and sat down heavily.

"Well?" asked Kubalok.

"Foul, boys," Bonczek answered gruffly. "Down, every blessed

¹ *Translator's Note*—The beneficent ghost believed by the Polish miners to haunt the Silesian mines.

bit of it The devil himself couldn't squeeze through, not by a single crack "

" Don't swear like that," said Witoszek, with superstitious fear in his voice.

" Well ! " Bonczek waved his hand.

A heavy silence reigned

" What are we to do now? Holy Mary! What are we to do? "

That question put itself to everyone, and remained unanswered. Their minds did not stretch beyond the threshold of the conviction that they were in truth buried, cut off from God's world. They recoiled panic-stricken before that clear, terrifying comprehension of their situation. It seemed to them an impossibility, so far from actual fact that although their thoughts kept nagging at the stern pitiless truth, although these thoughts raced on involuntarily, striving to gaze boldly on the face of such a doom—yet in the depths of their hearts they smiled instinctively and incredulously, as a man smiles at an obvious falsehood. It was as if their eyes retreated behind their lids, refusing to see anything beyond the faint illusion of their return to men.

All were thinking the same thing, each wrapt in his own thoughts.

" Are there many of us here? " gloomy Bonczek again broke the silence.

He was the oldest of all the miners working in the chamber. Therefore it was almost mechanically that he took command of the rest of his mates, knowing that it was his by right.

He raised his lamp, and his eyes counted up.

" Ferda, Kubalok—and young Pasierbek," he muttered, his concentrated gaze running over each face. " Aha! The others got away. Well, that was all right. That's not surprising. They were nearer the passage than us. Who the devil would have thought that it would have charged down so quick? It flung us under the wall, like as if we were rubbish. Well, it's a good thing there's so many of us. It might have smashed our skulls for us, or anything. That would have been a worse show. But where's Bulandra? "

" Where's Bulandra? " His thoughts broke off, and he asked the question aloud. He had just remembered that surely the cripple Bulandra had been with them when the props had suddenly started cracking and breaking. He had been collecting the rubbish near them with his bucket.

" Has he been buried somewhere? " he added, looking round. He got up, grasped his lamp, and plunged into the narrow, uneven

passage along the wall under the sagging ceiling, composed solely of rocks leaning on each other.

All the others were roused, and gazed after him.

"Here he is!" Bonczek suddenly shouted out of the pit, whether in anger or gladness they could not tell. "Here he is! Now, you damned fool, why are you sticking here like an owl, and not calling out; what?"

Kubalok, Witoszek and Pasierbek went up to him. In a corner behind a gigantic block of stone, Bulandra was sitting, huddled up. He was shaking like an aspen. He looked with unconscious, glassy eyes at the little flame of Bonczek's lamp, and stuttered something with livid lips

"Don't go on babbling like that, like an old woman," Bonczek roused him, pulling his arm: "but get up and come over to us, or you'll get buried here for good and all. Look how that stone's hanging." He pointed with his hand to a huge rock, the edge of which was scarcely leaning on the ruined prop. "One snap of your finger and that beast will charge down and kill a man before you can say knife. Get up now, and come along with us."

Bulandra rose heavily and dragged himself after Bonczek.

"Well, we are all of us here now," Witoszek proclaimed. "The others saved themselves."

"But we're left here," Kubalok finished. His voice broke, and suddenly passed into a stifled sob.

They all looked at him. He had bowed his head, and his face was twisted in a sort of contortion. He looked as if he had caught hold of something between his teeth, and was gnawing at it.

They saw it all now. It all stood out before them, clear and distinct as though on the palms of their hands. "But we're left here." Those words fell on their hearts like hard stones; the sharp edges of which cut into their entrails by slow inches, with ever increasing strength, with ever increasing pain.

What were they to do? What were they to do?

Heavy gates had suddenly clanged to in front of them, fastened by a hundred bolts; barred them for eternal ages like the black lid of a coffin from the bright sun, separated them from God's world, from all the people on earth, from all. And their fate was to die here in solitude and abandonment, slowly, slowly, like a flame in an empty lamp, cheered by none, without one last look into pitying human eyes. Oh, sweet Mother of God!

"Hold your noise!" Bonczek shouted roughly at them. "You blubbing idiots, to disgrace yourselves like that! Aren't you

ashamed of yourselves? Grown men to squeal like silly pups when the bitch runs away from them! Can't you pull yourselves together a bit?"

After a moment he added:

"They're sure not to leave us here. We'll be here one day, two at the most. They'll dig through to us, and it will be all right."

He had no great faith in his own words. He knew well that their mates would be eager to rescue them, but before they had dug their way to them it might be a month of Sundays. But why say anything about that to these fellows when it wouldn't do any good? To unbury them when once they were buried, the thing wasn't possible. No, not even if it was just to bury them again in consecrated ground. Well, what was the use of worrying beforehand? But if they didn't come, well—that was a nice look-out for them. He didn't care.

Bonczek's rough, forcible words instantaneously scared away the fear that was creeping its way in. It fled like a dog prepared to bite when he is threatened with a stick. A tiny hope glimmered in their hearts. It held the sweetness of honey, and they felt better.

"See here, boys. We'll settle down and wait. Have you all got lamps? Bulandra hasn't! The blockhead must have had one. Damned fool! He's gone and lost his lamp; and suppose he'd been alone without a lamp! He's only a half-wit. How will I fix it? Aha. We've got four lamps here. We'll light one at a time, and when it's burnt out then we'll light another, because who knows—and then we'd have to sit here in the dark. And look here, boys, we'll get to work." He pointed to the wall of coal "We'll dig by turns to give the fellows who'll be coming to rescue us a bit of help, and then it won't be so long to wait"

"You're right, Bonczek," Witoszek agreed admiringly. "Here, boys, let's get to it."

However it appeared that they had only one pickaxe. The rest were buried. It was therefore agreed that they should chop by turns at the wall, and when one was tired the next one would take up the work. Pasierbek and Bulandra were to throw the dug-out coal on the heap of ruins with their hands, as there were no shovels. But they must cut slowly and systematically from the top, so as to leave no space.

"Wait. I'm first." Bonczek pushed his companions out of the way, spat on the palms of his hands, and began hammering at the wall. Crushed coal was scattered in heaps, and such clouds of dust rose that the light, held by Kubalok, was obscured, enveloped in a thick cloud of dry coal gravel. As he detached each few pieces of

the loosened wall he drew back, while Pasierbek and Bulandra threw them behind their backs.

In the beginning the gnawing at the coal went easily, because the surface of coal which has been long uncovered always crumbles, and is chopped with ease. But when he at last reached the solid coal, when he had splintered off the rest of the broken layer, then the hard work began. Bonczek hammered obstinately with the sharp point of the pick. He cut in, slowly and inexorably. He drove at the wall over his head, swiftly, blow after blow. In each blow he put forth all his strength, so that the shining, sharp steel point of the pick described a gleaming streak in a semicircle above his head. His arms shot out sharply like the pistons of an engine, and handfuls of coal gravel flew round him, showering hail on his face, on his closed eyes, spattering thickly on the gnarled surface of his hands, and scattering with a rustling sound over the wall and rough ground. Inch by inch he cut into the coal; made an ever deeper and ever longer gash in it, threw it on the ground, then lay on his side and began cutting the wall horizontally from below. Every now and then he stopped. Then with his hand he raked away the pounded gravel from the gash, spat in front of him, dried his eyes from the sweat suffusing them, straightened himself, settled himself in a more comfortable position, and hammered again. When the pick was driven halfway into the mass, he battered with its blunt end on that part of the wall which had been already cut, to ascertain whether it rang hollow. And again he hammered. And when at last the blow evoked from the wall a hollow, slightly drumming echo, and a hardly audible cracking reached his vigilant ears, he spat and got up.

"It's loose, boys. Get a bit to the side."

He chopped hard above his head. Once, twice he grasped the pick by the point, and tugged. Then great pieces of coal came heavily down between his widely parted legs.

After him Kubalok stepped into the work. He carried it on in the same way. And when he was tired, Witoszek succeeded him. And so it went on in rotation.

Time passed on; and as it passed, they were very gradually penetrating deeper into the low, gleaming gallery.

Then the lamp went out. They lit the second, and hammered on. The rapping of the pick measured out the passage of time rhythmically. It smote on their ears with something that was joy. It drowned the whining of fear. They lived on the sweets of excitement, the brilliant delusion that each blow of the iron point on the wall drew them at an ant's pace nearer to deliverance. They did

not reflect how many days and how many nights would be needed to gnaw through the coal at this rate before they could get round and beyond the avalanche. They did not take this into consideration. The vague consciousness that they were working and that this work was bringing them their deliverance was abundantly sufficient for them. It intoxicated them as wine intoxicates a simple peasant. Its very existence set them rejoicing. They forgot their actual situation, their wills and minds and eyes being absorbed in the aim of breaking as much of the coal as they could, of pushing forward as far as they could.

The hours passed on. God only knows how many of them had passed. No one attempted to count them. What would be the use? Whether one hour had gone by or ten, it mattered nothing. Because always that impenetrable night would blind their wearied eyes: it would always be the same, whether it had happened an hour ago or a hundred. Up there on the surface God's sun told men when it was day and when it was night; when it was the right thing to go to bed and there forget the cares of daily life, or when it was time to rise and take to withered hearts the innocent child smile of the newborn day. But here beneath the earth that was of no account. It might be one o'clock or ten or more. Always night, night, and it would be night through the ages that their minds could not grasp.

When some of them were tired and lay down by the wall and slept, murmuring something in their sleep, the others kept watch, listening intently to catch from the wall of coal the far-off sound of the picks of those who were hurrying to their rescue.

When they rested, they put out the lamps. It was a pity to burn the light unnecessarily. They might be wanted. Because who knew——

They divided the bread in brotherly fashion. There was not much of it. Only what that cripple Bulandra had kept. For all their coats had been buried, and with them their slices of bread. Bulandra was Bulandra. He had carried his bread on him, because he was afraid of the mice eating it, or something of the sort. And so Bulandra's bread was left, and he hadn't such a bad bit of it either. They divided it like brothers in equal parts.

But they had no water.

How many hours had passed by no one knew. Their watches had remained in their coats, and they had not had time to seize their coats when the ceiling broke. Bulandra, although he had his coat on him, had no watch.

As if a fellow like Bulandra would ever have anything ! He was a man you could only laugh at, and nothing more

Small, stocky and old, with short, crooked little legs, a big head and goggle eyes and wrinkled face, he looked like a freak. So the miners had huge fun out of him. They jeered at his height; derided him unmercifully, showered their wit on him; knocked him about so much that sometimes the more soft-hearted among them would storm at the others and make them let him alone, because after all he was one of God's creatures, if a half-baked one. But Bulandra took it all as a matter of course. He smiled stupidly, perpetrated some foolish grimaces which made all those who saw them nearly split their sides with laughter, and it was only when they had baited him too much that he would put his knuckles into his eyes, like an injured child, and cry. Then still more ill-natured mirth followed and still worse treatment, because he literally blubbered, like a calf crying after the cow's teat. This tormenting of Bulandra was put a stop to by the more intelligent of the miners, who swore at those who were the real fools in rough and very foul language, and enforced obedience to their words with the helve of a pickaxe.

He was no use at any sort of work. God had not given him the intelligence necessary for a miner. So they put him to the lowest jobs which usually any other miner is only given as a punishment. He swept away the refuse in the main gallery, he carried water in a bucket to the workings, watered the airways, and more often loaded old trucks with pails of filth and pushed them to the shaft. Hence he always emanated a smell which stank in the nostrils, like manure carted on the fields in the early spring; and even when he was far away in a passage whence the wind was blowing into a working the miners' noses would smell his approach, and would herald it by a shower of "Damns," and ridicule for this poor wretch of a Bulandra.

At the present moment there was little satisfaction to be got out of him. Together with Pasierbek he had to clear away the dug-out coal; and all the time Pasierbek was irritated and angry with him because he kept getting in his way and hindering real work.

What was going on in Bulandra's soul, God only knows. While the rest of his companions were living through profound emotions, at times clinging with confidence to Bonczek's strong words, then again sinking into doubt, Bulandra was always the same. He did everything he was told. He scarcely spoke. Only his eyes were staring and fixed as though he had remained in an uninterrupted con-

quicksilver. He was all over the place, always poking his nose into everything, always in a scrape. He'd tumble off the fence and tear his trousers; bump his head; hurt his brothers and sisters without meaning it; always something.

Kubalok couldn't sleep. He turned over and over, and sighed. Today he should have been mending his roof because it was starting to leak, and the missus was perpetually grumbling that all the corn in the garret would spoil and rot, and then what would she have for the goat, she'd like to know? And here he was, sitting, kicking his heels, and waiting for God's mercy, and that was all there was to it. And the missus up there would be giving him what for, and making a hell of a row because God's gifts would be wasted, and that was all her man was good for. Oh, holy God!

And what about the fair to which young Pasierbek had been preparing to go? Milka had told him last Sunday that she could go, that she had talked about it to her Dad and Mum, and that it was all settled nicely; and now who knew how long he'd have to stick down here? And who knew if—— Suddenly he felt such an immense regret for the new watch he had planned to take with him to the fair that it took even him by surprise. Such a lovely watch! But he—oh, God! God! and he began to sob softly, because he was rent asunder by that terrible sorrow.

It seemed those other fellows were asleep. He, only he, was watching, because his grief could not be appeased. And when he pictured to himself that at this moment on the surface the sun was probably shining, and that his Milka was standing on the bank and looking out for him and waiting for him and putting her little hand over her eyes to shield them from the glare, the better to see her beloved Janiczek, he could not bear it. He burst out crying.

His tears relieved him. They were hot, and so in a way they melted his grief, dissolving it like frozen snow when the spring rain comes. By degrees he grew calmer. Heavy sobs were still shaking his whole frame, when suddenly he felt a horny hand on his face.

"What's that?" He started up, scared.

"Hush, Pasierbek. It's me. Bulandra."

"What d'you want?"

"I heard you crying a minute back, and I'm sorry for you."

"Oh, hang, let me alone." Pasierbek writhed irritably.

"Wait a bit, Pasierbek. I'll sing you a little something. That will do you good. You know when a man sings——"

And without waiting for permission, he began to sing in an under-

tone a monotonous plaintive little ditty about St. Barbara, the gracious patron saint of miners.

Listen to the pious story of St. Barbara now in glory.
 She a maiden of twelve years the wicked world already fears.
 To a mountain far away, and very high she finds her way.
 There a rock did open wide. In it did the maiden hide.
 After her her father flees. Shepherds watching sheep he sees.
 Then he asks them : Tell me if you saw the maid.
 No, we have not seen the maid, nor have heard of her, they said.
 One of them then left his flock, with his finger pointed to the rock.
 On him came the Lord God's Hand : he fell dead where he did
 stand.
 And his sheep when he did die changed to devils in the sky.
 Which above his grave shall stay till the dreadful judgment day,
 That soul burns without an end where God doth the sinner send.

The naïve song with its confused rhythm and rhymes, crooned with the solemnity of a liturgical hymn in church, impregnated with the sadness of a Christian soul pitying the fate of dear little St. Barbara pursued by her pagan father and given over to a cruel death because she refused to believe in foul pagan gods or deny Christ : this song sung only by cowherds minding the cows came to the miners whom it had woken like the tender smile of someone who was immensely kind, as kind as their own mothers.

They all sat up and listened. They couldn't hear it too often. It was as if the sun had come down to them with that song and taken up his abode in their miserable hearts, working miracles therein. They forgot, they absolutely forgot, where they were. They were sitting on a bank near the cows, among little boys round a camp fire, and, their whips burrowing into the ashes, were crooning that wonderful song. The sun was setting, the clouds in the sky were flaming crimson. The silence of twilight was descending on all the world, and the only sound was the monotonous ringing of the little bells at the cows' necks and that sad tune about poor little Barbara. Ah, when had that been? When? Where had those days gone? Where? Oh, holy God !

The hours passed on. Three lamps had by now burned out. Only one remained. They slashed at the wall by turns, they slashed obstinately, and when they rested applied their ears to it in case they should hear the fellows over there. They heard nothing of any sort or kind. Silence; and a silence so terrifying that it positively rang in their ears. Could those chaps have forgotten them? Didn't they know where to look for them? Perhaps they were digging a

passage on the other side of the chamber, believing it was there that they were buried. How much time had passed now? Three lamps had gone out, burnt down to the last drop. There was one left still. When that went out, what then? What then? They'd beat their heads against the wall, howl in despair, tear at the mountain of coal with their claws.

When despair was advancing on them, when they felt that madness was creeping into their hearts and terror clutching at the hair of their heads; when even Bonczek's rough voice broke, for he, too, had lost faith; then they began begging Bulandra to sing to them. To sing anything, as long as he did sing.

Then Bulandra sang out in a hoarse voice; he sang one after the other all the songs he had ever known. And when he was tired, they begged and whined for more, and more still. So he began over again. He dug out of his memory tunes he had heard in his shepherd days, at weddings, when he had stood outside the window, looking in at the merry-makers; and he sang all the little love songs he had ever known.

Then for a moment they calmed down, and went to work again. But soon the pick fell from their hands, for the strength which a belief in the success of their efforts would have given them failed them. They sank into apathy, and sat, gazing with wide open eyes into the bottomless darkness that was around them and within them.

The last lamp was going out. They were thirsty. O God! If they could only have just one drop of water! The bread had been finished long ago. Weakness was overpowering their bodies, sucking out the last atom of their strength. They lay, stretched out against the wall. Nobody now thought that they ought to profit by the last remnant of light and go on hammering out the passage they had begun in the coal. Why should they? They were forgotten.

At moments they rebelled. They cursed everybody left on the earth. They tore the hair out of their heads. They rolled in frenzied terror on the coalstrewn ground. They howled, breaking out into violent weeping. Then they all fell silent once again, quiet and submissive, like children lulled to sleep.

Their hope of returning to men was burning out with the light of the last lamp. It seemed to them that with that little flickering flame life was leaving them for ever, and they gazed at it involuntarily, bidding it farewell with the smile of the dying.

They no longer asked Bulandra to sing to them. He could sing if he wanted to; if he didn't want to, well, he needn't.

Yet Bulandra sang. Almost without a break. He had grown so hoarse that his voice was a faint squeak, but he sang on. Nobody knew what made him do it. It may have been from the desire of forgetting that death which, crawling like a snail, was drawing near.

When he had exhausted his other songs he began on hymns.

There came a moment when after a longer rest he stood up against the wall, took off his cap, crossed himself devoutly, and in a loud voice began to sing the litany of supplication

“Holy God! Holy and strong!

Holy and Immortal! Have mercy on us!”

With each word his shaking voice increased in power, grew in strength, rang out pure and penetrating as a bell. It filled each remotest recess of the yawning abyss. It took those miserable men in its strong embrace, and lifted them and carried them on high and on high and ever higher, even to the sun flaming in the heavens.

“From tempest, famine, plague, fire, war, and burial in the mines,
Oh, Lord, deliver us!”

Bulandra sang, pouring his whole being into the words. In his ecstasy he closed his eyes, threw back his head, and sang, unconscious of all else in the world, of all that was going on around him. His companions, gazing at his begrimed, wrinkled face lit by the last spark of the expiring lamp, rose to their feet, carried away by those words of the hymn pleading for mercy, as if they had never heard them in their lives before, and when Bulandra reached the place:

“From sudden and unprepared death in the mines,
Oh, Lord, deliver us!”

they joined in and sang with him:

“We sinners beseech Thee, oh, God!
Graciously hear us, oh, Lord!”

The pleading hymn streamed out as though on sunlit waves; grew in power, tense with a lamentation that had no name; it eased the men's breasts with the surpassingly sweet relief of hope in the mercy of God; it vibrated under the sagging vault

And when they began singing:

“Jesus, spare us!
Jesus, graciously hear us!

Oh, Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! Have mercy on us!”

Bonczek could not restrain himself. He flung himself down upon his knees and roared, sobbing violently, repeating without a pause:

“Oh, Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! Have mercy on us!”

Then Bulandra began another hymn :

“ Who gives himself beneath his Lord’s protection,
With all his heart sincerely trusts His might,
The same shall boldly say : My God is my defender,
No terror shall come near me, no fear shall me affright.”

Bonczek grew silent.

They all listened. If in the other hymn there had been the entreaty of a defenceless man, here there broke forth a strangely simple yet joyous faith that God would hear their former prayers, that He would come to their help, bring them deliverance, lead them to the sunlit world.

That faith grew within them. It grew like the most exquisite of flowers, fragrant and white, a pure lily. It purified with its unstained brightness their outlook on life; it purified their hearts and thoughts, which were now filled with a marvellous joy and with mirth and with all they so longed for and loved. Help was coming. It must come, it must. The good God was not going to forsake them. He was not going to allow them to perish miserably. He was going to restore them to life. Oh, God !

Bulandra sang on without a break. That song flowed round about them in a mighty wave of joy which lifted them on its crest, carried them on with it, carried them on. And when his tired voice died away in the last stanza, now only reciting unmusically, hoarsely :

“ That voice of his I never will despise.
By him I stand. Of My protection he
Shall rest assured——”

Bonczek snatched the pickaxe, stooped, and began working madly and joyfully at the obstinate wall. A cloud of dust rose, chips of crumbled coal scattered round, while they all watched the twinkling flash of the pick, boring into the mountain of coal. He struck and struck without intermission, not stopping for a single moment, driven on by the wonderful thought that God would not despise their prayer; no, He would not.

Then there came a moment when the expiring flame flashed violently, leapt slightly upwards, shone for a second, and went out. Then darkness covered all. Bonczek threw down the pickaxe, and, breathing heavily, propped himself with his hands against the wall.

Silence followed. Only broken by that panting breath of his.

Suddenly !—Jesus ! Mary !

“ Listen, boys, listen ! They’re hitting with their picks over

there at the wall ! You hear ? Our mates are coming to rescue us ! D'you hear ? ”

They all crouched against the wall. They held their breath. They'd have given anything to silence the beating of their hearts, to stop them from racing in that mad way.

Yes.

Through the coal mountain there filtered a far-off stifled rhythmic rap-tap of a host of pickaxes battering upon the wall.

With shaking hands he groped for the pickaxe he had thrown down. He crawled into the scooped out hole, and, as though out of his senses, once more started hacking wildly at the wall. The hearts of the men were mad with joy, they throbbed, they burned like the sun at sunrise.

* * * * *

“ You see, boys,” the overseer excused himself to Bonczek and his companions. “ We were looking for you on the other side of the chamber. We dug out a decent passage there. Nothing doing. Not the slightest sign of you. We thought, damn it all ! if you were still alive, if you weren't buried for good and all, you'd be bound to let us know you were still living. We listened, and didn't hear a thing. We thought, hang it all ! the poor chaps are buried, and that's all there is about it. But when we were taking a bit of a rest, Rewenda, who had gone out into the passage, comes tearing back, yelling that he'd heard you on this side of the chamber, that somebody was going at it there with a pick. We all went along, we listened, he was right. We were sure enough that one of you was pounding at the coal with a pick. We thought, the devil that's them. How did they manage to get themselves over there ? No matter. We went to work, and, well—we've dug you out. Well, thank God ! ”

Bonczek made no reply. But he went up to the ragged Bulandra, seized him by the throat, and gave him a resounding kiss on his grimy mouth.

“ Listen, you chaps ! ” he announced solemnly to all the men, who watched this proceeding with surprise : “ if any of you damned fellows ever lays a finger again on Bulandra, I'll smash all your bones for you. Remember that ! ”

After a moment he added : “ Somebody hand me over some 'baccy ! ”

They gave him a hastily unrolled tobacco pouch. Bonczek took a good pinch of tobacco between his fingers, rolled it, and handed it to Bulandra.

“ Here you are, mate. Chew it up.”

THOMAS G. MASARYK

SELECTIONS FROM WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

Translated from the Czech by PAUL SELVER

[On 7 March, 1935, President Masaryk celebrated his 85th birthday, amid the rejoicings of his own people and the warm wishes of the outer world. It seemed to us a fitting occasion for publishing in extract some of his more characteristic utterances which are not yet available in English. We hope to give further selections in later numbers of this Review —ED.]

ON SLAVDOM AND PAN-SLAVISM

I WILL mention briefly the rules which I follow in studying and estimating the character of a Slav, or indeed of any nation. We can judge nations, including our own, quite impartially. We need not worship the nation to which we belong. I myself, for example, recognise the faults of the Slovaks, but I like them no less than when I was unaware of these faults. I cannot see that by facing facts in this way we are doing any harm to the natural love which we feel for our own people, language and nation. I do not believe in chosen nations. I do not feel any need for disparaging other nations in order to exalt my own. I realise the faults of other nations as well, but these do not cause me such concern as the faults of my own nation and those of myself. I am willing to acknowledge the superior qualities of other nations, but this has no effect whatever upon my national feelings. I regard it as a moral duty for us to speak frankly about our own and about any other nation. Smug pretentiousness in national affairs is detrimental to our progress.

I am becoming more and more convinced that as a rule the qualities of nations are judged wrongly or at any rate superficially. People usually notice only what others eat and drink or how they dress, and these impressions, which are external, and therefore very marked, affect judgments about character. Of course, it is not easy to become acquainted with the spirit of an individual or a nation. I am therefore as cautious as possible, and indeed, if anything, mistrustful in my attitude towards such opinions, and that is why I really feel great reluctance to express my own opinion. It is enough for me to form an opinion of a few social institutions or mental and physical qualities, but I would not venture on any

wholesale praise or condemnation in the manner of those who nowadays thrive on the overwrought emotions of nationalism.

What concerns me most in a nation, just as in an individual, are the spiritual and mental qualities. I do not regard language as sacred, but as a medium in the service of these mental qualities for purposes which may be good or bad. The native language is naturally the medium to which preference is given, and which therefore can be most effectively used. In disputes concerning nationality I am interested chiefly in the spiritual issues, and it is the ideas, the emotions, the moral aims which influence me in forming an opinion. I regard the attempts to suppress a language as the barbaric action of a soulless materialism and a hidebound political mentality. But in waging a struggle against what is materialistic, I favour the weapons of the spirit. That is why I long ago left the community of those quibblers who worship the ideals of fanatical nationalism. Morality in its humanest aspects should be the purpose of every individual and every nation. There is no specific national code of ethics.

We should not be satisfied with such phrases as "Slavism" or "Slavdom," but the objects of our study should always be the Czech, the Pole, the Russian, the Serb. Nor should we form hasty generalisations; it is only those qualities which really are common in the same degree to all Slav nations which we should consider as Slav.

We should consider the present-day Slavs, and then we shall more fully understand the Slavs of the past. A comparative study of the Slavs now living is more reliable than antiquated processes of delving into the past, and more particularly into the obscurest and remotest periods. What you should do is to bring light from the present to bear upon the past, and it is a mistake to suppose that the process can be reversed.

An analogy with other nations is always a useful guide since, at any given period under the same conditions, people are very much alike, more so than may appear at first sight, and people continue to be what people always have been; we develop, but fundamentally we do not change.

Environment and nature continue to affect individuals and nations strongly, and therefore the study of such influences will help at least partly to solve many questions which seem to have bearings on nationality. Do not assign to the spirit what belongs only to the body and perhaps only to the overcoat.

I realise more and more that the Germanic nations are nearest

in character to the Slavs. This, of course, I can ascertain from any treatise on ethnography, but what concerns me is to discover it from contacts with life and literature, and to act in accordance with it. Hence, to my mind, it follows that German influences did not impair our Czech character as many Slavophiles suppose. Let me add that artificial distinctions of nationality for political and nationalist reasons are quite unnecessary. Political development is regulated much more by reality than by fictitious ideas.

The only way we can contend against foreign influences upon our minds is to confront them with the influences of our own. This is an unconscious process, but as soon as people begin to reflect upon the process, they are inevitably led to make themselves as familiar as possible both with their own national spirit and with that of other nations, and then to do consciously what now is being done unconsciously.—*The Czech Question* (1895).

The national consciousness of the individual Slav nations naturally and of its own accord led to a mutual approach between them. There were various causes for this. Firstly, a real racial consciousness and the kinship of language connected with it. Blood is thicker than water, and we are tribally closer to each other than the Germanic and Latin races, for instance, are to us. For practical reasons we can learn a second Slav language more easily and more quickly than any other. The Slavs are drawn together also by the hostility of other nations, especially by that of the Germans who held sway over the Slavs. . . . (Pan-Germanism was enunciated earlier and more emphatically than Pan-Slavism.) Some Slavs are linked by the similarity of their political order. Then, too, it was quite natural that the smaller Slav nations should seek from the other Slav nations the support they needed, especially those who are greater and stronger both in a cultural and political respect. . . .

These forces are counteracted by others tending towards disunion. The Slavs themselves complain that they seem particularly prone to disagreement. I am uncertain about this. The Scandinavians, for example, who are Germanic, have also not managed to unite, and the scheme to join all Scandinavians together failed, as we know, in spite of the pressure which Germany brought to bear in its favour. In the same way the Germans themselves were at variance for a long time and are still not politically united.

It was inevitable that the thoughts and aspirations of all the Slavs, even including the Poles, soon centred in Russia. At the end of the eighteenth century Russia was the only independent Slav country. Poland was collapsing. Serbia did not gain self-govern-

ment until 1815, and it was only the Montenegrins who had any degree of freedom. Hence it was natural that the Slavs should turn their eyes towards Russia, which was not only independent, but exerted a power throughout Europe which was beginning to make itself felt more and more. Prussia was always aiming at friendship with Russia, and step by step Russia was influencing European affairs, merely by the fact that in the age-long struggle against Turkey it was the natural protector of the Orthodox Jugoslavs. According as the effects of State and political power were strengthened by literature, our revivalists naturally began to turn their attention to the Russian language and literature in preference to others.—*The Czech Question* (1895).

A great deal of illusion and extravagance is revealed in discussions about a Pan-Slav or unified written language, but the question has a more serious side as well.

Today it is obvious that a written language cannot be constructed, and nobody will take seriously discussions about a sort of Slav Volapuk, but at the time of our national revival our fathers were more easily led into such discussions, because then the written language was only just becoming fixed and was adopting many words from other Slav languages. It is, therefore, not surprising that Dobrovský, Puchmayer, Jungmann, Šafařík, Kollár, and also Hanka spent much time discussing the possibility of a unified language. Šafařík, for example, expected that the racial and linguistic peculiarities would soon disappear. . . . Quite recently Budilovich wrote a lengthy work in which he shows what is perhaps an obvious thing, that today Russian is the only satisfactory language which the Slavs could use as a common written language.—*The Czech Question* (1895).

THE QUESTION OF CZECHOSLOVAK UNITY. DECLARATION OF UNITY BEFORE AND DURING THE WAR

And now I come to the time when I was already taking an active part in politics at Prague. My programme was from the very start a Czechoslovak one. When I urged the need for Czechoslovak union, first of all in a small circle of my acquaintances, I met with little understanding, but I did not let myself be dismayed. In *Naše Doba* I kept up a special Czechoslovak section, and in the same way the *Čas* sponsored the interests of a Czechoslovak programme.

In a political respect I formulated this programme as my struggle for natural rights. I did not reject a constitutional programme, but brought State rights into harmony with natural rights. That means

that we must extend the Czech State, as historically preserved, so as to include its natural racial complement, Slovakia. Here are the roots of the scheme for complete independence of the Czechoslovak State. I have dealt with it in my book *The Czech Question*.

From the second half of the eighties until the end of the nineties, I used to spend my holidays in Slovakia by Bystríčka, near Turčianský Svätý Martin. I chose this place for the purpose of bringing together and unifying the Czechs and Slovaks.

I think that in this way I achieved a fair amount of work, although it is true that I parted from my friend Vajanský because he feared my critical attitude. But the younger generation, the "Hlasists," did not fear it, and undismayed they drew up a scheme for an agreement between the Slovaks and Czechs. We used to have discussions on the programme at Bystríčka with Dr. Šrobár, Dr. Makovický, and others. I made a special point of not raising the question of language; let the Slovaks write as they choose. The chief thing is that we should really be united, because a Slovak understands a Czech and a Czech a Slovak. The Slovaks were separated from us in the ninth century. They have no independent political development of their own and therefore they have preserved an older form of language and their own dialects. But because this language has been adopted as a literary one, let it remain so as long as they deem it necessary. We know that Kollár and Šafařík were opposed to the separation, and for some time even Josef Miloslav Hurban was in favour of union. This union can and must be carried out in a political respect, and the language development we must leave to future generations. Let us reckon with forces as they are and bring them into organic harmony. The Slovak language exists, and therefore it need not and must not prove an obstacle to us.

The Great War has set the seal upon the Czechoslovak programme. Not only the Czechs and Slovaks abroad, but the nation at home in the Czech territories and in Slovakia, have accepted this programme. The Czech members of parliament have expressed their agreement with the validity of historical and natural rights, the programme that is political and national, Czech *and* Slovak. I believe that in the Czech territories in Slovakia the programme of Czechoslovak union is a lasting one. Nobody who has any idea of political thought can accept the cleavage existing hitherto. Union is in the interests both of Czechs and Slovaks — (*Russia*, 1917.)

Now I must say something about the relationship between us Czechs and Slovaks. I must do so because our enemies often mention this relationship, and to our detriment take advantage of its

vagueness. I personally, from the time when I first went into politics at Prague many, many years ago, have always been an exponent of Czechoslovak unity. I began to urge this among quite a small group, and the question was then more and more discussed. And now we can happily assert this: read Czech or Slovak newspapers, the programme of Czechoslovak unity is now our national programme. There is no language question to bother us. That means that in Slovakia as a matter of course the Slovak language will be used, just as the Slovaks themselves may wish, in schools and public offices. We understand each other when we speak. This applies not only to the educated and to the intellectuals, but every Czech understands a Slovak and *vice versa*. . . . The important thing is that in politics and administration we should form a single whole. No doubt the administration of Slovakia, just as, in fact, the administration of the Czechoslovak State, will entail an enormous amount of work, because the Slovaks for many years were not allowed by the Magyars to administer their own territory.

There are people who think that Slovakia could be independent. This opinion was held by a certain number of Russians who were Slavophiles. . . . My opinion, which is not prompted by any sentimental reasons, but is based upon a close study of the whole political situation, is that Slovakia, if left to itself, would have difficulty in holding out against Magyar pressure. This is true particularly now, when we see that Russia is internationally weaker than we wished and still wish. After very mature reflection I assert that the most advantageous form of State, both for the Slovaks and for us Czechs, is a fraternal union in one State—From the speech at Moscow, 15 August, 1917.

THE CHRISTMAS EPISTLE TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK TROOPS

I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

In contributing this message for the first number of the new daily paper, I first of all want to thank all those who individually and collectively have wished me the compliments of the season. This is not a mere formality, but a mutual demonstration of friendship, conveying a realisation of the troublous times which we are experiencing here in Russia; it is a mutual assurance that we all understand each other, that we are all mindful of each other and have not forgotten our chief and now our only aim—to liberate the Czechoslovak nation from Austria, Hungary and Germany. If I mention the word hardships, I do so only to remind you that we must exert all our forces, keep a cool head and not let ourselves

lapse into pessimism. And what is even worse than pessimism, or rather a travesty of pessimism at its worst, is that state of mind which gives way to extravagant ideas but never acts, and which, without any real knowledge and without any constructive criticism, denounces the existing hardships.

Both for us and our troops the peace negotiations are a matter of great importance. But there will be no peace if the Bolsheviks really desire a democratic peace. Berlin and Vienna are totally unable to conclude a democratic peace, any more than a crow can sing like a nightingale. The Germans are using the Bolsheviks for their own purposes, but they are not concerned about democracy. This is admitted not only by the German Socialists under the leadership of Kautsky and Bernstein, but now by the Bolsheviks themselves. There can be a separate peace only with Smolny. Since Ukraine and the other States which are coming into existence would recognise only a peace concluded by Russia as a whole, it is impossible to say at present what decision the Bolsheviks will reach with Ukraine, Siberia, etc., on this point. The Allies will continue to fight, and hence our task will be to reach the Allies with our army, if Russia and the various Russian States should cease fighting.

What will continue to have a decisive importance from our point of view is Ukraine and its status in the Russian federation. Ukraine is taking over the heritage of Central Russia also in a military respect, and our army is entering upon a new relationship towards Ukraine and its military authority. We are recognising Ukraine and its Republic, and this will enable us to arrange a satisfactory and equitable position for our army on Ukrainian territory. This matter is now being discussed. Our position towards the various political parties is established by a fundamental proclamation of neutrality and non-interference. We are guests in Russia, and the Russian Democratic parties are at such odds among themselves that we cannot impartially identify ourselves with any of them. These tactics have already twice proved efficacious, first of all at the time when Kornilov came into power, and recently at Kiev when the Ukrainians were fighting with the Bolsheviks. We shall not shed Russian blood. We need to use tact in our influence with the parties, we need cool reflection, we need also patience, so we must not let anyone or anything have a provocative effect upon us. From the point of view of neutrality we cannot approve of the action taken by a part of the Czech Social Democrats who are clamouring for alliance with the Soviets. Such a programme is vague, because the Soviet belongs to various parties. Does this mean

that the Czech Socialists are to fight with the Bolsheviks? Altogether, any wholesale talk about Russian Socialism involves a lack of programme, for the simple reason that there are many Socialist parties and tendencies.

The programme of neutrality is not incompatible with efforts by our army to maintain order against the anarchy which is being displayed, particularly in arbitrary seizures of government and public property; it will sometimes be in the interests of the people to protect also private concerns (sugar, alcohol), for such seizures are obviously producing disastrous effects. The goods seized in this way are sold off cheaply and thus retail prices are increased. I should like to mention also the matter of prisoners. From news which has arrived we learn that Austria is misusing the Peace negotiations by forcing returned prisoners into her depleted army; it will be the task of us all to organise the prisoners in accordance with the situation arising from the peace negotiations.

In practical terms the best method against Austria will be continued resistance and a second corps; the army is our safest protection. No Czech worthy of the name will return to Austria. How under the present unfavourable conditions further resistance and organisation are to be carried out, cannot be discussed in these brief observations.—Introductory message for No. 1 of the *Československý Voják*.)

ON SOCIALISM.

I myself am often reproached for being, at bottom, a Socialist. I do not shrink from this title. I am certainly in favour of radical social reforms. I myself have done manual labour, and I know what it means to be a working man. My social faith is very simple and comprises three items: (1) always for the worker and the working people; (2) very often with Socialism; (3) rarely with Marxism.—(From *Progressive Epistles*.)

As you see, I myself am not a Social Democrat. From the very beginning of my public activity I have set myself the task of bridging, as far as possible, the vast chasm between Social Democracy and the remaining sections of the nation, and of working towards positive social reform.—(From a Parliamentary Speech, 20 July, 1907.)

I myself am not an adherent of Communism, I reject Marxism on philosophical grounds, but Socialism I accept; the older kind of

philanthropy which was merely humanistic is no longer enough; Socialism rightly demands social legislation.—("Democracy in Politics." Lecture delivered on 19 May, 1912.)

ON NATIONALISM.

I have never been a Jingo, and, in fact, not even a nationalist; I have already frequently pointed out that from my early days nationality has appealed to me in its social and moral aspects, but the suppression of nationality I regard as a sin against humanity.—(*The New Europe*, 1918.)

DAVID HUME.

Now and again I like to contemplate the face of Hume as portrayed in an old engraving, and the first thing that I always notice is that Hume with all his scepticism put on weight—the respectable double chin, the seemly pigtail and wig strangely embellish the rationalistic fire-eater. If, however, you look at the picture for any length of time you will notice that the mouth has a sort of wry expression from perpetual smiling. The lips are fine and delicate, although not without a certain fulness, while the eyes have a mirthful and a kind of twinkling look, although they are wide open as if not to miss anything around them.—(*Modern Philosophy and Religion*, 1897.)

GERMAN AND ENGLISH CULTURE.

I will admit that the Germans have their culture and I gratefully acknowledge what I have learnt from them, but I have learnt more from the English, French and Russians; I should hardly say that German culture is the highest; for, in my opinion, English culture is higher. From the beginning of my public work in Bohemia I was always introducing the English brand of culture there.—(From "Address to the Czechoslovaks," in Russia, 1917.)

NEW TRENDS IN EASTERN POLICIES

THOUGHTS OF A STUDENT OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

A NEW period has emerged in East European relations. It is much too early to write with any confidence on the subject. Rather, we are in that position in which we were during the War, when we could not help scenting new developments, but had to proceed by guesswork. This article, then, is in the nature of guesswork; and I ask pardon in advance for any injustice I may do by my guesses; but the new perspective is taking shape so rapidly that it is a duty to guess.

The dominant new factor is of course the appearance of Adolf Hitler as the new leader of Germany; and we may first ask what it is that he has put out of date.

Clearly there is an end of the German bondage—the position of Germany as a helot country working at double pressure to satisfy colossal foreign financial claims without any apparent profit to herself, and bound by all sorts of servile restrictions. And we may thank heaven that that is over. As a matter of fact, the Liberal Germany which Hitler has destroyed had already, with infinite patience, emancipated itself from the financial bondage. Personally, I always regarded reparations as both brutal and silly—not merely futile, but silly. We know the Germans gave us a big lead in this matter not only in 1871, but also in the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucarest in 1918, where, for our better education, they put all their ugly cards on the table. But that was no reason at all for following them. Intelligent critics of the peace of 1871 and its sequels have regarded the French milliards as a sheer hindrance to Germany, as money that had not been worked for except by war, encouraged ill-considered expenditure, while France, compelled to work for the profit of Germany, had so to increase her industry and efficiency as would later, when the debt was paid off, give her a great advantage in real values over her rivals. This was still more likely to be the case with such an industrious people as the Germans, who would probably work for the sheer sake of working even if they

got nothing out of it. One thing or the other : either we should not get what we demanded because it was not gettable, or we should have stimulated Germany into an unrivalled efficiency, and Mr. Keynes was surely right when he made his significant exit from this tangle. Pretty well everyone now recognises that it was the policy of the Allies that has produced Adolf Hitler. With the weight that had been put upon Germany, if I had been eighteen at the time, I should have slung a knapsack over my shoulders and hiked to and fro through the country, as so many young Germans were doing at the time, to catch the beginning of the new turn that was bound to follow. The turn which has come is anything but to our liking ; but even if now many of us are driven to regard ourselves as back in 1914 and almost think with gratitude of the transfer of military preparedness to France herself, it is the unappeasable suspicions of France together with our own *laissez aller*, that have produced this result.

But with German bondage has gone, at least for an indefinite time, also German liberalism, which I have always regarded as in the present circumstances the one real guarantee for world peace. In the latter phase of the War, when we were calling for " a change of heart " in Germany, my friend William Appleton suggested that the Junkers might stage a retreat behind the German Liberal Socialists to leave to them the odium of concluding an inevitable peace. But German Liberalism was not an impossibility ; after all, the Prussianising of Germany and even the foundation of the German Empire itself were events of our own generation. Only, one feared that want of kick, except in matters of religion, which has been seen in the lack of Hampdens and Pymys in German history. Anyhow the " change of heart " took place ; and, chiefly owing to French suspicions, it failed to have any adequate effect with us ; and so the inevitable reaction followed. Personally, I respect those fifteen years of German Liberalism as much as anything else in German history. With all the odds against her, I think Germany then showed more restraint, steadfastness, wisdom and purpose than any other country in those post-war years.

The advent of Hitler has also been critical for the existence of the League of Nations in any form which would deserve this title. Here, as in so many other respects in the post-war years, we had the advantage of being able to learn something from most instructive antecedents. As far as it is based on sentiment—and it is very largely so—the League of Nations had the same origin as the Congress Period which followed the long wars of Napoleon—namely

in a disgust for war. Our congress period has waned, if it is not yet over : and for the same reason, namely a retreat into national sentiment and distinctiveness from the all-compelling common interests of the war. The question was whether the League could establish itself as what it claimed to be, namely a world tribunal of peace. I cannot but suspect that the interest of France in the League was dictated almost solely by the demand for security, and there was always the danger that the League might become a Francophil group : in other words, a successor to the Triple Alliance as a permanent guarantee for a victorious *status quo*. The statesmen of this country have done all that they could to prevent that from happening. It is yet to be seen how far they have succeeded.

Equally critical has been the advent of Hitler for Russian Bolshevism. It had already been challenged by Mussolini, but Hitler's challenge goes much further, because it is so much less rational and so much more brutal. We now have in two of the principal countries of Europe two utterly brutal systems of terrorism pursuing opposite ends, and each makes the other ridiculous. It is impossible to suggest that the whole beastly apparatus of press-muzzling, bullying of learning, perversion of justice and concentration or timber camps is admirable in the one case and abominable in the other. If I had a preference for either, it would be for the tyranny which had the more respectable idea behind it, and then the judgment would naturally go in favour of communism ; but the wholesale production of the slave soul in a vast population is so vile a thing that it far more than cancels anything to be gained by the triumph of any particular theory, and the mere fact that the communist terror has continued on and off for sixteen years is the best proof of its inability to change human nature. Hitler's tyranny, as the newer of the two, has to a considerable extent taken the wind out of the sails of the other, and has put the whole communist system on the defensive. By the nature of its challenge it should only attack and is not defensible.

Connected with this is another great change created by the advent of Hitler. Any lifelong student of Russo-German relations will have realised that after the German collapse of 1918 Germany's hope of recovery and even of a *revanche* lay in a future Russo-German alliance. Kolchak, in almost the last words that he said to me, expressed his fear of the time when Russia, like Germany, might have to regard herself as one of the countries conquered in the Great War, when the two would inevitably drift closer together. Meanwhile there appeared in Germany a most interesting pamphlet

written by one Werner Daya, preaching this new gospel of German salvation. "The Atlantic Ocean," he wrote, "has got on our brains." The catastrophe was to be retrieved by an "Advance Eastwards" (*Der Aufmarsch im Osten*), which was indeed the title of his book.¹ He at the same time foreshadowed an alliance of Germany with Japan, and concluded that "Germany and Japan with Russia" (the subordinate position assigned to Russia is more than ever significant now) was the saving combination of the future. This goal was pursued one way or the other, reasonably or unreasonably, from the days of the Treaty of Rapallo. Typical representatives of the new Socialist Germany looked at the matter differently; they very rightly considered that Germany, more than any other country, had a mission to assist in the reconstruction of Russia; and one such writer, named Kolshorn,² even called, as a condition of such a task, for a retreat from that constant attitude of aggression and challenge which in Tsarist days had been the greatest obstacle to German influence in Russia and was largely responsible for the undoubted enthusiasm in the Russian population which marked the first days of the Great War. The Junkers, on the other hand, conducted a kind of insincere flirtation with the communist government, which, as General Hoffmann said only too vigorously to Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk, they regarded as a simple dictatorship. Hitler has put the lid on all that. How can there be any real co-operation when on one side of the frontier one is condemned to "liquidation" for exactly those ideas which are preached as the gospel on the other? And Hitler himself owes his rise to power to a book in which he has forecast German policy as follows: "Only then will that foreign policy be recognised as right, when within a hundred years two hundred and fifty million Germans will live on this continent, not herded together as factory hands for the rest of the world, but as peasants and workmen, who by their work mutually guarantee a life to each other."³ . . . When we are talking of more ground and room in Europe, we can in the first place only think of Russia and the border States dependent on her.⁴ . . . The gigantic Empire in the East is ripe for collapse, and the end of the Jewish domination in Russia will also be the end of a Russian State itself."⁵ In these

¹ Dachau, 1918: with the sub-title *Russisch-Asien als deutsches Kriegs- und-Wirtschafts Ziel*.

² *Russland und Deutschland durch Not zur Einigung*. Leipzig, 1922.

³ *Mein Kampf*: (Volksausgabe 1932, Franz Eher, Munich), vol. II, p. 762.

⁴ *Mein Kampf*: Vol. II, p. 742.

⁵ *Mein Kampf*: Vol. II, p. 743.

new conditions, for all Russians whether Red or White, whether in Russia or abroad, the existence of a strong Russian government, even though it be communist, must anyhow from this point of view be regarded as a guarantee of the integrity of Russia, and Daya's conception of a combination of "Germany and Japan *with* Russia" can only be realised if Russia is frankly reduced to the position of under dog.

The part left to Japan in this matter is, we see, not a new idea. For Japan the question was raised by the break-up of Russia and the civil war of 1918. Already there were serious rumours widely repeated—I do not answer for the truth of them—that in the last year of the War, when the Germans were still on the offensive, negotiations had taken place between these two countries suggesting to Japan a change of sides. Certainly those of us who were in Siberia in 1918-19, such as Colonel John Ward and myself, were left in no doubt as to the lone hand which Japan was playing while assumedly taking part in the common allied effort to bolster up a non-bolshevist Russia. The action, alike, of Japanese officers and men was often sharply provocative not only to the American troops, but to the British contingent, and even to its general. Colonel Ward relates how General Knox's train was boarded by a squad of Japanese soldiers with fixed bayonets, and stopped, and again how Japanese officers inquired of himself where he got his authority to carry an English flag on his train, and told him that they regarded the flying of any other flag than their own in Manchuria or Siberia as an insult to Japan.⁶ Ward, like many others, saw a sharp change in the Japanese attitude when Germany was driven to her knees in November, 1918. Aggressiveness was replaced by hesitation, as if Japan did not know just what to make of the new situation. Incidents with the American troops were frequent. One of the chief pre-occupations of Admiral Kolchak, who was a keen Russian patriot, was the question whether he would be expected to cede to Japan a part of Russian territory, namely, the Maritime Province of Siberia, including Vladivostok. The Japanese showed no interest in the common effort beyond the western frontier of Manchuria. Certainly the episode of the Allied intervention still seemed to offer a chance of biting off a piece of Russian territory, but after staying on till 1922, the Japanese went out like the other Allies. One of the factors in the making of the treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 seems to have been the Japanese conviction that to push further into Siberia would be a grave mistake,

⁶ *With the Die-Hards in Siberia*, p. 85.

and certainly, as I can myself testify, no foreign influence was so unpopular there as the Japanese.

Since then, as we all know, Japan has gone forward, and the most significant feature of the creation of Manchukuo and the cession of the Chinese Eastern Railway, is that Soviet Russia should have taken all this lying down. But there is now a further and more important factor in the question, namely the attempt of Soviet Russia to overrun China with communism, and under the watchword of the extinction of communism one may well imagine co-operation between Japan and the Germany of Hitler, the more so as the Japanese have been known to describe themselves as the Prussians of the East, and never concealed their admiration for Prussian methods.

It has been suggested that there is another possible colleague of Japan and Germany in this task, namely, Poland. Great Britain has never taken an active hand in Polish questions; that, among the Allies, has been the speciality of France. After the breakdown of Russia the French policy was that Poland should serve as a *cordon sanitaire* against Bolshevism, a view which received all the more confirmation when the Bolsheviks were at the gates of Warsaw, and one of the finest French staff officers, General Weygand, went to help them to recovery and victory. France could hardly be expected to take such an active interest in a small and purely ethnographic Poland; a greater Poland was her natural answer to the Russian collapse, and the help which she gave to Poland was of the most thoroughgoing character.

The enormous success of the Polish counter-attack will be well remembered; and the Treaty of Riga in 1921 handed over to her a mass of Russian population. Active efforts have been made to settle Poles in this part. In those empty areas of mixed population with hardly any natural frontiers the distinctive line between Poland and Russia is in the main a moral one, which is only in conformity with all previous history of the relations between the two countries. Wandering in the Pinsk marshes, I would find that a man did not describe himself as a Pole or a Russian, but rather as a Catholic or an Orthodox. Anyhow, the Polish State at present possesses a vast part of exactly that area which was the main bone of contention between Russia and Poland even from ancient times, and the policy of John III of Russia (1462-1505), aiming at the recovery of what was Russian in this area, was in the most modern sense grounded on the principle of national self-determination. To the demand that he would keep his hands off the Polish or Lithuanian

"partimony," as it was regarded at that time, he answered: "But what do they call their patrimony? The land of Russia is from our ancestors of old our patrimony . . . And do not I regret my patrimony, the Russian Land which is in the hands of Lithuania?" And he went so far as to say that there could be no peace between Poland and Russia till this territory was recovered—"only truces to draw breath." It is now realised that, in a fit of absence of mind—or rather in a fit of Bolshevisation of mind—Russia, originally on the side of those who were to win the War, has lost nearly all that was acquired by her, rightly or wrongly, since the time of Peter the Great? Everything was again on the lap of the Gods when the Bolsheviks were at the gates of Warsaw in 1920: Russia might again have conquered Poland; and by a surprising turn in a single campaign this mass of Russian territory has passed away from her. Is that the kind of situation to strengthen the conviction that the settlement of our time will be eternal and that henceforth war is abolished?

How, it may be asked is the security of present-day Poland possible without at least friendly relations with one of her two chief neighbours, Russia or Germany, and, here too, since the advent of Hitler, we seem to be at the beginning of a new period, in which nothing more than guess work is possible. What are the further implications, if any, of the new understanding between Poland and Germany? Does it mean that Poland is passing out of the orbit of French friendship into that of German, and if so is the governing factor the need for security or something further? Is it at all possible that Poland may take up the rôle of a new Austria? Poland, in a sense, was really the first Austria. It was, anyhow, a Dual Monarchy based on a compromise between the Poles and the Lithuanians, that gave it the access to all that Russian territory which has been mentioned above. The Union of Lublin in 1569 was the first *Ausgleich*. The sequel to this arrangement was the partition of Poland. The second Austria, the one which we know under that name (and after all it only means "eastern kingdom"), was no better or even worse based on national solidarity, but it continued for centuries as a kind of European compromise, often losing in war but nearly always gaining at the council table, only because this mixed realm was not the instrument of any national policy or even of a national principle. All this changed in 1866, from which time onwards Austria increasingly became a kind of spear-head of Teutonic advance, and it is this change that, by the fortunes of war has led to the removal of that Austria from the map

of Europe. Were Poland ever to replace that Austria in a partnership with Hitlerite Germany, can one be sure of any greater guarantee for her future?

How can any true friend of Poland fail to ask this question? Herr Alfred Rosenberg, who is one of those who are not only allowed to speak in present-day Germany, but to compel others to listen, wrote not so long ago (in 1927) in his book, *The Future Way of a German Foreign Policy* (*Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Aussenpolitik*) "If we have now understood that the sweeping away of the Polish State is the very first requirement of Germany, there will then be an alliance between Kiev and Berlin and the creation of a common frontier, as a necessity for a future German policy"⁷

The mixed territory for centuries contested between Russia and Poland was in part White-Russian, but more largely Little-Russian or Ukrainian. Ukraine has long claimed to be a nationality distinct from the Russian, a claim which is largely based on philology; this is a matter which has been warmly debated both between philologists and between historians. There is no question that the Ukrainian nationality is quite distinct from the Polish, and the special character of Ukraine is not a matter of question, for the origin of this population is of a mixed character—as much could be said about ancient Rome. For myself, having passed much time among these people, I should decidedly dissociate myself both from the old Russian official view, which refused recognition to the Ukrainian language and culture, and from the opposite view disclaiming what is obviously a very close connection. The Ukrainians have never failed to claim both liberty and autonomy, and that is the only solution which could ever allow of a free union with Russia. The greatest difficulty in a complete separation would be economic. Moscow, placed almost at the junction between the forest zone of the north and the steppe zone of the south, united an empire in which the different parts were complementary to each other. Ukraine represents a very large section of the so-called "producing" provinces of the old Russian Empire, and a separation would mean economic ruin to the north. Beyond that, there is the most complicated question of frontiers; the two are interlaced over a vast extent of territory without any natural division, and one could not conceive of a more difficult frontier for any General Staff to defend. Owing to the long historical connection, there are Ukrainian "colonies" all over the old empire as far as Vladivostok.

⁷ Ed. Fr. Eher, Munich, p. 97.

I have myself witnessed how enterprising Ukrainian farmers have taken up land in Great-Russia which the old Great-Russian commune had failed to work for itself. The Ukrainians did not themselves possess the communal system, but a mixed form which admitted much more of the principle of individual farming.

German and Austrian policy were quick to seize on the colossal mistake of sheer oppression and even of expropriation of the natural resources of Ukraine under the Tsarist régime. The object was a simple one: to split up the Russian Empire and ruin it economically. A relatively small proportion of Ukraine had fallen under Polish rule, and at the Polish partitions was in part transferred to Austria; and there in our own days, under German and Austrian encouragement and support, was carried on a vigorous propaganda for the separation of Ukraine from Russia. The principal leader of this movement was the eminent Ukrainian historian, Professor Hrushevsky, who has just died. This movement started long before the War, and during the War it was carried much further. The Germans, where possible, interned Ukrainian prisoners from the Russian army in separate camps, and, as in the case of Ireland, attempted to organise Ukrainian legions, with old historical Ukrainian uniforms, to assist in achieving separation, and sent many propagandists into Russia who worked for it. In the summer of 1917, after the fall of the old Empire, an Ukrainian Rada or national assembly met in Kiev. I visited the Rada and, in a long and detailed talk with Professor Hrushevsky, I asked him whether he was prepared to detach Ukraine from the Allied cause while the issue was still in the balance, to which he replied with a vigorous negative. The concessions which Kerensky was prepared to make to Ukraine were the occasion for the withdrawal from the Cabinet of the short-sighted Cadet faction. In the fluid time which followed, the Ukrainian movement and organisation pressed on with vigour. The Germans put forward, as their candidate for the rule of a separate Ukraine, the Hetman Skoropadsky. They went much further when Russia lay at their mercy in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and insisted on making two separate peace treaties with Russia and with Ukraine, thereby practically enforcing separation. These treaties, as is known, were nullified by the ultimate defeat of Germany in November, 1918. But in the civil war an Ukrainian government under Petlyura for a long time fought against the Bolsheviks, and was only driven out by superior force. The Bolsheviks, on their side, proclaimed at least the principle of Ukrainian autonomy in the form of an Ukrainian

Soviet Republic; but to this promise they have been notoriously and completely untrue. The national wealth of Ukraine is solely at the disposal of the Communist Party in Moscow, and autonomy has become a simple fiction.⁸ It is natural in the light of previous history that Ukraine, the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, should have offered a more vigorous and compact resistance to Bolshevism than any other. The oppression there has been particularly brutal, and was especially accentuated during the recent famine, of which Ukraine, having a foothold both in Polish territory and in Czechoslovakia, has been able to circulate more detailed information in western countries than is easily to be obtained from other parts of the USSR.

By this oppression the Ukrainian people, which numbers some thirty millions, has been urged to press more keenly than ever before its demand for the reunion of its territory and separation from Russia. As with Poland just before the War or Roumania during the War, these two claims somewhat complicate each other. There has been plenty of harshness and sometimes open oppression in the rule of Poland over the Ukrainians within her territory, with the apparent object of Polonising that part of Ukraine as much as possible. It is not easy to see how Ukraine can attain the reunion of all its population without some kind of agreement either with Soviet Russia or with Poland.

This situation has again engaged the active interest of Germany. Recently there was published in London a journal entitled *The Investigator*, evidently reflecting the old policy of Germany and the movement formerly headed and apparently still led by the Hetman Skoropadsky. Another and larger section of Ukrainian thought, that represented by Professor A. Shulgin in the last number of this *Review*,⁹ also stands for independence, but has no connection with German propaganda.

These intricate and rather obscure data have to be kept in view in connection with the subjects which have been discussed above. But here one is again reduced to the simple asking of questions. Is it at all possible that the German-Polish reconciliation aims in the future at driving a fatal wedge into Soviet Russia by the penetration or conquest of Ukraine? On a most curious

⁸ See on some of these questions articles in this *Review* which have been published in vol. II, No. 6, vol. II, No. 5, vol. X, No. 28, vol. IX, No. 33, vol. XII, No. 35, vol. XIII, No. 38.

⁹ Vol. XIII, No. 38, p. 350.

and interesting map circulated by the German authorities during the War among their troops, which came into my possession on the Russian front, was represented the European position as it would be if Germany won the War. France had become "Neues Reichsland" though the title "France" was written in small letters over Bordeaux. England had become a new German colony with the title "England" printed in small letters over Cornwall. Germany extended along the Baltic coast and included St. Peterburg, while the name "Russia" was placed in small capitals over Lake Ladoga, where hardly anybody lives. Over Moscow ran the title "Austria"! Now let us go back to Hitler and his 250 million Germans settled largely over "Russia and the bordering States". Is it at all possible that Poland is intended to take the place formerly held by Austria in this combination? Naturally one awaits and expects emphatic denials; for, in my opinion, any policy of this kind would spell the same ruin for the new Poland that has befallen the old Austria. And what of Germany? Germany, with even an indirect hold on the man-power and resources of Russia, will have completely reversed the position set up by the Treaty of Versailles.

We may be excused for even the asking of such questions by the statement, not yet contradicted, that there have been conferences not only between the military staffs of Germany and Japan, but between those of Japan and Poland. It has also been stated that similar conferences have taken place between the military staffs of Germany and Finland. Such assertions, even if they only prove to be mere rumours, tend, as long as they stand, to open a vast possible perspective. If guesswork is to be carried further, we may also ask what in such a perspective would be the position of Roumania: for instance, what is the truth of the agency message published in the *Daily Telegraph* on 13 June, 1934, to the effect that Japan had made an offer to the Roumanian government of complete re-equipment of the Roumanian army with weapons and munitions and of the establishment of munition factories in Roumania under the supervision of Japanese experts. A country which was in the orbit of German policy up to the War and ultimately decided to espouse the cause of the Allies, Roumania has her own critical issue with Soviet Russia through the annexation of Bessarabia, a province which it would be almost impossible to divide fairly on ethnographic lines. Is there any danger that in any such combination as has been considered the hand of Roumania might be forced?

With all these surmises as to the future, it will be easy to recognise the anxiety of France. For her the primary question is

always security. France had built up a system of *cordons sanitaires* between Russia and Germany which might easily prove to her as much a commitment as a help. Since the settlement in the Saar, Hitler has definitely told us that he has no further claims upon France. This may perhaps serve to cancel much of the mischievous rubbish on the subject of France contained in *Mein Kampf*. To what extent can we be reassured as to the eastern policy of Germany? Anyhow, France has taken very definite action by making a direct *rapprochement* with Communist Russia. It is natural to regard this as a new insurance for security, which might help to confirm the existing frontiers both of Russia and of Poland, but in any case it is a rather abrupt return to the old system of alliances. One need not ask for a similarity of ideals between the two countries, for there was none in the alliance between Tsarist Russia and republican France; still, the absence of it in that case did very much to deprive that alliance of the popularity and effectiveness which it might otherwise have had, and it was only the war with Germany which really gave it sincerity and effect. Of course, as in the earlier instance, the new friendship tends to immobilise French public opinion on methods of government which still prevail in Russia; still the French connection may influence the Soviet Government to make these methods more respectable or at least less conspicuous, as was also the case in the alliance with Tsarist Russia. Another question of the future is the measure of French stability in resisting the influence of communism at home.

Some will find even more interesting the consequent entry of Russia into the League of Nations. This, too, may be able to do some good in the same direction. But we cannot help feeling some fear that it may prove to be a step towards bringing into the League itself more of the character of a Francophil group, aiming at least at a new balance of power, to the detriment of the ideal of a world tribunal.

Let us now look at Russia in the light of these surmises. We notice in communist circles a new and interesting factor very compatible with Stalin's resolve to make communist Russia independent and self-sufficing, but not at all in line with the professions and activities of world revolution. There is preached now a new patriotism to the Soviet Motherland (*sovetskaya rodina*), and Stalin, who is still nominally only General Secretary of the Communist Party, comes forward much more prominently than before as a national leader. To balance this, there is another change consistent with his frankness, namely, that the old camouflage

of representing all the acts of the Communist Party as acts of the Soviet Government, which has never been more than a stamping office, is now often dropped in government pronouncements, which are plainly stated to issue from the Party and the Government, or in some cases even from the Party alone. This new patriotism, which for reasons already given seems to bear much more of a defensive character than that of challenge to the rest of the world, even forms a link with the Russian emigration, and such emigrant ex-ministers as Milyukov and Kerensky have not omitted to declare themselves before all else Russians and to emphasise their solidarity with the Communists in the question of national defence and integrity; emigrants have even gone so far as to consider the present iron government of Russia as, for the time being, the only force that can guard this integrity.

On the other hand not only they, but many others who are not Russians, still thinking in the interests of Russia and not of any party creed, feel very fearful of the national weakness which is the inevitable effect of Stalin's rule of compulsion. Stalin's name really stands for compulsion more than for anything else, and it is this that has separated him from most of his prominent colleagues in the Old Guard of Bolshevism. Compulsion has been the very mainspring of his rule. He is at present absolute master, and even the rank and file of communism counts for very little outside his personal will. The Communists themselves, after their numerous and very intelligible purges, which have at least kept up a very high standard of devotion, whether compelled or not, in those still retained within the pale, number not more than two millions in a population of a hundred and sixty-eight millions, and the additional three millions or so of Young Communists, also frequently reduced by purges, are instruments of policy and in no sense initiators of it. This means the reduction of the vast majority of the population of Russia, including the mass of the peasantry, to a position of second-class or third-class citizens, and a dependence on the enthusiasm of a mere minority for the national defence. But the worst and the most prominent feature of this new despotism, which is far more thorough than the old, is the wholesale manufacture of the slave soul; wholesale massacres from time to time, judicial, semi-judicial or purely administrative; a wholesale atmosphere of suspicion, espionage and evasion; the wholesale compelling of all wills to knuckle under in every detail of life and thought to one; the destruction of the thriftiest labour in the State, and the terrible régime of timber and other camps, with some five million of victims

and a mortality of forty to sixty per cent. All this is the worst possible preparation for national defence.

Particularly obnoxious, from the point of view of national defence, is Stalin's policy with regard to the peasants. In my view—and I was in Russia when this was being prepared—the Bolshevik seizure of power in no sense depended on any enthusiasm for Marxism among the illiterate Russian peasantry, and Lenin would disclaim this himself. It rested exclusively on the promise of immediate peace, which no other party offered, and the invitation to seize that part of the cultivated land which was not already in peasant hands—about one fifth or one sixth—without waiting for a regular land-settlement by a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. The Communists, when in power, made attempts to put the land under the direct control of the State, but in 1921, Lenin retreated from this policy; and it is only Stalin, and only in the last five years, who, against the advice of nearly all his older colleagues, has carried this through by the support of the Young Communists and the force of machine guns. He has literally re-introduced serfdom into Russia—with all its odious accompaniments, such as the old internal passport system of Peter the Great, and with the inevitable answer which the peasants gave throughout centuries to the older serfdom, namely, evasion practised on the largest scale, of which the Russian peasants are the past masters in history. In his speech of two years ago (7 January, 1933) Stalin had the courage to admit that the difficulties which he had been facing with the individual peasants had now reappeared within the collective farms, and he countered this evasion, whether in town or country, with every imaginable device of compulsion, such as deprivation of food and quarters for a single day's absence from work, the temporary confinement of the distribution of food to the place of work, and the setting up of police departments for the collective farms and railways.¹⁰ It may be doubted whether this is the way to create communists or their opposites, but in any case it is not the way to secure a crop; and the terrible famine which befell Lenin's first experiment in the same direction has been largely repeated as the sequel to Stalin's second attempt. No one who has any knowledge of the century-long history of Russia can imagine that this enormous issue has been conclusively decided by the violence of the last few years.

In any case, this is not a preparation of the vast peasant

¹⁰ For the full text of these decrees see *Slavonic Review*, vol. XI, No. 33, pp. 692-710, vol. XII, No. 34, pp. 210-2, No. 35, pp. 455-9.

population for resisting attacks from outside. In the old days, from the beginnings, through Peter the Great and Menshikov, down to the Great War, the peasantry of Russia has been her army, but it has even been found necessary to reduce greatly the proportion of peasantry in the army of today. One of the most striking developments of recent times—a sad comment on the patriotism of the Soviet Motherland—has been the appearance of well-founded evidence from various parts that the threat of constant attack from outside, so constantly dangled by the Soviet Government in front of the population to stimulate its enthusiasm, has overshot the mark, and peasants have been known to regard this threat even as a possible prospect of deliverance from the intolerable conditions which have been imposed upon them. The firmness of the Red Army is a question on which very little detail is accessible; but there is evidence for saying that as soon as a soldier returns from service he becomes a peasant again in a very short time, with all that old loyalty to an under-dog class, which has again become the natural result of his conditions.

I had to bring over confidentially from the Russian War Office to the British Government in July, 1915 the figure of the Russian losses for the first ten months of the War; it was three million, eight hundred thousand. In a war under the present régime in Russia it would naturally be inevitable that the small communist nucleus would bear the main burden, and how long would that nucleus last? We have also to think of the only too recent lessons of the last war, which showed that warfare of the present day is a burden which lies on the whole people, and that the background of war, such as transport and food supply, will in any protracted struggle be the deciding factor. Let us remember how the Bolsheviks came to power: it is certain that they themselves have not forgotten it. When living at the Russian front throughout the fighting, I had reason to conclude that the Russian regular army was wiped out three times over before it broke; this is confirmed by practically all the military records, such as those of Danilov or Brusilov. Ultimately, a mass of the last "combing out," to a number estimated at over a hundred and fifty thousand, found themselves the garrison of St Petersburg with rifles and ammunition in their hands, at a moment when by the ineffable idiocy of the old Tsarist Government both the police and the troops were ordered to fire on crowds demanding bread. The garrison joined in on the people's side, and the whole thing was over in two days. Such was the March Revolution of 1917; and it was this that gave the opportunity

for the Communists to climb over the divided ranks of the democratic Provisional Government and establish a new despotism. What would be the danger both to Communism and to Russia if these conditions were repeated?

It has for a long time been perfectly clear that the Russian Government sincerely desires to avoid war. The principal cause of irritation abroad, namely the Third International, the agent of world revolution, was not even summoned in Moscow for some years during the period of Stalin's rule, and its work is getting very much toned down, amounting in the main to propaganda abroad against war in general and especially against war with Russia; it has thus become chiefly an additional instrument of national defence. But nothing could have made the pacific attitude of Russia more clear than the episode of the Chinese Railway, recently concluded. This was a section of a world transit line, and a break in that line deprives it of a large part of its value to Russia. As the offspring of Witte and not at all of the fire-eaters who brought on the Russo-Japanese War, it was the very emblem of Russian peaceful expansion, and it was the work of Russian brains and Russian credit. Yet it has been allowed to go. This new demeanour of a Power which was originally so essentially provocative to the rest of the world has not failed to be appreciated by any whose appetites are kindled by the manifest internal weakness of Russia, and may easily seem to them almost like an invitation to go forward. It has never been duly recognised that it was the victory of the Entente that has saved those seventeen years for the communist experiment in Russia, which was evidently doomed in the event of the triumph of Imperial Germany. We can give full credit to the Bolsheviks for their whole-hearted devotion to their particular theories; but it is more than possible that when this period is later reviewed by history, the chief indictment of the present government of Russia may be the recklessness of conducting an internal warfare on the mass of the population between two foreign wars.

These, as I understand them, are the circumstances in which Litvinov has brilliantly carried through his diplomatic campaign of the last year. The United States are, or course, primarily interested in world peace, and are not at all interested in any expansion of Japan. On this side the success of Litvinov may fairly be taken as a guarantee of peace. When France accepts the substitution of official Communism for the old Tsardom as her friend on the eastern side of Germany, the critics of the new alliance could ask no more awkward questions of detail than those of the old.

Many of us in this country took the advent of Hitler in Germany for nothing less than a repetition in a more extravagant form of the challenge of 1914—for the time, it is true, without the means of implementing it; and the reply which it has called forth might reasonably be taken for a whole system of “encirclements,” more real than any that was suspected before the war. France and Communist Russia encircle Germany; Germany and Japan encircle Communist Russia; Communist Russia and the United States encircle Japan. In fact, we are returning to the system of balance of power, and none of these movements has any other meaning than that of taking up positions in view of the possibility of a new conflict.

It is partly in this light that we must regard the entry of Russia into the League of Nations, which, as far as principles are concerned, has so far on the Russian side no better security than an obviously tactical change of policy. If the League of Nations is to be drawn into one of two rival camps—the very thing which British statesmanship has made the most constant and earnest efforts to prevent—then its significance as an instrument of peace is entirely changed and greatly diminished, and we ourselves are practically certain to drift out of it. There remains the hope that Russian association with the League may itself, under the circumstances of her entry, tend somewhat to mitigate even the spirit of her administration at home. But at present it would seem as if Stalin understands this possible implication and is anxious to repudiate it; or else we should hardly have seen the recent fresh outburst of terrorism, both in practice and in the form of new legislation.¹¹ It would be comforting to believe that this is a last violent outbreak preceding a new turn in home policy. The remarkable declarations in the speech of the Russian Premier, Molotov, which have recently been published,¹² would at least give colour to such a hope; but after all that has happened, more than declarations are required, and for the time we are left in the position so wittily summed up by a president of the Duma, Nicholas Homyakov, after a similar promise of amendment from the Prime Minister of the Tsar’s government, Count Kokovtsev, not long before the War: “Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief!”

Shall a word be added about our own country? If these clouds break, shall we escape or shall we be involved in the new convulsions? Again, the post-Napoleonic years offer a precedent. It was because

¹¹ See the terrorist decrees of 8 June and 1 December, 1934 (full text in the *Slavonic Review*, vol. XIII, No. 37, p. 207, and No. 38, p. 453).

¹² The text of the corresponding decree is printed on p. 697.

Great Britain did then remain comparatively immune from the sharper political conflicts which continued to absorb her continental neighbours that she ever had the opportunity of building up that unique economic position, which in the main lasted up to the World War. But the question is not such an easy one as might be gathered either from the constant preaching of aloofness in the organs of Lord Beaverbrook, or from those who suggest that we should meet all our difficulties by a simple profession of our own devotion to peace and a determination not to fight, whatever be the challenge that is offered to us. For a country that depends on its world trade, and has taken up positions all over the world—in the Far East, Australia, India and Africa, and has just set up its own tariff barriers, to assume that no such challenge could ever be offered can only be unpardonable simplicity.

BERNARD PARES.

AUSTRIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS¹

DURING the last twelve months the situation in Austria has changed out of all recognition. It remains extremely precarious and delicate, and there are still many deep pitholes awaiting him who would be unwise enough to venture upon political prophecy. But it may fairly be argued that there are no longer the same urgent reasons for silence and reserve as a year ago, and indeed that we have entered upon a new stage of development, which urgently requires analysis and study if we are to avoid fresh surprises in the near future. It will, then, be my endeavour, with the utmost frankness, to explore the historical causes from which the present situation on the middle Danube derives.

It would be difficult to imagine a more poignant contrast than that between the little post-war Republic of Austria and the stately Austrian Empire of Francis Joseph. And, indeed, the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 may be described without fear of exaggeration as the biggest purely *political* event of its kind in the whole history of modern Europe. Other States have undergone partition or even temporary extinction; but I do not think there is any instance of a State which ranked as one of the Great Powers, which had such great economic resources and possessed one of the finest armies in the world, and had fifty years of unexampled prosperity behind it, and yet suddenly collapsed and fell into pieces. The Habsburg State had repeatedly shown great resilience in dangerous crises; it had organised Europe against the Turks; it had survived the attacks of Frederick the Great and other enemies; after four unsuccessful wars against the revolutionary expansion of France, it may be said to have turned the scale in 1814 in bringing down Napoleon. In 1848 it had even emerged successfully from a prolonged racial war, and shown that it was not incapable of producing statesmen or adapting its machinery to modern requirements. And yet in our own day utter ruin befell it.

Thus, at the outset of this inquiry we are bound to ask the question whether this breakdown was the result of some inexorable fate, or whether the fierce conflict of rival nationalities did not acquire its corrosive force from a deploring lack of statesmanship and from the failure to apply certain counteracting acids. Personally I still believe that till a very late date—indeed, almost to the very

¹ An address delivered at the University of Brussels, in French, on 25 January, 1935.

eve of the Great War—a satisfactory alternative to disruption could have been found—a solution on lines sometimes described as a “monarchical Switzerland”—in other words, a free association of equal peoples on some kind of federal basis under the Habsburg Crown. That this is not mere fantasy is shown by the fact that in the decade preceding the catastrophe many far-sighted German Austrians favoured some such solution—it will suffice to quote the names of four such different men as Dr Baernreither, Prince Charles Schwarzenberg, Dr. Renner, and Professor Joseph Redlich, and to remind you that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was working at some such plan in the years before his murder. Still more conclusive is the fact that virtually none of the responsible leaders of the various nationalistic movements—here again it will suffice to quote MM. Masaryk and Kramář for the Czechs, MM. Hodža and Blaho for the Slovaks, MM. Vaida, Maniu and Vlad for the Roumanians, MM. Supilo, Trumbić and Smolaka for the Croats, MM. Polit and Pribičević for the Serbs—pursued a separatist policy. They realised that the price of universal war was too heavy and too hazardous to pay, and hoped for a change of policy on the part of the Monarchy. More than this, there were in Roumania as late as 1913 statesmen who reckoned with the possibility, under certain circumstances, of national unity being achieved, not by the separation of Transylvania from the Monarchy, but by the adhesion of the Kingdom of Roumania within the Monarchy, on a federalist and no longer a dualist basis. Even in Serbia similar ideas had been very seriously considered under King Milan, and might have been revived under the Karagjorgjević dynasty, but for the extraordinarily maladroit policy of Vienna, and still more Budapest, towards both Croats and Serbs. At first sight this might appear to support the artificial thesis that it was a mistake to break up this venerable Monarchy. It is because this illusion still lingers in many places and is sometimes associated with a false sentiment for the Habsburgs, that I wish to dwell upon it before passing on. All that I am attempting to argue is that the break-up was no innate necessity and that almost to the last moment there were many forces working in the direction of sanity. But, of course, the moment that the Great War broke out, it became obvious that the whole problem was transformed, and that for the subject nationalities of Central and South-East Europe it was likely to prove a life and death struggle on which their whole future fate depended. There could be no half-measures, and for the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Croats, the Slovenes, the Serbs, the Roumanians (I hesitate to add the Ukrainians, who have lost, instead of gaining,

by the result of the war), it was essential at all costs to achieve union with their co-nationals beyond the frontiers, for otherwise vassalage and assimilation was likely to be their fate. And so the realist Masaryk reached the age of 64 without ever working for disruption; yet from 1915 onwards he and his disciple, Beneš, became the soul of an anti-Habsburg movement. Supilo and Trumbić slipped across the Italian frontier just before it was too late and set themselves to plead the Yugoslav case before an ignorant Europe. Even those leaders who remained behind did so for tactical reasons and gave their tacit but complete approval to those working outside. Then, and only then, but then finally, was the die cast. During the war in most countries there were "jusqu'aboutistes" and advocates of a "Paix Blanche." When once the first of these had won, it became merely naïve to suppose that there could ever be a return to the battered and mangled *status quo*.

II

If we attempt to explore a little further the causes of Austria's downfall, three principal causes emerge: (1) the dynasty's lack of leadership and vision; (2) the fatal blunder of the Dual System and the policy of Magyarisation. It will not be time wasted to dwell for a moment on these points, for in each case the poison is working on and serves to explain certain features of the present situation.

The Habsburg State is one of the few modern States which can be said to have had a definite day of birth and of death. It was born on the field of Mohács in 1526; it died of a sudden apoplexy in October, 1918. In its first stage it was a coalition of three independent States—Austria, Bohemia, Hungary—on a basis of Personal Union; its aim was mutual defence against the grave menace of Turkish invasion. It is true that the Habsburg dynasty was constantly diverted from this aim by western ambitions and commitments, and that its militant championship of the Counter-Reformation still further complicated the issue; but no fair-minded person can deny that in general it fulfilled a great mission and saved Europe from disaster. For a period of some centuries the monarchical power rested increasingly on the triple basis of centralisation, Catholicisation and Germanisation. Thus, in the long process Bohemia lost her liberties and her national religion, while Hungary, recovered from the Sultan, was periodically threatened by the same fate.

The 17th century, despite the strain of several great wars, was in the main a period of recuperation and relative modernisation, under

the benevolent despotism of Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II. Without stopping to indicate the obvious defects of their system, it may be safely affirmed that towards the year 1792 the Austrian Monarchy compared favourably with most of the continental States, and was governed by principles and according to plan. But with the premature death of Leopold II in that year, there was a fatal change in the directive of affairs. The Emperor Francis, who reigned for forty-three eventful years, and who really ruled for another thirteen years from his grave during the reign of his poor epileptic son Ferdinand, turned Austria into a Police State in which all progress was anathema; and though Metternich played a great diplomatic rôle in Europe, there was at home complete stagnation. As a result she was passed in the race by other Powers, and, above all, she lost the political and intellectual hegemony in Germany and had to yield the place to her once despised rival Prussia. Francis, of whom no other than Metternich said that he reigned but did not govern, was the outstanding example of a throned bureaucrat; but the same is also true of his grandson Francis Joseph, who, in a changed world, found it necessary to make concessions here and there, but who had the same devotion to routine, a much deeper distrust of great men (he would never have tolerated a Metternich for twenty-three years), the same lack of political ideas, and a preference for half-measures that was all his own.

It is not too much to say that since 1792 only two members of the House of Habsburg have shown real political vision and imagination—the Archduke Charles, who was the first to beat Napoleon, but who was ever afterwards excluded from affairs by his jealous brother, and in our own time the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who chafed bitterly at his uncle's negative policy and was full of half-baked plans for a new era, but who was removed by the hand of an assassin before his chance came. I must not stop here to discuss the highly contentious question whether Francis Ferdinand would have been capable of revivifying the Habsburg Monarchy or would only have precipitated its fall. The point which I wish to emphasise here is that the failure of the Monarchy was in very large measure due to two men whose rule spanned a century and a quarter—Francis and Francis Joseph—men who possessed many sterling qualities, but lacked the necessary vision and constructive statesmanship.²

² This verdict upon Francis Joseph is necessarily far too *simpliste*. A reasoned estimate of his character and aims will be found in two articles by me entitled, "The Emperor Francis Joseph," in *History* for July and October, 1932.

The classic example of those half-measures which were so characteristic of Francis Joseph was the fatal settlement of 1867. For the first nineteen years of his reign he had wavered between the rival policies of centralism and federalism, playing with constitutions as a child plays with bricks on the nursery floor. Then at last, under the stress of a foreign war, he adopted the famous Compromise or *Ausgleich*. Here again, it lies outside my present purpose to discuss its far-reaching constitutional aspects. But two points must be stressed as essential to an understanding of subsequent history. In the first place he and his Magyar advisers omitted to provide any constitutional machinery whatsoever for revision—with the result that when the calculations on which the Dual System was based proved false, and the balance between the two halves of the Monarchy proved more and more unworkable, a deadlock followed, and paralysis spread through every limb of the body politic. And secondly, behind all other calculations there lay the idea—never formulated, but none the less real—that Austria and Hungary were to be governed by two dominant races, the Germans and the Magyars—the two next strongest, the Poles and the Croats, being “squared” with partial autonomy, in order that the remaining races should be held down and exploited.

This brings me to my further point. While the Germans in Austria proved too weak and, it is only fair to add, not sufficiently oppressive, to keep their subject races in the straitjacket assigned to them, the Magyars on their side were encouraged still further upon the path of Magyarisation at all costs upon which they had already entered in the thirties and forties. During the half century of the Dual System they set themselves the task of the complete assimilation of the subject races of Hungary, and dreamed of a “Magyar Imperium” of thirty million souls. This mad campaign reached its height in the decade preceding the Great War, and no one was more active in promoting it than Kossuth’s degenerate heir Francis and Count Albert Apponyi, whose iniquitous Education Laws of 1907 were unjustly forgotten by Europe when he was greeted as the “Grand Old Man” of Geneva.

The effect of this was to drive the non-Magyars to despair, and to force them to look towards their free, or freer, kinsmen beyond the Hungarian frontiers—the Slovaks towards Prague, the Roumanians to Bucarest, the Jugoslavs to Belgrade. The one hope still remaining to their leaders was the person of Francis Ferdinand, who was known to disapprove of their unjust treatment and of the Emperor’s persistent disregard of their most elementary rights. I speak from

partial inside knowledge, for in the years immediately preceding the war, some of those leaders confided to me their conversations with the heir apparent, while others, after the great upheaval, have added details which they could not then quote. I stress this because it is of great importance to realise that the murder of the Archduke was a deathblow to their hopes of peaceful change and compelled a radical *revirement* of ideas regarding the Dual Monarchy.

Let me conclude this section of my remarks by reminding you that in the middle of the war, when it seemed as though a draw was almost inevitable, certain very well-meaning but inadequately informed persons envisaged the conclusion of peace on terms which would not give the oppressed races of the Danubian area their full freedom, but would ensure either some kind of federalisation, or a modified unity inside, not outside, the framework of the Habsburg State. But all such schemes were shattered against the two rocks which I have briefly indicated—the lack of machinery for revision of Dualism and the resistance of the Magyars to anything which would arrest their Magyarising designs.

It was not merely that these problems of national unity cut right across the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy—not merely envenoming its relations with Serbia and Montenegro, but also affecting the position of Roumania as an annexe to the Triple Alliance, and thus causing no small disquiet at Berlin. There was the further fact that even the narrower unity of the Jugoslavs or Czechoslovaks inside the Dual Monarchy could not be achieved without a radical transformation of its whole machinery from a dualist to a federalist basis. In 1917–18 the young Emperor Charles—that tragic figure from whom no fair-minded opponent can withhold a very genuine sympathy, even while insisting that he was in no way equal to so tremendous a situation—vainly occupied himself with the ideas of his uncle, Francis Ferdinand, and would fain have reached some federalist compromise. But he came up against a veritable ultimatum from Hungary, whose Premier, Dr. Wekerle, at the last critical stage of the question, actually threatened to cut off half-starving Vienna's food supplies, if any further attempt were made to apply the scheme to Hungary also. The Emperor's twelfth-hour proclamation of the federalisation of Austria only, was a stultification of the whole project, for the obvious reason that neither Czechoslovak unity nor the unity even of the Jugoslavs of the Monarchy could be achieved within the dualist framework. Needless to say, it was by then already too late: for the subject races saw their maximum programme already within their reach.

It followed logically that the Emperor's manifesto was a signal for complete disintegration. In the West of Europe public opinion was absorbed in, and concentrated upon, the collapse of Germany and her dynasties, the dangers of Bolshevism and so on, and did not realise the full significance of events upon the Danube or the extent to which in the end they were determined by a vast popular upheaval. It is doubtless true that what happened to Austria-Hungary would never have happened but for the stress of a World War fought to a finish. But it is also true that not till the final stages of the war, if even then, did the Allies as a whole sincerely desire the destruction of Austria-Hungary; that from the secret Treaty of London to the half-hearted and half-starved Salonica expedition and the secret negotiations of Prince Sixtus and many others, the Allies did what they could to save her. Austria-Hungary was not so much broken up by the Allies, as torn limb from limb by her own peoples—with the result that there was some difficulty in finding a competent authority with whom to conclude the armistice of 3 November. The Czechoslovak Republic and the Yugoslav provinces had already proclaimed their independence some five days before; the Polish and Ukrainian districts of Galicia had hived off even earlier; Hungary had denounced the *Ausgleich* and proclaimed "Personal Union," and then the short-lived Hungarian Republic of Count Karolyi. Even the German Austrian Republic was already in being, though not actually proclaimed till 12 November. The Roumanian Union came a little later, on 1 December, though the Roumanian deputies at Budapest had as early as 18 October publicly denied Hungary's right to represent them at the Peace Conference. Long before the Peace Conference could assemble in Paris, the peoples themselves had settled the essential lines of the new settlement, and all that there remained for the Conference to do was to insist upon slight modifications here and there, and upon certain general guarantees. In the main it registered a series of accomplished facts.

All these events, moreover, were in each case not the work of small political cliques, but of the entire population, stirred to white heat, and expressing its aims and wishes through the medium of local National Councils—formed, it goes without saying, in a distinctly irregular manner, but beyond all question representing the almost unanimous voice of the majority at the time. That many crass blunders were committed at a later stage by the politicians into whose hands power fell in the new states, is unhappily only too notorious. But this in no way affects the fundamental fact that

the downfall of Austria-Hungary was an elemental event, comparable to the breaking of a dam

Austria had fulfilled her first great mission against the Turks; she had adapted herself to changed circumstances in the 18th century; but in the 19th, for lack of adequate leadership, she had failed to find a new *raison d'être*, to create a "Monarchical Switzerland" based on the equal rights of all nationalities. She fell; and great was the fall thereof.

III

We take an abrupt leave of the Dual Monarchy, and are now to concentrate our attention upon the small post-war Austria and its radically transformed relations with neighbouring States and nationalities. The new Republic had a population of only six millions (one-third of the total in Vienna itself), in place of the twenty-eight millions of the old Empire of Austria and of the fifty-two millions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a whole. Its most salient feature was that it was overwhelmingly German in character, save for a negligible Slovene minority in Carinthia, which was only incorporated after expressing its will by plebiscite. It lost the purely German districts of Meran and Bozen, in order that Italy might obtain a strategic frontier on the Brenner. On the other hand, it was allowed to annex the Burgenland—a predominantly German district of Hungary along the Lower Austrian and Styrian frontier. As a result, the new State may be said to have a curiously close resemblance to the original Babenberg State which developed out of the "Ostmark" and fell into the hands of the House of Habsburg in the 13th century. Historically these are the lands which for nearly seven centuries have formed the base of operations of the Arch-House. A highly plausible case might be made for the thesis that the "hereditary provinces," as they came to be called, had always held a special geographical and political status in the medieval Empire, serving as the link between Bavaria and the Pannonian plain: that they had produced a specific South German culture very different from that of Saxony or Prussia, and that history is preparing for them a new mission as a centre of South German and Catholic culture. Others will reply that these are entirely specious arguments, invented as camouflage to conceal an altogether artificial attempt to dam back the forces of German national unity.

It cannot, of course, be denied that what finally turned the scale in favour of Austrian independence was the strong and unvarying opposition of France to the idea of the Anschluss, lest it should

unduly strengthen Germany. Many of us during, and at the end of, the war held the view that "no power on earth could keep the governments of Austria and the Empire apart, if once they determined to unite; that it was quite impossible for us to lay down the principle of nationality as the basis of settlement and then to deny it to the most powerful and compact of all European nations,"³ and that from the practical point of view its concession was necessary in order to ensure France's recovery of Alsace and Lorraine. In those days this view was by no means confined to mere academic theorists. Dr Beneš, in his big speech on the Austrian question on 21 March, 1934, admitted very frankly that President Masaryk and he, "at the time when we had won over the Western Powers for the plan of dismembering Austria-Hungary, recommended the incorporation of Austria in the German Empire, believing that this would perhaps be the most acceptable course to the Allies, and that it would at once constrain the remaining small independent States of Central Europe to a close political and economic collaboration."⁴ On finding the principal Allied Powers to be absolutely opposed to such an idea, the Czech leaders naturally could not insist, and Dr. Beneš stated the bare truth when he added that he had remained faithful ever since to the decisions reached at Paris.

If, then, the veto of Paris was the decisive factor, and if this was at the same time stereotyped in Clause 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain, it is to be noted that opinion inside Austria itself has greatly fluctuated on the subject of the Anschluss and has been influenced by political, economic, social and party considerations at least as much as by national. To those who denounce the inconsistency of the Allied attitude (and that it is inconsistent can hardly be denied), it may at least be replied that there was never any question of subjecting Austria to alien rule, and that her independence as a German State has never been challenged by any of her neighbours until the advent of Hitler to power in Germany. Three alternatives lay before the new State: (1) complete independence, whether as a Republic or as a Monarchy; (2) inclusion in some new confederation; or (3) union with Germany. The fundamental Law of 1918 declared Austria to be "a constituent part of the German Republic." This was, above all, the work of the Social Democrats who, as a result of the fall of the Monarchy, the dissolution of the old army, the elimination of the aristocracy, the temporary setback to the influence of the Church, found themselves for a time the

³ *German, Slav and Magyar* (1916), p. 176.

⁴ E. Beneš, *The Problem of Central Europe and the Austrian Question*, p. 28.

strongest party in the State. But although all-powerful in Vienna, they already found themselves held in check in the provinces; and hence, seeing the strength of Socialism in the new Germany and expecting its final triumph under the Weimar Constitution, they had a strong party motive for seeking to be merged in the wider unit of the Reich. Conversely, the clerical and conservative elements viewed with alarm the course of the German Revolution, especially in Munich, and blew hot and cold. The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church was inevitably lukewarm; it had not forgotten the movement of "Los von Rom" which in the first years of this century sought to transfer a Protestantised Austria from the Habsburgs to the Hohenzollern. Even in the changed post-war circumstances it feared that Union would mean contamination by Protestantism and by Socialism, perhaps even by Bolshevism.

By common consent, then, the policy of the Anschluss was allowed to languish, and the Geneva Protocol, which made independence a strict condition of financial aid, remained the basis of Austrian policy, especially under that very eminent Catholic realist, Monsignor Seipel. Meanwhile the trial of strength between town and country continued, neither side being as yet strong enough to impose a monopoly. It was this conflict, too, which lay at the root of one of the most curious phenomena of the post-war period—namely, that while the Succession States were overcome by the disease of centralisation in its most virulent form, Austria, who had always refused a federal system to her subject races, now adopted a federal system for herself. To the seven pre-war units were added Burgenland and Vienna—the result being that the Socialists were in a minority in all but one.

The Austrian Germans have never shaken off the fatal legacy of their pre-war politics, the fact that while the Czechs or Jugoslavs or Poles of every party at once presented an united front as soon as a national issue was under discussion, they (the Germans), on the contrary, remained fatally divided. In those days there were the German Nationalists, the Liberals, the Radicals, the Christian Socialists or Clericals, the Pan-Germans, the Social Democrats. After the catastrophe the Social Democrats and Christian Socialists dominated the scene, with a weaker Pan-German group seeking to play the finger on the balance. Amid the acute dangers of starvation, ruin and financial chaos there was nothing for it but a "Black and Red" Bloc; and when the mark plunged in Germany, Austrian advocates of the Anschluss held their tongues in silent horror and relief at their own escape. But in proportion as the danger

diminished, thanks, above all, to assistance from Geneva, internal party dissensions reasserted themselves in Austria. Red and Black fell irrevocably apart, and the slightly smaller Pan-German group—the spiritual successor of Georg von Schönerer and Karl Hermann Wolf, and the *milieu* out of which Adolf Hitler has arisen—continued its old game of *tertius gaudens*.

In this second period there was one development which bore most fatal fruit. The dissolution of the old joint army and the terms of the Peace Treaty left Austria virtually disarmed; the new federal army was small, very weak, and penetrated by Bolshevik influences. But its gradual purging under Mr. Vaugoin, though good for discipline and efficiency, was distasteful to the doctrinaires of the Left. The Socialists formed a private army of their own, the *Schutzbund*; and as the forces of the Right rallied and grew stronger, a rival clerical organisation, the *Heimwehr*, also took shape. The conflict between these two was rendered still more acute by the *émeute* of 1927, in which the Palace of Justice was destroyed; the real initiative lay with Moscow and its foreign sympathisers, but the blame was deliberately fixed upon the Socialist Party, which was thus driven more and more on to the defensive. The unsuccessful Putsch of the *Heimwehr* in September, 1929, went unpunished, and its leader, Prince Starhemberg, openly proclaimed its intention of ejecting the Socialists by force from the municipality of Vienna, in which they possessed a lawful majority. "Socialist heads shall roll in blood," he openly declared, and from the *Schutzbund* came the defiant answer: "We made the Austrian Republic, and we shall defend it." It was obvious to everyone both at home and abroad that such a situation could only end in bloodshed. The only hope was to prohibit both the private armies and to assign sufficient authority to the Federal army to maintain order. Instead of this, the balance was weighed down against the Socialists, until in 1933 the *Schutzbund* was declared illegal, while the *Heimwehr* was left untouched.

Roughly speaking, from 1920 to 1930 Austrian policy, and European policy towards Austria, rested on the perfectly legitimate assumption that despite her curtailed state, Austria was "viable." The economic statistics of recent years go far to justify this view. But two essential psychological facts were omitted from the reckoning. In the first place, this "viabilité" depended upon the hope of a general and steady, if slow, recovery in Europe; and, of course, from 1930 onwards the contrary has been the case, and in the case of Austria pessimism was increased by the knowledge that recovery

depended so largely upon factors beyond the country's own control. And this reacted upon the psychological factor which is to my mind the most important of all, and of which I shall have to speak again at the close of my remarks. In Austria the men over fifty tend to look back upon a Golden Age which they realise to be vanished for ever, but for which their pride forbids them to accept a substitute; while the men under thirty only see that the present is intolerable, that it offers few inducements or careers, and that if the past is really gone, the coming generation must try to build the future on entirely different lines. For youth "second-best" is never "best"; and the present position is admittedly "second-best." Let us face awkward facts. This is the basis upon which Nazism builds, and which points the way to Germany.

To me at least it has seemed obvious from the very outset that union is inevitable unless a satisfactory alternative can be provided, and indeed that we have no right to oppose the one unless we can provide the other. Such an alternative can only be a close collaboration between Austria and the four other Succession States, and must have spiritual no less than material foundations—in other words, it must rest on mutual trade profit, but above all on mutual respect, complete equality and independence of each unit. During the last sixteen years this has been accepted in theory, but never worked out in practice. It would be quite unjust to assert that no serious effort was made by the countries more directly concerned. On the contrary, the successive negotiations between Vienna and Prague conducted by Renner in 1920, by Schober in 1921, and by Seipel in 1922, seemed likely to produce a satisfactory basis for a new order of things. But it is significant that it was neither Renner nor Seipel, but Schober, the man of the middle way, who in March, 1931—or two years before the Hitlerisation of the Reich—made the most serious effort in the opposite direction by his abortive agreement with Herr von Curtius for an Austro-German Customs Union. It should be added that the two most serious projects for a Danubian settlement produced from the outside—the Tardieu Plan of April, 1932, and the Stresa resolutions of the same year—were a tardy and inadequate attempt to escape from a long policy of negation and were already floating helplessly on the sea before the Italian Memorandum of September, 1933, finally torpedoed them.

IV

Why has it never proved possible to bring the five Danubian States together, even on an economic basis? Apart from the very

obvious difficulties of any quintuple negotiations and the complications of an abnormal financial, commercial and agricultural situation, there are two main causes which must be briefly but very frankly indicated—Hungarian revisionism and the policy of Italy.

The demand of Hungary for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon contrasts very strongly with the absence of any such demand in Austria for a revision of the Treaty of St. Germain, even though Austria has lost more of her co-nationals and a greater proportion of her industries than Hungary. The difference may be attributed partly to the temperaments of the two nations; even at its worst Germanisation was far milder and less comprehensive than Magyarisation. On the other hand, the Germans of Austria always had before their eyes an alternative to present evils, such as the Magyars never had. By union with the sixty millions of the Reich they might share the fate of one of the great peoples of the world; whereas the Magyars have no kinsmen to whom to turn, and realise only too well that their own birthrate is falling far more rapidly than that of their neighbours and that they have lost control of the Slav and Roumanian masses which they so long used for purposes of blood transfusion. Meanwhile it cannot be too often repeated that though Austria has the same sort of right to the German Sudetic districts as Hungary to the Carpathians, Austria's claim to Bohemia and Moravia is altogether a thing of the past, or at most has been made over to Germany.

It is impossible to enter here into the vexed controversy of revision. As an open opponent of revision, I have from the first freely admitted the imperfection of existing frontiers and the possibility of reducing the number of Magyars in the Succession States. But stress must be laid on two fundamental facts: (1) that a "clean cut" on ethnographic lines is impossible, and that no matter where frontiers may be drawn, important racial minorities are bound to remain on both sides; and (2) that while a few sentimentalists in western countries talk of "rectification" as a possible solution, this is not what the vast majority of revisionists in Hungary want. They aim quite openly at *restitutio in integrum*, and at the recovery of Slovakia, Transylvania and the Voivodina. In connection with the Marseilles crime and the conflict at Geneva, it was pointed out by M. Eckhardt that Hungary disclaimed all idea of annexing Croatia; and a year ago Count Bethlen, in London, proposed Transylvanian independence as a compromise. But from the point of European peace it does not really very much matter whether the Magyars only demand the break-up of Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugo-

slavia into separate States which they know could not possibly stand alone, or whether they demand their reincorporation in Hungary. In either case they are working for something which none of the other States can possibly concede; and MM Beneš and Titulescu spoke the bare unpalatable truth when they declared that any attempt to translate such a programme from mere words to deeds must inevitably mean war. It is, of course, quite true that Hungarian spokesmen are careful to insist that they intend to employ only peaceful methods; but in their constant attacks upon the military superiority of the Little Entente it is easy to read between the lines how different would be their tone and their tactics if they had resources enough to imitate Germany in her policy of rearmament.

The fata morgana of the Puszta has always played a great part in Hungarian political life; public opinion, with the help of a well-disciplined press, still hugs the illusion that if Hungary proclaims her wishes vociferously enough and long enough, the Great Powers will present her one fine morning with revision on a charger. I must add, to my regret, that nothing has contributed more to prolonging this illusion than the ill-advised campaign of Lord Rothermere in the *Daily Mail*, and latterly of a group of very ill-informed British M.P.'s. Both committed the fatal blunder of only informing themselves in Budapest, and ignoring the point of view of Prague, Belgrade and Bucarest—and, it must be added, no less of Bratislava, Cluj, Zagreb and Novi Sad. The result has been to harden opinion in the Succession States and to render an understanding between the two sides much less easy. The events of this winter have at long last shown the futility of these tactics. The failure of the conspiracy against Yugoslav unity (for that is what the Marseilles affair was—not an ordinary political murder), the very qualified support vouchsafed to Hungary at Geneva, Sir John Simon's very explicit declaration that a strong, united and contented Jugoslavia is a vital European necessity, and, lastly, the agreements reached between MM. Laval and Mussolini at Rome—all this has brought home to Budapest that the revision of Trianon is not an issue for which any Power is prepared to risk the peace of Europe. Whether the realisation of this fact will render Budapest more ready for a compromise still remains to be seen.

The second cause which has delayed a Danubian compromise in recent years has been the policy of Italy. At the moment when France and Italy, so long the protagonists of rival groups in South-East Europe, are trying to evolve a common policy, I do not wish to indulge in recriminations. But it would be perfectly futile, and

even dishonest, if I were to suppress the undoubted fact that for a number of years past Italy's whole efforts have been directed towards preventing rather than furthering union, whether on the Danube or in the Balkans. She would, indeed, seem to have taken over from Austria the famous maxim "Divide et impera." She encouraged discord between Belgrade and Sofia, between Belgrade and Tirana, between Tirana and Athens. It is an open secret that she incited the Croats against the Serbs and gave support of a practical kind to emigrant revolutionaries. But for her there would have been no Hirtenberg arms affair, no rising of misguided young Croat "Ustaši" in the Lika in 1932. Much has been heard of Janka Puszta, but a conspiracy of silence shrouds the name of Borgotaro. Indeed, but for Italy's attitude Hungary would never have taken so pronounced a line or facilitated the doubtful activities of the Croat emigrés. The Duce's firm belief in the approaching break-up of Yugoslavia, his periodic reference to the need for revision, naturally enough encouraged the Government of Budapest in its opposition to the Little Entente; and as Budapest occupies the central strategic position on the Danube, nothing could be done without her. Italy's attitude had thus the desired effect of blocking all steps for Danubian collaboration.

Not content with this result, Italy, in 1932 and 1933, began to evolve an intermediate policy—neither the collaboration of the five Danubian States, nor the union of Austria with Germany, but a triangular arrangement between Italy, Austria and Hungary—between a Great Power and two vassals. This was not salvage, it was sabotage. A glance at the map shows that it would have perpetuated, instead of removing, the regrettable division into two opposing camps of victors and vanquished; for it sought to drive a deep wedge from west and south in between the two sections of the Little Entente. And in the end it envisaged the collapse of the Little Entente individually and collectively, and the aggrandisement of Hungary at their expense.

There was, however, one vital miscalculation in the policy of the Duce during 1933 and 1934. It related to the immense political transformation wrought in Germany by the accession of Hitler to power, and the reactions of this event on the Danube and in South-East Europe generally.

V

Hitherto we have in the main been concerned with the Austrian attitude to Germany; it is necessary to consider for one moment the German attitude towards Austria. It is too often forgotten that

Austria was throughout history part of the Reich, and was only excluded from it in 1866 as the result of a trial of strength between Austria and Prussia, between Habsburg and Hohenzollern. During that struggle it was Austria under Schmerling which stood for the Great German (*grossdeutsch*) solution, the "siebzig-Millionen-Reich," Prussia under Bismarck for the Little German (*kleindeutsch*). It was, of course, Bismarck who won.

These two tendencies still exist in the Germany of today. The Prussian Protestant Junkers shared, and still share, Bismarck's distrust of any scheme for augmenting the strength of Catholicism in Germany and thereby upsetting the balance of forces between north and south. In 1866 Bismarck advised Francis Joseph to transfer his political centre of gravity from Vienna to Budapest. In 1896 he still held his old views, though conceding that if Prague and Vienna could change places he would not oppose the incorporation of Austria. For him, then, Austria was, above all, a make-weight against the growing power of Russia; her maintenance as a Great Power was for him fundamental. With the downfall of Imperial Russia and the creation of Poland and the Baltic States, it is safe to assume that his attitude would have been different, though it is less safe to assume that he would endorse the ambitious projects of Herr Rosenberg.

To sum up, there are two currents of foreign policy in Germany today—the one envisages a concentration of forces against the Slavonic East, a reversion to that marvellously successful policy of colonisation in the 13th and 14th centuries which brought the Germans from the Elbe and Saale to the Oder and Vistula. Whether this would involve an alliance with Poland and Japan for the final partition of the old Russia, whether the once German Baltic States would be swallowed as the first prize, whether Germany and Poland could ever agree on the capital question of Ukrainian independence, are questions to which no answer can as yet be given, but which deserve to be discussed publicly before Europe. The other current is no less Pan-German, but favours a concentration of interest upon those scattered German populations beyond the present border of the Reich—in Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Roumania, without speaking of the north and even the north-west—and if all these are counted up they do not fall far short of twenty millions.

It is easy to see from his famous book, *Mein Kampf*, and from his actions since he came to power, that the Führer is torn between these two rival tendencies. As between expansion overseas and

expansion on land he is unhesitatingly for the latter, and here he finds himself in agreement with the Junkers; but as between the two directions which such a land expansion should take—the east or the south-east—he still seems to hesitate; and it is only natural if his own Austrian origin is a very strong influence upon him and upon his plans. Almost from the first this dual tendency is reflected in the policy of the Third Reich—the young hotheads of the S.A. were full of fire for the Nazification of Austria, while Rosenberg, the Baltic German, preaches the Germanisation of the East.

It is no secret that the Venice meeting of June 1934 between the Führer and Duce was intended by the Wilhelmstrasse to prepare a compromise. The Italian Dictator, at first enchanted at the apparent triumph in Germany of principles akin to his own, was to be won for a bargain over the corpse of Austria, and Germany's energies were then to find an outlet in other directions. But this tendency was abruptly arrested by the events of 30 June. The Duce realised, before it was too late, the gulf that was opening beneath his feet; and the further events of 25 July and 9 October would seem to have convinced him that the methods of the gunman are incompatible with peace or order in Europe.

Meanwhile, of course, the change of régime in Germany had exercised a most disturbing influence upon the internal situation in Austria. The Socialists were no longer attracted by the idea of the Anschluss in view of the repression of their comrades in the Reich, while the clericals were strengthened in their dislike of Prussia by the centralising policy of Hitler towards the smaller federal States and by the pagan attitude of the Nazis towards Catholic and Protestant alike. It might have been supposed that this would provide a sound basis for political compromise inside Austria, and that motives of self-preservation would have led to the reconstitution of the old bloc of Black and Red. But on the contrary, the extremists on both sides prevailed, and in particular the Heimwehr leaders, Prince Starhemberg and Major Fey, thought the time had come for the destruction of Austrian democracy and the erection of an "Austro-Fascist" State. "Democracy in Austria," Starhemberg had declared on 22 October, 1933, "is finished, and will in a very short time be finished in all Europe." In their policy of action they were directly encouraged by the Italian Government.

In February, 1934, then, it came to armed suppression of Austrian Socialism. The party was dissolved, its leaders arrested or driven into exile, the working-class dwellings which had been a model to Europe ruthlessly bombarded, the Press muzzled, the trade unions

and many cultural societies broken up and their funds confiscated. It seems certain that Dr. Dollfuss had not intended such drastic measures, but that his hands were forced. It should be unnecessary to add that the story of a Socialist Putsch was a deliberate invention; all that can be said is that the Socialists, unlike their comrades in Germany, went down fighting, and again, that most, though not all, of their leaders maintained a rigidly doctrinaire attitude which played into the hands of their opponents.

It soon became apparent that this was no mere crime, but a crass political blunder. It weakened Austria's powers of resistance to the Nazi offensive from Bavaria and strengthened Nazidom inside Austria, while at the same time before Europe it destroyed the case for a liberty-loving Austria defending itself against Germany, the suppressor of political liberty. The Socialists adopted a sullen and negative attitude; the Austrian Nazis were greatly encouraged, and gained recruits, especially among the academic youth (where German Nationalism with a tinge of anti-Semitism was always strong, even before the war). Above all, the Government services and even the police were permeated by Nazi influence—and this is not surprising, since many high personages were known to be negotiating secretly with Munich. The time has not yet come to speak of this; it must suffice to mention the strange incident of the arrest of Count Alberti, Prince Starhemberg's deputy in Lower Austria, in January, 1934; the open allegations, never contradicted, of Herr Habicht's lieutenant in Munich to the correspondent of the *Morning Post* after the February affair, and the more than equivocal attitude of Herr Rintelen, the Austrian Minister to the Quirinal, during the Putsch of July, 1934.

In a word, the Dollfuss regime was known to be riddled with Nazism; cells were discovered from time to time inside the administration; individuals high up in the police were in touch with Berlin and Munich, as the events of 25 July revealed. Many hold the view that with a little more patience the policy of peaceful penetration would have been completely successful. But the desperadoes into whose hands the campaign against Austria had been entrusted were lacking in such qualities as patience or decency. The terrorist movement, which had been launched with such a profusion of money and explosives, was now renewed, with the object of precipitating the crisis in Austria. The "clean-up" of 30 June eliminated some of the wilder spirits, but there remained enough hotheads at Munich and on the Austrian frontier; and only three weeks later there followed the Putsch of 25 July and the brutal and deliberate

murder of Dr. Dollfuss. Fortunately, the *coup* was badly managed; the insurgents were isolated in the Foreign Office in the centre of Vienna; the traitor Rintelen was arrested; the Austrian Legion was recalled at the last moment; Habicht and Frauenfeld did not fly from Munich to Vienna, as had been planned; the insurrection in Styria and Carinthia was left without real leaders and soon collapsed. The Austrian "Braunbuch" has demonstrated German complicity beyond all possibility of doubt.

Austria was saved, less by her own defensive forces than by the indignation of European public opinion, by the hesitation of Hitler, by the fact that the Reichswehr was not yet ready for war, and by the concentration of Italian troops on the Brenner. Inside Austria these monstrous events very naturally produced a revulsion of feeling against the Nazis, who, on their side, were proportionately discouraged. Moreover, it may be said that the virtual veto originally imposed by Germany upon the visit of her citizens to Austria (in the hope that the loss of tourist trade would bring down the Dollfuss Government) has with the passing of time become a real barrier between the two countries. The Austrian Press is not much freer than that of the Reich; but the whole trend of intellectual thought and of such public opinion as exists, of education and, above all, of the Church, is directed towards widening, not narrowing, the gap.

VI

There are two other elements in this complex situation which deserve very close attention: the special attitude of Yugoslavia towards the Austrian problem, and the problem of Habsburg restoration. But at this stage only a brief summary is possible.

Of Yugoslavia it must suffice to say that she remains loyal to the Little Entente and to friendship with France, but that her attitude is complicated by the fact that for her the Anschluss appears to be a lesser danger than the possible alternative of an Italian hegemony over Austria and of a direct strategic connection between Italy and Hungary along the valley of the Drave. This is why, at the moment when the Italians were expected at Innsbruck late last July, Yugoslavia allowed it to be known that under certain circumstances she also would be obliged to march. In one word, in the Austrian question Yugoslav and German interests meet and seem to coincide, and this explains the successive overtures of Röhm, of Göring, and of Hitler towards Belgrade. There are even some who detect a common interest in the questions of Trieste and of Venezia Giulia, but this is far too controversial a theme to be dealt with at the close

of an already overcrowded lecture. In view, however, of these tendencies, indicated rather than analysed, it is obvious that one of the main keys to a peaceful solution of the Danube problem lies in a sincere *détente* between Italy and Jugoslavia. Time alone can show whether the new-found friendship between Rome and Paris is sufficiently cemented to bear the strain of such delicate negotiations. All that can be safely affirmed is that there is nothing inevitable in the Italo-Jugoslav quarrel, and that broader views and saner statesmanship on both sides might easily bring about an Adriatic *détente*, such as that achieved under the stress of war and defeat in 1917-18.

Meanwhile, there are some people who, realising the great difficulties of making a reality of Danubian co-operation in the short breathing space that still remains to us, and seeking for some other bulwark against the incoming German tide, have put forward proposals for the restoration of the Habsburgs. They forget that in the first place this is not an internal question of Austria or Hungary, but an international question which concerns all the former subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy, and which was definitely recognised as international by the Allied Powers at the time of the Emperor Charles's Putsch, in terms that have never been revoked. The Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente have more than once in the last few years given explicit warning that they would not look on inactive at any attempt at Habsburg restoration. But this is only the beginning of the complications which such a restoration would involve. It would almost inevitably be the signal for intervention from the Reich; for it would simultaneously raise the question of the other German dynasties, above all Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach. This would scarcely suit the Führer, and it is difficult to believe that Germany would tolerate a situation in which the Habsburgs alone were reinstated. An attempt at Habsburg restoration might very easily unite the partisans of the Hohenzollern with the anti-dynastic currents inside the Nazi party, on a common basis of resentment at what might seem a blow to national unity.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that Austria and Hungary do not see eye to eye in this question. The present Hungarian Premier, General Gömbös, is the same man who by his action decided the fate of Charles of Habsburg during the Putsch of 1921; and he is known to be a partisan of "free election."

VII

In conclusion : the Austrian question, both in its internal and its international aspect, remains today as obscure as ever. If either of

the two *attentats* of 25 July and 9 October—between which, of course, there was no connection whatever—if either had succeeded in not merely murdering an individual, but disrupting a State, war could hardly have been avoided, though how far it would have spread we cannot tell. But the psychology created in Europe by these events gave Austria a certain respite. It strengthened the more conservative forces in German foreign policy and decided Germany to adopt a passive attitude till the Saar decision had been reached.

How has this respite been used by the opponents of the Anschluss? Until we know more about the agreements reached by MM. Laval and Mussolini, it will be wise to reserve judgment. But there is certainly nothing to show that much real progress has been made towards a true programme of Danubian collaboration, as a real alternative to the Anschluss. This goal will never be attained until it is made quite clear to Hungary that Revisionism is not *actuel*—that she will not be asked for humiliating renunciations, but that she in her turn cannot lay down impossible preliminary conditions for negotiation and so hold up everything *ad Kalendas græcas*.

Meanwhile, inside Austria the old political dissensions persist. Democracy is denounced by those in power as objectionable and out of date. The official organ of the Government extends its condemnation not only to Marxism and “all other-isms of the Liberal era,” not only to materialism and the Manchester school, but also to the French Revolution, to the Reformation and to humanism. In the place of all this is proclaimed the goal of “Austria as a free Christian German State, on a corporative basis, under strong authoritarian leadership.”⁴

The Schuschnigg Government is a minority Government; constituted as it is today, it could not face the electors on a basis of free elections. The Socialist masses remain sullen, passive, hopelessly alienated; the National Socialists are for the moment discouraged, but their numbers have not diminished. They recognise that more reputable tactics must be employed than those of Habicht, Frauenfeld, and the Austrian Legion; but they have only *reculé pour mieux sauter*. Above all, the youth of Austria—quite irrespective of political or religious faith—is increasingly disposed to place the racial idea above all others and to regard German unity

⁴ Farewell manifesto of the Christian Socialist Party, 27 September, 1934.

as a panacea. At the turn of the century their spiritual forerunners sang on the very floor of the Reichsrat :—

Wir schielen nicht, wir schauen,
Wir schauen unverwandt,
Wir schauen voll Vertrauen
Ins deutsche Vaterland.

The same spirit is abroad today, in a situation where the opposing forces are infinitely weaker. We must recognise that only the most attractive alternative programme will avail to hold them back and that the time at our disposal is short.

I still believe that the true function of Austria in the Europe of today is to be a free and independent German State, a centre of Catholic and South German culture, and that she might then fulfil a great mission as the link between the Danubian States, as the promoter of peace in Central and South-East Europe. But if she is to remain in her present unfree condition and if, at the same time, there is to be no collaboration between the five Danubian States, then we must face the fact that the sole alternative to the Anschluss is a bastard Fascism upheld by an Italian protectorate, veiled or open. That is not a solution for which the younger generation of Austrians can possibly be won. Still less is it a solution for which the Western Powers can be asked to fight. Europe could back a free Austria against an unfree Germany, but never an unfree Austria against an unfree Germany. Moreover, after the success of the popular appeal in the Saar, it will before long be almost impossible to refuse some form of election or referendum in Austria. If Austria is to be an authoritarian State, so argue many Austrians, she may as well be merged in the greater German State. Only as a free cultural centre (*Kulturstätte* is a common phrase in official circles, but they omit the word "free"), only as an exponent of Liberal institutions and political and religious tolerance, can Austria hope to hold her own and to win Europe to her side.

I must stop before I commit myself to prophecies which in such an obscure situation would almost certainly be falsified. But I felt it to be my duty to present to you, so far as in me lies, the salient facts of the situation, not as it ought to be, still less as I could wish it to be, but as it really is. I hope that even when you do not accept my diagnosis, you will weigh and re-weigh the evidence and the arguments. For the question of Austria concerns us all. The problem of its incorporation in Germany is an European one, in exactly the same sense as the incorporation of Belgium in France 105 years ago. It is still not too late to solve it in the same felicitous fashion, but the sands are running out.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

BRUSILOV'S OFFENSIVE

THE GALICIAN BATTLE OF 1916

A GREAT stir was caused in France by M. Clemenceau's pathetic book entitled *Grandeurs et Misères d'une Victoire*. The man in the street was shocked by the unveiling of the dark side of the great victory which definitely crushed Germany.

But just as a picture, even painted by a great artist, represents a combination of light and shadows, even the most successful military operation is made up of a complicated network of brilliant deeds and mistakes. To see only the first and to ignore the defects is not the correct method which a historian should adopt.

Thus the main object of this article is to give a true and exact picture of one of the greatest victories scored by the Russian army. I would therefore ask the reader to bear in mind the following fundamental idea : criticisms of ideas or acts are by no means intended to lessen the merits of the persons concerned. This applies particularly to the gallant troops who bought victory at the price of their blood and paid likewise for all mistakes.

THE GENERAL SITUATION

The general outlines of the "Entente's" plan of operations in 1916 were laid down in the month of February of that year at a conference at Chantilly. There it had been decided to deal the principal blow on the French front, beginning the offensive on 1 July. As to the Russian armies, they were to attract as many as possible of the German forces, for which purpose they had to attack, commencing their advance on 15 June. But the Germans did not remain inactive during all this time and started their famous attack on Verdun on 21 February. This completely altered the situation and put the French into a most critical position. They therefore applied for assistance to their Russian allies. With the same self-denial it had always shown on previous occasions, the Russian General Headquarters immediately answered the call. It directed the central group of the armies, the so-called "Western Group," to advance (see Fig. 1).

Accordingly, on 16 March, on the front of the Western Group, attacks were launched in the area of Lake Naroch. A success could hardly have been expected; in the first place, because the Russian armies had not yet quite recovered from the disastrous campaign of 1915.

Secondly, the deficiency in heavy and howitzer artillery rendered

most problematical the possibility of breaking through the German lines. Unfortunately, I am unable to give the necessary figures for a full sketch of the comparative proportion of heavy ordnance on both sides of the Russian front in 1916. It is nevertheless possible to make an approximate estimate by consulting data, published subsequently on the subject by the Bolsheviks, referring to the month of October, 1917. At that period the number of heavy guns in the Russian army had considerably increased, whereas on the other hand the Germans, in consideration of the growing dissolution of the Russian troops, had found it possible to diminish their own. Thus, at that time, the comparative figures of ordnance on the Russian front had changed to our advantage. And yet, even then, the enemy disposed of no less than twice the number of heavy and howitzer guns, as compared to our own (*see Table 1*).

Lastly, our attacks were doomed beforehand, owing to the usual bad state of the roads and ground of that region in spring time.

But the alarming tidings, which continued to arrive from France, caused our General Headquarters to put aside all these considerations and to resolve upon this unpromising operation. Up to 30 March our troops, wading to their knees in mud and blood, bravely fulfilled their duty, but notwithstanding some local successes, it had proved impossible to break through the German front.

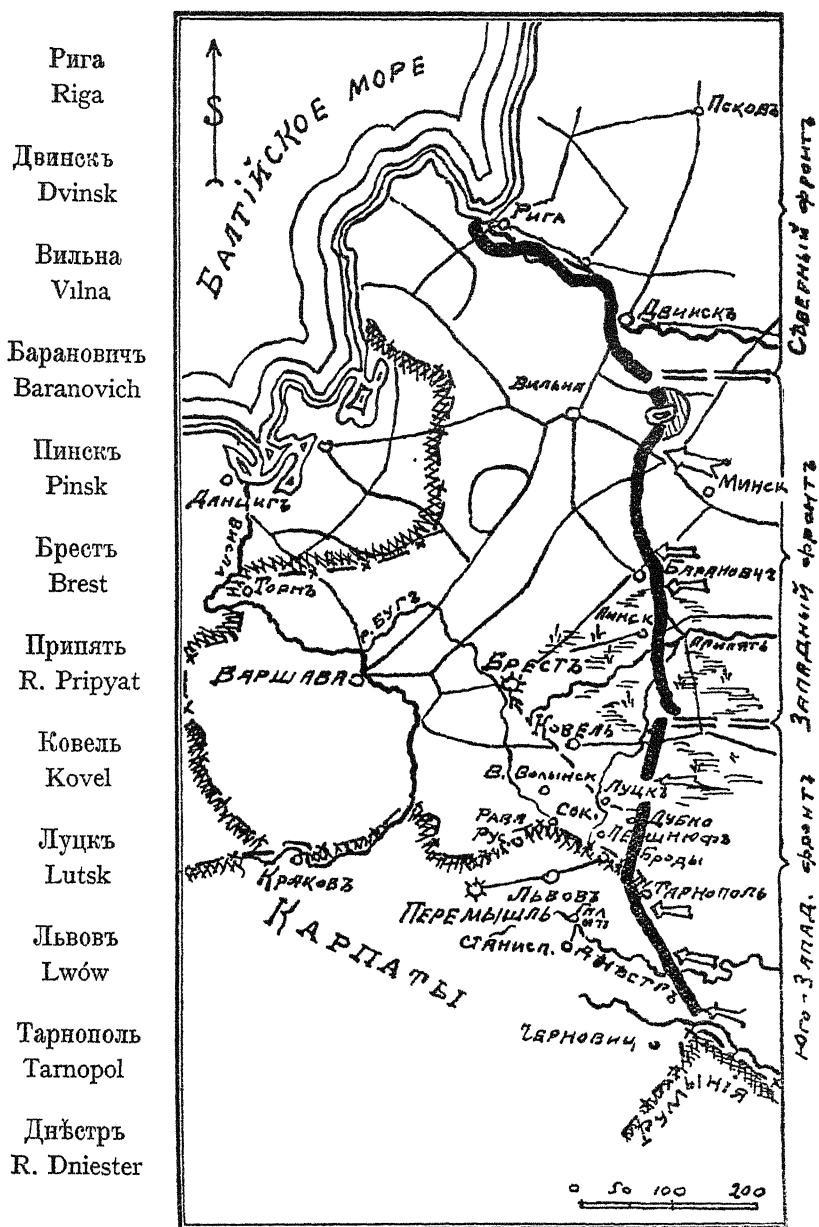
This offensive had come, nevertheless, as a surprise to the Germans, as they believed the Russian army to be incapable of any active operations after the disastrous campaign of 1915. The impression created was so great that the Germans gave up the intention they had of sending reinforcements from the East to the Western front, and even suspended for a time—from 22 to 30 March—their attacks on Verdun, by this allowing the French the breathing time which they so much needed.

But this strategical success had been bought at a very high price in blood. The loss of over 200,000 killed and wounded, without any perceptible results, weighed heavily on the morale of the Russian troops and their chiefs. This explains the pessimism of the Commanders-in-Chief of the Northern Front, General Kuropatkin, and of the Western Front, General Evert, at the Council of War, convoked by the Tsar, at the Imperial Headquarters in Mohilev, on 14 April, to decide on the operations for the coming summer.

General Brusilov, the Commander-in-Chief of the South-Western army group, represented a striking contrast to such faint-heartedness. His language was full of courage and of confidence in the victory of his troops. Giving due credit to the personal qualities o

FIGURE No. 1.

The Russian Front in May, 1916.



General Brusilov, this must also be ascribed to a large extent to the fact that after our great victories in Galicia in 1914, the troops and their chiefs, which had won these victories, were imbued with a feeling of superiority over their Austro-Hungarian foe.

Notwithstanding such a contrast between the manly and confident Brusilov on one side and the desponding generals, Evert and Kuropatkin on the other, General Alexeyev, the Chief of the Imperial Staff, resolved to deal the main blow with the Western army group, in the direction Minsk-Vilna. The tasks which the Northern and South-Western groups had to accomplish were but demonstrations. In making such a resolution, General Alexeyev was guided by the desire of exercising a *direct* pressure on the principal enemy of the Entente—Germany, and in this respect the most sensitive operative direction was that of Vilna. Considerations of such a kind are in themselves undoubtedly of the highest strategical importance. It must, however, be remembered that in trench warfare the possibility of an offensive is subordinated to a previous rupture of the enemy's fortified lines. The tactical difficulties with which such an operation generally meets, often lead to conflicts between strategical problems and tactical possibilities. After the unsuccessful offensive of our Western group, in the month of March, the tactical possibilities of a rupture of the German front were still less; our heavy ordnance had not been increased, whereas the morale of the troops had fallen.

In our South-Western army group the conditions for a successful rupture of the enemy's position were incomparably more favourable. In the first place, there were only Austro-Hungarian troops—the Germans, alarmed by the offensive of Evert in March, having withdrawn all their infantry divisions (except one) from Galicia. The Austro-Hungarian troops, demoralised by the victories of our armies in 1914, had not yet recovered from their defeat and represented therefore a much less steady adversary than the Germans; besides that, they were not so abundantly provided with heavy ordnance as the latter, a fact which also weighed very heavily with us. Apart from this, the reinforcement of the units of the South-Western armies had suffered no disturbance, as had been the case with our Western army group. For this reason the army commanders could at leisure attend to the complicated work of their organisation, and by the end of May their troops stood ready for action, well rested, completed and instructed, with a firm belief in victory over any enemy they might encounter.

But, anxious as he was to come as quickly as possible to the rescue of the French, who were hard pressed at that time by the

Germans at Verdun, General Alexeyev considered the strategic importance of the direction in which the offensive was launched to be of predominant interest, and that the tactical facilities of a preliminary rupture of the enemy's front were only of secondary importance. Thus, the tasks the armies of the South-Western group were to perform, were of a strictly auxiliary character: to attract part of the enemy's forces, with the object of facilitating thereby the operations of the Western group, which was to deal the main blow.

GENERAL BRUSILOV'S PLAN¹

The theatre of operations of the armies of the South-Western group can be divided into three areas:—

(1) The Northern area, situated to the north of an imaginary line Dubno-Leshnev and the valleys of the Bug and Styr, running from Leshnev to Kamenka-Strumilov.

(2) The Central area—to the south of the former and to the north of the river Dniester

(3) The Trans-Dniestrian area—to the south of that river.

From a strategical point of view, the Central area was by far the most important, including as it did Lemberg (Lvov), the capital of Galicia, situated at about 100 km. to the west of the Austro-Hungarian front; this city was at the same time the biggest railway junction in Galicia. There could be no doubt that the Austro-Hungarians would be obliged to give a decisive battle on the way to Lemberg, as after the loss of this city their direct communication with the allied German troops would be interrupted. The country was quite well suited for the manœuvring of great masses. If the Russian armies succeeded in breaking through in this area, they could inflict a crushing defeat on the Austro-Hungarian forces, before the German reinforcements would be able to arrive. And taking into consideration the already tottering morale of the Austro-Hungarian troops, such a result might be expected to cause the Habsburg Monarchy to withdraw from the struggle.

Well aware of the great strategical importance of the Central area, our adversaries had established the strongest fortified works and occupied them with their best troops. The most important sector of these positions was defended by the so-called Southern German army, although it was composed not of German, but of Austro-Hungarian troops under the orders of the German General Staff. (To this army belonged the only German infantry division which had been left in Galicia.)

¹ See Fig. 2.

The Northern area was of far less strategical importance. At about 100 km. from the Austro-Hungarian position was situated the town of Kovel, with its important railway junction. This junction could be reached in the shortest time by any German reinforcements drawn from the Russo-German front. But taking into consideration the unreliable morale of the Austro-Hungarian armies, it is doubtful if any support of the German troops concentrated in Kovel, could have any very effective result. If a great battle were fought in the Central area, the offensive of German troops from the region of Kovel would have required too much time, not because of the distance alone, but also in consequence of the defensive characteristics of the Bug and Styr valleys. On the other hand an offensive of the Russian armies from the region of Lutsk in the direction of Kovel was greatly impeded by the woods and marshy ground, especially along the river Stokhod.

Lastly, the Trans-Dniestrian area was only of quite limited strategical importance. Limited to the south by the Carpathians, to the north by the river Dneister, this area was situated outside the strategical roads leading into the heart of Galicia. This was the reason why its railway communications with other parts of Galicia were but insufficiently developed.

The total forces of the armies of the South-Western Front amounted to $39\frac{1}{2}$ infantry and 12 cavalry divisions, extended on a front of 300 km. This Front was divided into four armies, running from north to south as follows : the 8th army under General Kaledin ; the 11th army under General Sakharov ; the 7th army under General Shcherbachev ; the 9th army under Lechitsky (*see* Table 2).

The forces of the enemy on the other side were about equal : 38 infantry and 7 cavalry divisions. They, too, were divided into four armies.

General Brusilov decided to solve his task by a simultaneous attack with all his armies at the same time. The main breach in the enemy's lines was to be effected by the 8th army, after having concentrated to this purpose four army corps. A breach of secondary importance was to be made by the 9th army with two army corps, whereas the 7th and 11th armies were charged with much less extensive operations : the former attacked with $1\frac{1}{2}$ army corps and the latter with one army corps. And so a rupture of the enemy's lines was to be effected in four different places, distant from one another from 60 to 75 kilometres.

General Alexeyev did not approve of such a method of offensive, which, according to his opinion, could only lead to a dangerous

scattering of the forces. He recommended General Brusilov to endeavour to break through the enemy's position in one place, after having brought up for that purpose the whole of his heavy artillery, which even then would hardly be sufficient, and besides that to prepare reserves for following up the success strategically. But General Brusilov insisted on having it his own way. He pointed out that extensive preparations for the rupture of the enemy's lines in one place would only give him warning and time to bring up his reserves to the threatened sector, thus rendering very problematical the success of the whole operation. Whereas an attack on four points simultaneously would make it very difficult for the enemy to guess where his reserves might be ultimately wanted, the extension of the front and the insufficiently developed railway system not allowing them to be brought up in time, if they had not been rightly placed beforehand.

This contest between General Alexeyev and General Brusilov is instructive in the highest degree. It is a striking example of the conflict between the principle of concentration of forces and the principle of surprise, which has arisen in modern warfare in questions concerning the attack of fortified positions. Whenever our allies on the French front attempted to pierce the German lines, they invariably resorted to the first principle only and neglected the second. The results are well known: they never succeeded in breaking through the enemy's positions into the open, and the depth of the gaps they made did not exceed a few kilometres. The reason for such poor results is that protracted preparations and the concentration of enormous forces could not remain unobserved by the Germans, who always had found time to prepare a second strongly fortified position some 5-6 kilometres to the rear, and to bring up their reserves.

In pointing out the importance of the element of surprise in connection with the rupture of modern fortified positions, General Brusilov has certainly put forward a new idea, and he had therefore a perfect right to call the method employed by him "his own" method. We know that practical experience has confirmed the correctness of Brusilov's theory. It is interesting to recollect that in the campaign of 1918 the method used by Ludendorff for breaking through the allies' front, though not quite the same in its outer form, rested on the same basis, that is to say, the element of surprise was considered as the predominant factor.

Standing up so ardently for his method, General Brusilov nevertheless, did not notice one very important circumstance, which

would have greatly facilitated the "tactical realisation" of these ruptures. The spot where the principal rupture was to be effected had been selected in the direction of Lutsk, that is to say, in a direction of only secondary strategical importance. The second breach (according to the tactical scale) was to be effected in the trans-Dniestrian area, the strategical importance of which is even inferior to the first. The rupture which was third in importance was executed by the 7th army at Yaslovets, that is to say, in a sector of the most insignificant strategical importance of the whole front of this army. In selecting this sector, the commander of the 7th army had taken into consideration nothing but the comparatively favourable tactical conditions which facilitated the operation. The 11th army alone was launched in a direction of great strategical importance.

The situation resulting from all these measures was as follows: all the armies (except the 11th) had prepared the rupture of the enemy's lines where it could be most easily effected, in that respect taking into consideration not only the facilities the country might offer, but also the inferior strategical importance of the points selected, as for this reason they could be expected to have been less carefully prepared for defence.

We may point out here that in selecting the 8th army for dealing the main blow, General Brusilov had in mind a quite different plan. He intended to direct this army, after the capture of Lutsk, on Kovel and Brest-Litovsk, so as to exercise by such an offensive a pressure on the Germans, at the time on the defensive against the Western group where, as we know, the decisive blow on the Russian front was to be dealt.

We have only to take into consideration the distances to realise the fantastic character of such a strategical plan. As we have already said, Kovel was situated at about 100 km. from the front, and from that town to Brest-Litovsk the distance is even 120 km, whereas, for following up his success after the rupture, General Brusilov disposed only of a weak reserve of one infantry division.

Brusilov's plan was also defective in another very important respect. It would have seemed logical to let his armies close up again together after having broken through the enemy's front at different points situated at some distance from one another. Brusilov, however, moved the army which had struck the main blow eccentrically, reducing thereby the possibilities which his other armies would have had of following up their success. And yet, if the advantage resulting from the rupture in the Central area had been energetically pursued, it might have led to events of the highest importance,

to wit, to the complete annihilation of the Austro-Hungarian army.

The strategical shortcomings of General Brusilov's plan had a negative effect on the course of the battle which was fought after the rupture had been achieved; but, paradoxical though it might seem, with respect to the execution of the rupture itself, their influence was positive: the strategical unimportance of the sector selected for the main rupture, facilitated its tactical realisation.

THE PREPARATION OF THE RUPTURE

The tactical preparation of the rupture was as good as the tactical idea itself. It may be said without exaggeration that the preliminary preparation was realised in a manner approaching perfection. This, to a great extent, must be ascribed to the fact that our best generals happened to be at the head of these four armies: Shcherbachev (former Head of the Staff College), Lechitsky, Sakharov, and Kaledin, the latter having superseded General Brusilov as commander of the 8th army.

As early as the end of January a most careful preliminary preparation for the summer offensive had begun. Under the supervision of General Ivanov, the predecessor of General Brusilov as commander-in-chief of the South-Western group, each army had actively set to work, so as to be ready at a moment's notice from above, to storm the enemy's lines before its respective front. The enemy's positions were most minutely studied in all their details. Very much use was made of aerial photography, supplemented by surveys and observations of the engineers. In the end our acquaintance with the enemy's position had attained such a degree of perfection that, for instance, in the 7th army, not only all his batteries, but even his machine-guns had been located. Our information was so strictly correct that when the commander of an Austro-Hungarian battalion, who had been taken prisoner, was brought before me, the plan of his sector, which was found on him, proved to be no more accurate than the one which had been distributed to the commanders of the attacking units, including those of companies.

Carefully following all the important modifications by which the Austro-Hungarians were improving their fortifications in the course of the winter, our General Staff were constantly working out new methods of attack, in which these modifications had been taken into account.

This was, however, no easy matter, and was rendered more difficult still by our inferiority in heavy artillery, not only in number, but also in calibre, as may be seen by casting a glance on table No. 1.

It shows that the total number of heavy batteries of the entire South-Western group was only 39, including 13 batteries armed with 105 mm. long-range guns and 26-155 mm howitzer batteries. The rest of our artillery consisted of 247 batteries armed with 76 mm light guns and 43 batteries armed with 110 mm light howitzer batteries (290 batteries in all). Under such circumstances there could be no question of our relying for the success of our attacks on a preliminary preparation by a terrific zone fire, as had been practised on the French front. Our artillery had to work to very fine limits, where every single gun had to be trained on a given spot with the correct range. This, of course, was only possible thanks to our thorough knowledge of the enemy's position.

But on the other hand, our shortcomings in the number of heavy guns compelled us to make up for it by allowing the artillery more time for the preparation of the attacks than it would have required under normal conditions. It is true that in the 11th army six hours and in the 9th eight hours had been considered sufficient, but the 8th army required twenty-nine, and the 7th up to forty-five hours for the same purpose. Such a delay in the delivery of the attack was, of course, in contradiction with the element of surprise. Its chances of success were, nevertheless, not as much reduced as might appear at first sight, owing to Brusilov's method of attacking with all his four armies at the same time.

Again, as owing to our deficiency in heavy ordnance, especially in long-range guns, we could not expect to silence the enemy's artillery altogether, new methods for the attacking infantry had to be worked out. They consisted in pushing our approaches so closely up to the enemy's lines that the distance of the foremost trench, from which the assault was to be launched, did not exceed some 150 metres. This enabled the first wave of the attackers to reach the nearest trenches of the enemy in one rush, besides making it difficult for the latter to open his curtain fire in time.

Besides this, our system of fortifications had been provided with *places-d'armes*, consisting of a series of narrow trenches and dug-outs, in which the attacking units could conceal themselves before the assault. Such extensive trench work could naturally not remain a secret to the Austro-Hungarian aerial photographers, and therefore it was carried out in different sectors. In order to spare the troops unnecessary labour, the sham *places-d'armes* were dug out only to the half of their normal depth. Apart from that, a most original device of horizontal camouflaging was experimented on in one of the armies. It consisted in painting the ground by means of a special

spraying apparatus. This was a novelty, and the results proved that it often mused the enemy.

Nevertheless, the amount of trench-work the troops had to carry out was enormous. In the 7th army, for instance, although it consisted of no more than seven infantry divisions, the troops dug out 75,000 cubic metres in the course of one month prior to the attack. Taking into consideration that they could only work at night and even then often under fire of the enemy, it must be admitted that the expense of energy was very great.

Brusilov's method of attacking simultaneously with all his four armies never allowed the enemy to foresee where the main blow was going to be dealt, so that this would probably in any case come as a surprise to him, even if he were quite aware that he would probably be attacked *somewhere*. This shows what perfect tactical completeness General Brusilov's method of dealing with fortified positions represents; but the instruction of the troops, in connection with these new tactics, required much time and perseverance. The senior officers were properly informed during the inspections by the commanding officers or of officers of the General Staff, whereas junior officers (ensigns) who had joined in during the winter, had to go through a six-weeks' training course, specially organised for the purpose.

As to the divisions which had been selected for the assault, they were removed to the rear for training. In the 7th army a special camp had been built, where the enemy's trenches were reproduced in all their details. The troops did not know that they had before them a copy of the sector they would have to attack, as this was kept a secret from them, for fear it might become known to the enemy. But the similarity was so great that when the divisions which had been trained in this camp started to the attack of the real trenches they felt as if they were "at home" when they had taken them.

CHANGE IN THE GENERAL SITUATION

In the middle of May the Austro-Hungarians started a decisive offensive on the Italian front. Sharing the erroneous impression of their German allies, they believed that the Russian army had not yet recovered from the catastrophe of 1915. For this reason they withdrew a part of their heavy artillery from the Galician front in order to increase their chances against the Italians. This was, of course, a point of the highest importance to us; for the realisation of General Brusilov's plan would be very much handicapped by the superiority of the enemy's heavy artillery over our own.

The Austro-Hungarian offensive on the Italian front was completely successful, and the situation there had become critical to the highest degree. The appeals for help which our headquarters continued to receive, beginning from 23 May, became always more pressing and proved that our Italian allies must have completely lost their heads. We were not only asked to help in general, which we were only too ready to do, but to help immediately, as if we could have done so in 24 hours. Nevertheless, General Alexeyev answered the call and ordered General Brusilov to attack without delay, although he knew that the proposed decisive blow to be delivered by our Western group of armies might come too late.

The offensive of the South-Western group thus acquired a very different strategical value. Its object was no more limited to the purpose of drawing away German forces from our Western Front, but the same was to be done with respect to the Austro-Hungarians after their invasion of Italy. With such an extended strategical problem, the tactical idea on which General Brusilov had founded his offensive, acquired a still greater weight. It was to be expected that a rupture of the fortified position of the Austro-Hungarians in several points at the same time would cause them to hurry reinforcements to threatened Galicia, and these reinforcements they could only take from the Italian front.

But on the other hand the leading strategical idea of Brusilov's offensive was becoming still more erroneous. For the strategical development of the ruptures, the Lemberg direction now acquired an increased importance, as it would have led to concentric movements of the invading armies, closing up on the Austro-Hungarians, who would have been crushed before any important German reinforcements could arrive. But General Brusilov stuck to his strategical idea of dealing the main blow in the direction of Kovel. He proved to be as stubborn in sticking to his strategical error as he had been obstinate in insisting on the execution of his correct tactical method.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE BATTLE

*The rupture and its strategical exploitation*² (4 June—9 July).

On 4 June, at dawn, the guns opened fire along the front of the four armies. At the appointed time the infantry started the attack. The success surpassed every expectation. On 9 June the 8th army had penetrated as far as the river Styr and captured Lutsk, making

² See Fig. 2.

Припять
R. Pripyat

Стырь
R. Styr

Ковель
Kovel

Луцкъ
Lutsk

Дубно
Dubno

Броды
Brody

Тарнополь
Tarnopol

Днѣстръ
R. Dniester

Карпаты
Carpathians

Черновицы
Czernowitz

Прутъ
Prut

Румынія
Roumania

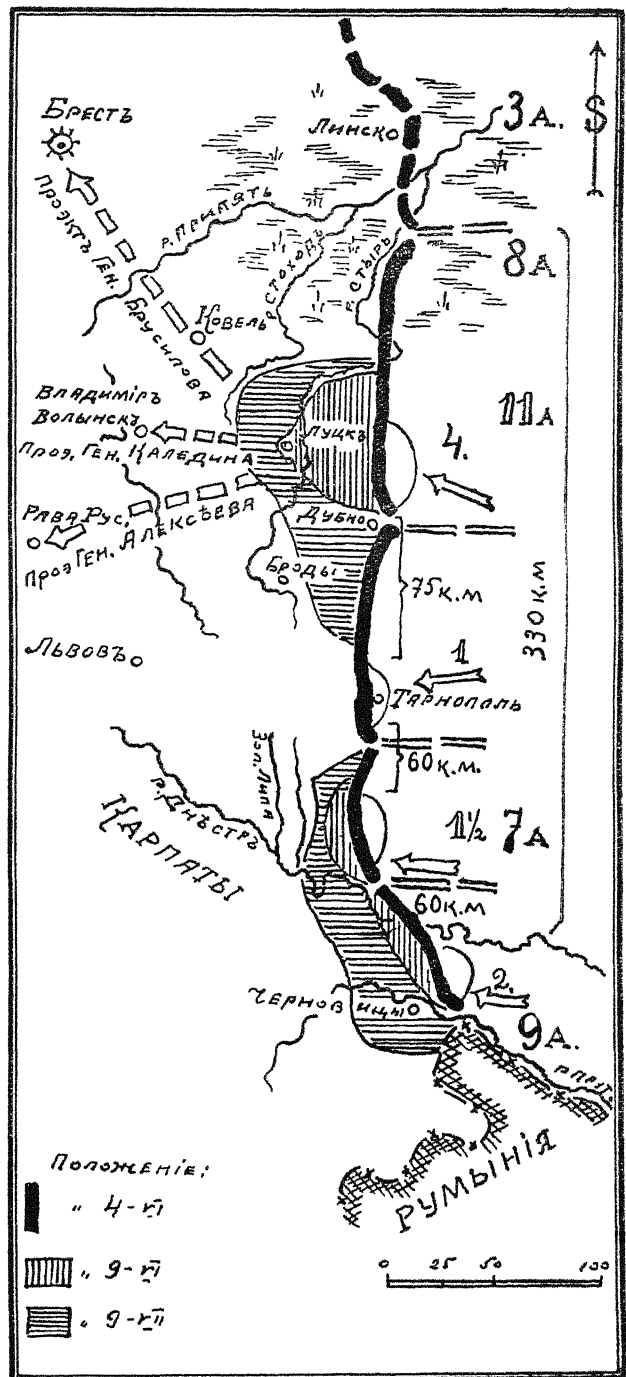


FIG. 2.

a breach in the enemy's lines of 40 km. in depth and widening it from 22 to 80 km. As the 8th army had been reinforced only by one infantry division, this splendid feat must be wholly attributed to the valour of the troops and the skill of the leaders. The opposing 4th Austro-Hungarian army had been completely defeated.

The 11th army, however, met with a reverse in trying to break through in the sector of Tarnopol. The Russian troops were here attacking the strongest part of the Austro-Hungarian front on the roads to Lemberg. The resources of the 11th army in ordnance proved insufficient for a short artillery preparation.

But although the strength of the enemy's position before the 7th army was in no way inferior, the attack succeeded in a most brilliant manner. Here, however, the artillery was given 45 hours for preparing the advance of the infantry, and not only six hours, as had been the case with the 11th army. Considering the relative weakness of this army (seven infantry divisions on a front of 70 km.) General Shcherbachev decided to penetrate into the enemy's position not further than was necessary to widen the breach and take advantage of the enemy's open flanks. As a result, up to 9 June a very strong position had been carried on a front of 40 km.

With our 9th army, where the Austro-Hungarian position was comparatively weaker, the rupture also succeeded very satisfactorily. General Lechitsky followed up his advantage immediately with great skill. He first of all directed his main forces to the south, as far as the river Pruth, so as to protect his south flank on his further advance to the west, by which manœuvre he intended to link the breach he had himself created with that made by the 7th army. In this he was completely successful, having penetrated into the enemy's position for about 30 km. in a westerly direction.

Thus the offensive on the south-western front was a brilliant success. To give an idea of the demoralisation of the Austro-Hungarian troops, it is sufficient to state that the number of prisoners taken by the 7th, 8th, and 9th armies in four days was above 125,000.

The method applied for his attacks had fully come up to General Brusilov's expectations, and in this respect his merits are undoubtedly very great. But the weak point of his method consisted in the dispersion of the troops, which made it difficult for him to follow up his tactical successes. This was further aggravated in the given case by his choice of the direction of Kovel as his next strategical object, because it was divergent in relation to his other armies.

On this point misunderstandings arose in the course of the

following operations between General Brusilov and the commander of the 8th army, General Kaledin. The latter believed that an offensive of his army in the direction of Vladimir-Volynsk had every chance of leading to the utter destruction of the defeated Austro-Hungarian army; and besides that, operations in the direction of Kovel would be rendered very difficult by the marshy and woody character of the country, especially in the region of the river Stokhod.

But General Brusilov persisted in his first decision of striking his main blow in the direction of Kovel, although in a directive of the Imperial Headquarters dated 9 June, General Alexeyev had indicated not Kovel, but Rava Ruska as the object for the offensive of the right flank of the South-Western group of armies. This was quite in agreement with General Kaledin's proposal to move the operations of his army towards the south. However, it cannot be denied that even in this order General Alexeyev had not clearly and categorically expressed his idea of a general concentric advance of the entire South-Western group on Lemberg.

The lack of precision in General Alexeyev's strategical order, the obstinacy of General Brusilov, and the conviction of General Kaledin that the movement was wrong, brought about a fluctuation in the leading strategical idea.

The six infantry divisions, which had arrived in the course of June to reinforce the South-Western group, were all given over to the 8th army. But the latter developed its operations in two directions at the same time: on Kovel, getting as far as the river Stokhod, and on Vladimir-Volynsk. This, of course, weakened its further progress; but, what was more important still, the opportunity was lost of making use of the catastrophical situation of the Austro-Hungarian army by an advance on Lemberg.

To what degree the situation had become favourable for our offensive in that direction, can be judged by the fact that the 11th army, after having concentrated its forces towards its right flank, was able to penetrate as far as the town of Brody.

As a consequence of the divergent line of operation of the 8th army, the ruptures made by the 7th and 9th armies were deprived of their strategical importance. Being left to themselves, these armies widened the gaps in the enemy's position, the 9th army even capturing the capital of Bukovina—Czernovetz.

Thus, in the beginning of July, the situation was as follows:—

On the right flank of the South-Western group the breach of Lutsk had been enlarged by the offensive of the 8th and 11th armies to 140 km., with a maximum depth of 60 km.

On the left flank of the South-Western group the breach effected by the 7th and 9th armies had been widened to 130 km, with a depth of 40 km.

Of the entire former strong Austro-Hungarian fortified position, the central sector alone, with a front of 60 km. defending the direct roads from Tarnopol to Lemberg, remained in the hands of the enemy.

We know from German and Austrian sources in what a catastrophic state the Austro-Hungarians found themselves in the month of June. From all sides reinforcements were hurried into Galicia; in the course of that month sixteen German and not less than four Austro-Hungarian infantry divisions had arrived, raising the effective force of our enemies from 38 to 58 infantry divisions.

At first the reinforcements were hurried on, as they arrived, without any plan, the sole object being to check the retreat of the Austro-Hungarian troops. It was not before the beginning of July that the enemy succeeded in organising his forces for a powerful counter-offensive against our 8th army from the direction of Vladimir-Volynsk and Sokal, but it was beaten off by General Kaledin.

The number of prisoners, taken up to the month of July, had risen to 225,000, but our losses had also attained the colossal figure of 300,000.

The results of the victorious offensive of the Russian armies in Galicia were felt on all fronts.

The Italian army had been saved, and the pressure of the Germans on Verdun had also slackened. But it also influenced the situation on the German front in Russia, to the north of the marsh and forest region of Polesia, for it was on that front in the first place that the Germans were obliged to draw, in order to rescue their Austro-Hungarian allies.

General Evert's heart, however, failed him when the moment came to deliver the great blow in the direction of Vilna, which had been decided on in the middle of July. His offensive towards the north of Baranovichy with only one army corps, was beaten off. Another attack, though undertaken at the beginning of July, had no better result.

Brusilov ascribes these reverses to the lack of determination on the part of General Evert, and he is to a certain degree right. It must, nevertheless, not be forgotten that the chances of piercing the German front were far different from those of piercing the Austro-Hungarian. The difference did not consist in the strength of the fortified positions, for these were equal on both fronts. It

consisted in the fact that the morale of the Austro-Hungarian troops had already been sorely shaken, whereas that of the Germans had remained at its former height. For this reason there were hardly any chances of our succeeding in breaking the German front with our insufficient heavy artillery, although this had been successfully accomplished by our South-Western group against the Austro-Hungarians.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE BATTLE

From 9 July to 12 August

The unsuccessful operations of our Western group of armies caused the Tsar's Headquarters to make a radical change of strategical plans.

On 9 July, General Alexeyev sent round instructions, according to which the leading role was entrusted to the South-Western group of armies, whereas the tasks now given to the Western and Northern groups were only of secondary importance.

This led to the second period of the Galician Battle. Reinforcements were now sent to the South-Western group: the Guards and two army corps. But the transport of these troops was very much delayed, because our shortest rocade railway lines had fallen into the hands of the enemy during our retreat in 1915.

The principal object of the South-Western group was to be the capture of the railway junction of Kovel. We are unable to discuss here to what extent this was General Alexeyev's own idea or a concession to General Brusilov's obstinacy. After the great victories scored, the latter's advice carried particular weight with the Tsar. We only want to point out here that if in the first period of the Galician Battle the direction on Kovel never had the importance ascribed to it by General Brusilov, it was still less so during the second period. In fact, the idea of drawing nearer to the main offensive of our Western group no longer existed, this operation having been given up. The South-Western group had now become the leading one, and the selection of its main objective was therefore of the utmost importance.

Such an objective should have been, as before, the defeated Austro-Hungarian army, which was still in a most critical situation, in the direction of Lemberg, and could probably have been annihilated. Although General Brusilov persisted in his strategical idea of delivering his main offensive in the direction of Kovel, finally he

could not help admitting, in the beginning of July, the importance which also attached to the Lemberg direction. For this reason the operations of the South-Western group were split up into two diverging lines—on Kovel *and* on Lemberg; but all reinforcements, as they arrived, were sent to the first.

Three armies advanced on Kovel —

The 3rd Army, which had been detached from the Western group and placed under the command of General Brusilov, the "Special Army," consisting of the Guards and army corps sent as reinforcements; the 8th Army, under General Kaledin.

After all the reinforcements had arrived, a stubbornly contested battle was fought on the river Stokhod, beginning on 28 July. The unfavourable local conditions of a marshy and wooded country rendered the offensive operations very difficult; at the same time, delay in the transport of the troops which were due to arrive on the south-western front, allowed the enemy to gain time.

On the Stokhod and on all the roads leading to Kovel a strong German front had been organised. As a result, notwithstanding the heroism of the troops and the heavy losses sustained, especially among the Guards, no progress could be made in that direction.

On 12 August the Special and 3rd Armies, fighting on the Stokhod, were taken from the commander of the South-Western group and given over to the commander of the Western group. I believe this measure was a consequence of General Alexeyev's decision not to persist any more in an offensive towards Kovel, as it had only caused unjustified losses. Knowing that in his stubbornness General Brusilov was absolutely regardless of loss of human lives, General Alexeyev entrusted the more cautious General Evert with the operations on Kovel.

In the direction of Lemberg three other armies were operating. On the right flank the 11th Army was advancing, directing its main blow *via* Brody. The 7th Army was in the centre, pushing forward through Monasterzhisko. In the trans-Dniestrian area the 9th Army was fighting its way towards Stanislawow. Thus our armies, operating in the direction of Lemberg, threatened with a deep turning movement the 60 km. central sector of the original strongly fortified position which, as has been said, the Austro-Hungarians still held.

This manœuvre was completely successful. Great victories were won: by the 11th Army in the region of Brody, the 7th on the Koropets, and the 9th in the region of Tysmennitsa, compelling this centre of the enemy to retreat 25 km. to the west, in the direction of Lemberg. By the beginning of August the whole of the strongly

Припять
 R. Pripyat
 Стоходъ
 R. Stokhod
 Ковель
 Kovel
 Луцкъ
 Lutsk
 Дубно
 Dubno
 Броды
 Brody
 Львовъ
 Lwów
 Тарнополь
 Tarnopol
 Станиславовъ
 Stanislawow
 Коломыя
 Kotomea
 Черновицы
 Czernowitz
 Кимполунгъ
 Kimpolung

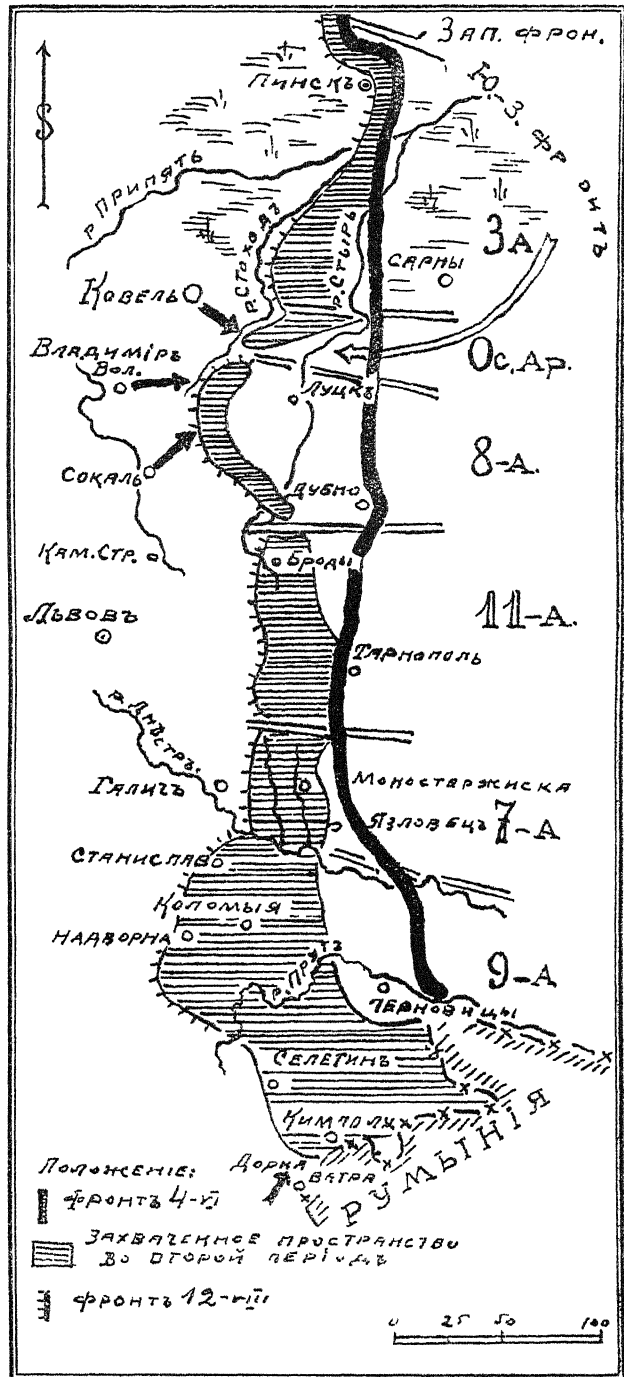


FIG. 3.

were to invade Transsylvania, beginning their offensive on 27 August. It was to be supported by Russian troops, and accordingly the 9th Army was ordered to move south, to the Carpathians, being thus no more available for any operations in the western direction.

With the beginning of October military activity on the front of the South-Western group gradually slackened and finally ceased altogether. Such was the end of the Galician Battle of 1916.

CONCLUSION³

To conclude, I propose to sum up the results of this outstanding military operation.

The Galician Battle lasted four months. The importance of our tactical successes is shown by the following figures: the Russian armies had taken 425,000 prisoners. These brilliant successes are the best proof of the gallantry and heroism of the troops. The price of victory was 700,000 rank and file killed or wounded.

The honour of this victory belongs to General Brusilov. Not only had he laid down a practical idea for the tactics of his troops, he also displayed sufficient courage and will-power to insist on its realisation. In this respect the merits of Brusilov are great, and public opinion has paid him due tribute by christening the Galician Battle "Brusilov's Offensive."

The strategical results of the Galician Battle are equally important. The enemy's forces were drawn away from other fronts to Galicia. It saved Italy and greatly relieved France.

In his *War Memories*, General Ludendorff gives his estimate of the strategic position created on the German eastern front in the words: "Die Krise im Osten." This estimate of the critical position in the east by the German higher command found its expression in figures. On the diagram appended, Table 3, is shown the curve of the growth of numbers of German infantry divisions. The higher line shows the general increase of German forces in the course of the whole of 1916. If we follow this line, we see that from the end of May the German forces were increased by forty infantry divisions. The lower line shows that about the time of the start of Brusilov's offensive the total number of German divisions in action against Russia was forty-seven. From the beginning of Brusilov's offensive this number started to increase: in the course of June it increased by five, in July by six more, in August by seven more, in September by six more, in October by five more, bringing the total number of infantry divisions on the German eastern front up to seventy-six.

³ See Fig. 4.

It is true that from the middle of August the entry of Roumania on the side of the Entente had an influence on the increase of German forces on their eastern front, but we must not forget that the very entry into the ranks of the Entente by this new ally, who had so long hesitated to take this step, was brought about exclusively by the victory of the Russian troops in Galicia in the summer of 1916.

If we now look at the middle line, which denotes the number of German infantry divisions on the French front, we shall see that from the start of Brusilov's offensive to the end of August this number not only does not increase, but is even diminished by two divisions—and that in spite of the Franco-British offensive on the Somme. Thus the whole increase of German forces is absorbed by the Russian front. After the end of August we see that the increase of German forces is distributed sometimes to the Russian and sometimes to the French front; but this already coincides with the period when Brusilov's offensive had entered its last phase.

The dotted line (second from the bottom) marks the total number of enemy infantry divisions, that is, German and Austro-Hungarian, acting against Russia. These figures are taken only to the end of July; for the military archives of Vienna, to which I applied for the necessary information, could only satisfy my request up to that time. One thing is clear: the number of Austro-Hungarian divisions continued to increase even after the end of July.

From the point of view of military science, Brusilov's offensive is particularly interesting. A study of it will enable us to analyse the conflict between strategy and tactics which the World War has brought to the fore, in connection with breaking through modern fortified positions. In view of the excessive difficulty of such an undertaking, the relative tactical facilities must have precedence at the outset; but immediately the breach has been effected, strategy must again assume its rights to follow up and exploit success.

The putting aside of strategical considerations at the beginning of operations and returning to them immediately after a successful rupture, is the most difficult part of the military question, as far as it concerns the breaking through modern fortified positions. Acting otherwise, a leader, who in the interest of strategical combinations would give his troops a too difficult tactical task, runs the risk of a tactical defeat, which would cancel all his strategical plans.

General Alexeyev's plan, according to which the main blow was to be dealt by our Western army group in the direction of Vilna, is an example of such a faulty combination.

The other extreme is when a leader, who at the outset frees

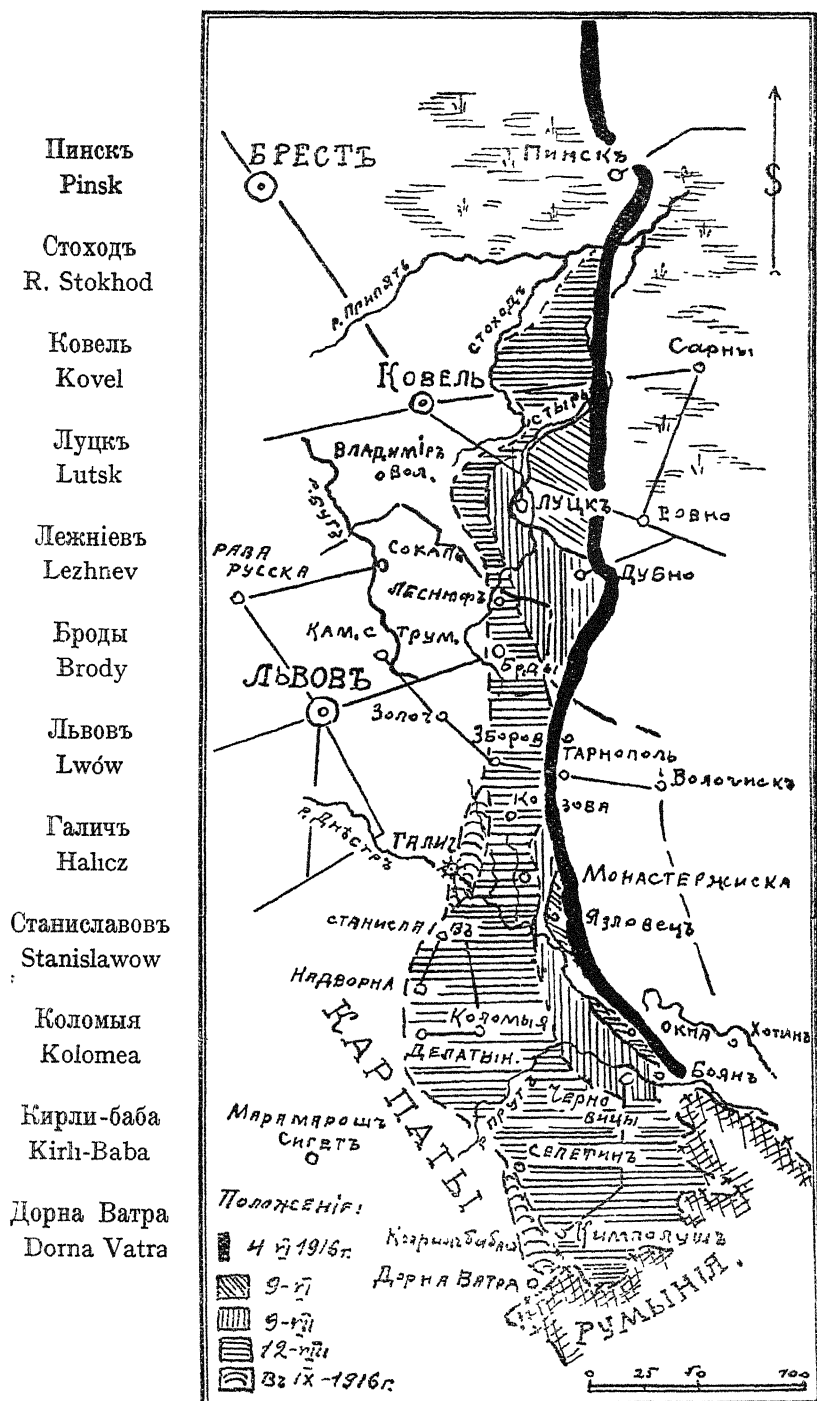


FIG. 4.

himself of all strategic shackles to assure first of all the tactical success of the rupture, does not return to strategy immediately after. In such a case the results of tactical victories cannot be followed up to their full extent.

This is what happened to General Brusilov. As I have already pointed out, the tactical basis of his offensive was excellent. His reward was a victory which surpassed all expectations, including his own. But he did not realise that his tactical successes had given him the strategic possibility of completely crushing the defeated Austro-Hungarian army.

General Brusilov's strategical talent was not on a level with his outstanding tactical ability.

NICHOLAS GOLOVIN.

TABLE NO. 1

The reciprocal numerical proportion of Heavy and Howitzer Ordnance of the two sides on 1 October, 1917, on the Russian front.

Denomination of the Army Groups.	On one km. of the front there were guns			
	With us		With the Enemy	
	Heavy.	Howitzers	Heavy.	Howitzers.
Northern	1·1	0·7	2·4	1·4
Western	0·5	0·4	1·5	0·6
South-Western	0·4	0·5	0·7	1·2

Extracted from the book *Russia in the World War, 1914-1918*, p. 28.
 Edited by the Central Statistic Department Section of Military Statistics.

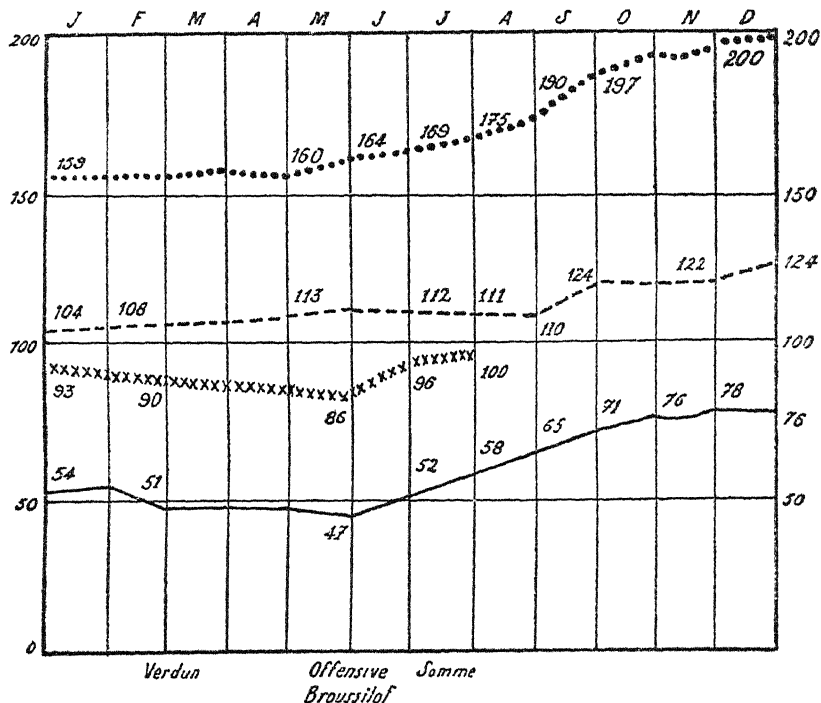
TABLE NO. 2

Effective force of the armies of the South-Western front on 1 June, 1916

Armies	Inf Div.	Cav Div	Batt of light Artillery		Total	Batt of heavy artillery. 105 mm. long-range guns and 155 mm Howitzer.
			76 mm Guns	120 mm Howitz		
8th	13	4	81	16	97	19
Gen Kaledin ..						
11th	8	1	52	12	67	6
Gen. Sakharov ..						
7th	7	4	50	9	59	6
Gen Shcherbachev ..						
9th	10	3	64	6	70	8
Gen. Lechitsky ..						
Reserve of the South-Western group	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total ..	39	12	247	43	290	39 of which . 13 batt 105 mm long-range guns 26 batt 155 mm Howitz.

TABLE No. 3

(1) Austro-German Infantry Divisions, 1916



- Total number of German infantry divisions on the French and Russian fronts—
 ----- Number of German infantry divisions on the French front
 xxxxxxxxxx Total number of Austro-German infantry divisions on the Russian front.
 ————— Number of German infantry divisions on the Russian front.

(ii) Austro-German cavalry divisions on the Russian front, 1916.

German	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Austro-Hungarian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22

EARLY ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS (1553-1613)¹

It is now just forty-five years since Professor William Morfill, the first pioneer of scientific Slavonic Studies in this country, began his work as lecturer at Oxford and chose as the subject of his inaugural lecture, "The importance of the study of Slavonic Languages". The first pages of this lecture which appeared in print in the same year, were devoted by him to an account of Anglo-Russian relations, of which he quite rightly recognised the importance. It also seemed to him that the best way of deepening and extending interest in the Slav peoples among the educated public in England was by choosing at random a few of those picturesque incidents in which the history of these relations is particularly rich.

More than one generation has gone by since then, and it is fortunately now possible, thanks to the use made of archives and the individual research work of scholars of all nationalities, including in the first rank the Russian scholar Inna Lyubimenko, to whom I am particularly obliged, to obtain a clearer light on many problems connected with the earlier diplomatic and commercial relations of England and Russia. The goal, of course, remains the same today: by giving a picture of Anglo-Russian relations to promote the knowledge of the Slav world in England, and by glancing back into the ever-living past to get a clearer insight into the historical connections of the past and the problems of the present.

King Chance presided at the smithy when the first links were forged in the political and economic chain connecting England and Russia. In May, 1553, a flotilla of three ships left English waters travelling north-east to seek a direct route to China, perhaps to India. To the west, any such attempts were blocked by America, which in those times was regarded as an inconvenient obstacle to access to the two mysterious lands with all their legendary glories. The adventure suited the spirit of the times. Since the days of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, sea-going Europeans had been filled with a passion to discover unknown lands and peoples. Business calculations mingled with the curiosity of the adventurer, the desire for wealth with the longing for new and untried experiences—the commercial and the sporting spirit went hand in hand on these

¹ A public lecture delivered at King's College, 29 May, 1934.

voyages of discovery, a strange combination that, nevertheless, broadened the horizon of Europe and of humanity at large.

This expedition of 1553, however, took a tragic course. Two boats went to pieces in the ice off the coast of Lapland, and even the third, piloted by Richard Chancellor, was not destined to reach its appointed goal. When the "Edward Bonaventure," as it was called, ran into the Dvina estuary in August, 1553, the fishermen who fell trembling on their knees before the newcomers were white-skinned and spoke Russian.

Thus the first discovery of Russia from the north, as Milton called it, was made by the English. Like every other so-called "chance" happening, this also seemed to have been fitted by Providence into the scheme of things. The establishment of a direct connection between England and Russia, the two flanking Powers of Europe—was in the interest of both peoples, and in accordance with their political and economic destinies.

It was at this time that the last vestiges of the former power and domination of foreign merchants in England were abolished. Hardly a year before, in February, 1552, the Privy Council had withdrawn the privileges formerly accorded to the Hanseatic League. If English trade, however, were to develop and assert itself independently, it was necessary to discover new and wealthy foreign markets, preferably with economically backward populations.

That expansion outwards was vital could not be questioned. But in what direction? The greater part of the world then available to Europeans seemed already firmly grasped. South America was a Spanish monopoly; West Africa was an exclusively Portuguese sphere of action. India and China were only names to the England of those days. The Far North of Russia, on the contrary, seemed able to offer to Englishmen great and unsuspected possibilities. Russia seemed equally well able to supply both of England's most pressing needs—raw materials on the one hand and a market for the various products of her home industries on the other.

There was, moreover, at that time no cause for political disagreement between the two countries. The well-known points of friction between England and Russia were not developed until a later period of world history, and any conflicts which did arise in the earlier stages of the Anglo-Russian connection were such as could be settled relatively quickly by peaceful means.

England, therefore, had every reason for satisfaction with the discovery of Russia. We must now enquire how things were in the kingdom of the Tsars at the time of England's first appearance in the

White Sea. At that time various States, either alone or with foreign help, were preventing Muscovy from acquiring her much desired outlet to the Baltic, and were deliberately hindering her natural approach to the west. The emergence of a new political centre in Eastern Europe, the outward pressure of the great new political and economic forces in the districts round the sources of the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and the Western Dvina, were watched with distavour by Central Europe and Russia's neighbour states. There was fear of Moscow as a possible power on the Baltic, and, above all, there was fear of equipping the "enemy to all liberty under the heavens," as Moscow was then called, with the weapons of Western European culture. To give one example only, in 1548—that is, exactly five years before the arrival of the English in Russia—when 123 German craftsmen—say "spetsy"—were recruited by a representative of the Tsar to enter his service, they were never allowed to reach Russia. At the instigation of the Council of Reval they were stopped on their arrival at Lübeck, and their leader, Hans Schlitte, thrown into prison. We see, therefore, that foreign craftsmen of the 16th century who wished to go to Russia, irrespective of the particular craft or faculty to which they belonged, and in spite of all representations and even threats of war by Russia, were not favoured by the rest of Europe. And it was not very different in the case of independent Russian trade connections. Thus, Russia was deliberately isolated and cut off from other European nations by a cleverly woven barbed wire fence of prohibitions, intimidations, reprisals and acts of violence, while on the other hand no attempt was made to cultivate a real knowledge of that country.

Only if the isolated position of Russia is clearly grasped can the importance of the landing of the English in the Dvina estuary be understood as an emancipating factor. The position of Russia at that time was really that of an inland State. The Black Sea was beyond her reach, the outlet to the Baltic was, as we have seen, withheld from her, and the significance of the White Sea was not yet recognised. The re-discovery, therefore, through the arrival of the English, of the northern passage by the White Sea, which had been almost forgotten, seemed to be a godsend for Russia. "God's great ocean way" it was called. And so for 150 years—for St. Petersburg was not built until 1703—the White Sea became for Russia an outlet to Europe, ice-blocked, it is true, for six months out of every year, but still an outlet.

The journey from Muscovy to England was long and dangerous, and was seldom accomplished without considerable loss or damage.

But this route, which hastened the "Westernisation" of Russia, was from now on to form a direct and indispensable link, almost entirely independent of the favour or disfavour of neighbouring States, with the British Crown, with British trade and, above all, with British armaments. In the perfecting of the weapons of war England was, at that time, thanks to a happy combination of brains and capital, in a leading position. At some time between 1570 and 1575 we even hear of attempts being made to manufacture a kind of machine-gun, and it is well known that Henry VIII was the promoter of English artillery, with which friends and foes alike were impartially equipped.

Soon after the landing, the arrival of a "strange nation of a singular gentleness and courtesie" was announced in Moscow. The throne of Muscovy was at that time occupied by Ivan the Terrible, or, according to a more correct translation, Ivan the Stern, one of the most interesting and discussed personalities in the long line of Russian rulers. The character of this man has often enough been sacrificed to vivid imaginations, and it is only in the most recent results of Russian historical research that we can see more realistically in the bloody tyrant of Moscow what Platonov calls a "great historical force." We must especially not forget here what has already been pointed out by the founder of Russian historical scholarship, Karamzin, that the beginning of the English connection, and its continued cultivation by the Tsar, gives us "a new proof of the Tsar's wisdom and a new aspect of glory to his reign."

The significance of the landing of the English in the north of Russia was soon recognised by Ivan IV. The whole winter through, Chancellor and his companions remained in the Russian capital. The first Englishmen in Muscovy were given a reception of Oriental pomp and splendour. At the banquet in the Tsar's palace the dishes were of gold and the Boyars wore garments of gold cloth. The Russians even then loved demonstrations of splendour and outward show. But Chancellor was not only an adventurer, he was also a merchant. He made one of his companions draw up a report of the Russian coinage, weights and measures, and also of the commodities produced in the country.

When the English, in 1554, started on their homeward journey, they took with them a request from the Tsar for an English representative to be sent to Russia, and his full permission to trade freely with the country. It was now possible to proceed with the formation in London of the "Muscovy Company," as it was called, which was for centuries to be the deciding factor in the relations, political and

economic, between the two countries, and is even still in being to-day. The Company was given a definite form and established on a sound legal basis through the Charter granted by Mary and Philip in 1555 and confirmed some time later by Parliament; and its position was strengthened by the privileges successively granted by the Tsar. The membership at the formation of the company was 191, and was soon more than doubled. The members were recruited from the most varied classes of English society. The highest State officials, aristocratic families, London merchants, men of the various professions and—if one can regard them as a class apart—rich widows, were all enrolled.

The seat of the management was in London; the yearly meetings of the members, in distinction to those of other privileged trading companies of the time, were also there. But as both the purchase of Russian goods and the marketing of English commodities took place in Russia itself, the centre of gravity of the Muscovy Company lay within the borders of the Russian State, where its interests were watched by a number of agents on the spot. In this connection it has been rightly pointed out that the success of the Anglo-Russian trade connection depended largely on the capability of these agents. In fact, the agent, who actually lived in the country, was one of the few people in the Muscovy Company to whom the name Russia meant something more than a vague geographical term. The agent was a source of information for the Company. It was his duty to study the social structure of the unknown Russian nation and to get to know about all its strange customs and institutions. The agents represented the Company to the Tsar, under whose direct protection the English merchants in Russia lived, and on whose favour the continuance of their special position and any possible extension of privileges depended.

The methods used for keeping up the reputation of the English merchants in Eastern Europe strike us to-day as singular in the extreme. The power the agents exercised over all Englishmen carrying on the business of the company in Russia was practically absolute, and strict rules were laid down for their behaviour and way of life while they were in the country. All causes of friction which might arouse the Muscovites' inborn suspicion of foreigners were to be avoided by means of discipline and orderly behaviour. The men might not leave their common dwelling-house at night without special permission from the agent. Gambling, drunkenness, fighting, quarrelling, molestation of women, improper language, were strictly forbidden. Any violation of these rules rendered the culprit liable

to punishment or expulsion from Russia by the agent. There were, of course, no missionary ideas behind the activities of the company, which was a purely commercial concern. The religious beliefs of the Russians were to be strictly respected, and on this account, as also happened later in Japan, Protestants were preferred in Moscow to Roman Catholics.

In the most important trade centres of the then Russian Empire—in Moscow near the palace of the Tsar, in Holmogory, in Vologda, and later in Yaroslavl and Arkhangel the company erected its own settlements on land granted by the Tsar—spacious houses, sometimes even palatial, with living-rooms, warehouses and business offices. Other Russian trading centres, including the newly-acquired Volga towns of Kazan and Astrakhan, and the Baltic centres of Narva and Dorpat, also opened their gates to the English merchants.

Owing to the low cost of living in Russia, it seemed advisable in some cases to convert the raw materials on the spot, and in 1557 was begun the building of the first English rope-making works in Holmogory, which later were staffed by workmen brought from London.

In the summer, generally in July, on English boats of from 100 to 160 tons, the goods for the Russian people, luxury articles for the Court and, above all, military stores for the Tsar, were brought to the small but important clearing house, Rose Island, at the mouth of the Dvina. The most valuable imports in the 16th century were cloth goods, munitions, lead, copper, and other metals. English merchants also frequently appeared in Russia as traders with Mediterranean countries. Then, usually in August, heavily laden with costly goods whose sale was for the most part assured beforehand by orders from the English Government, the English ships started on their dangerous homeward journey. Chiefly naval stores, slups' tackle, wax, tallow, tar, sometimes grain, and rich furs at exorbitant prices—these were the chief contributions from Russia's side. As early as 1582, William Borough, Comptroller of the Navy, declared that the ropes and cables imported from Russia and with which the entire English fleet was soon equipped, were the best obtainable. The Muscovy company even claimed some credit for the victory over the Armada, for the quality of the goods with which they had provided the English fleet.

The financial structure of the company deserves particular mention and assures it of a special place in the records of English economic history. While all similar English trading enterprises at that time belonged to the type of the regulated company in which

every member embarked his private capital, the Muscovy Company indicated the type of the future, with a common working capital, common profit and loss account and an equal division of profits according to the amount of capital invested. This company, therefore, which was called into existence in order to carry on trade with Russia was the first English joint stock company.

The success of English trade in Russia and its dominating position in the 16th century were due in the first place to the privileges which were accorded to the Muscovy Company by the Tsar and the English Crown. To begin with, the company possessed an exclusive monopoly of the northern route to Russia. Commercial traffic through the White Sea was forbidden to all other nations, and also to English merchants who were not members of the company. A further extremely important privilege, which for nearly a century constituted the main support of English commercial relations with Russia, was the right of duty-free trade throughout the whole Russian State. This right was never to be granted to any other nation. An important source of revenue to the company was, further, the right of free transit through Russia to Persia. Thus, so long as the Persian Gulf was controlled by the Portuguese, the nearest route from London to Persia lay via Archangel and Astrakhan. One must also mention the permission accorded to English merchants to travel freely in and out of Russia—a favour the importance of which it is hardly necessary, in these days, to emphasise.

Thus, from the very beginning, in the foreign trade of Russia, most important positions were held by Englishmen, and this advantageous situation served not merely to supply the every-day needs of English trade, but was in line with the tendencies of the early British Imperialism and furthered the interests of the nation and the State. The English Government's first attempts to secure colonies had met with no success. On the other hand, it was the English nation itself, with the ambitious merchant class at its head, which had successfully created an entirely new conception of the importance of the sea. The sea, hitherto regarded by statesmen mainly as England's natural and magnificent defence against the Continent, was now seen in a new light as a means of progress and a link with other nations. Here in Russia the trading spirit of the nation created a wide field for English intelligence and commercial initiative and a sphere of work for English craftsmen, technicians and soldiers, as well as a provisioning centre for the English fleet. And even after the establishment of political relations between the two countries, a considerable part of the State functions continued

to devolve upon the company. As in Constantinople, where the agent of the Levant Company was actually at the same time English Ambassador at the Porte, so the agents of the Muscovy Company were frequently entrusted by the Government with diplomatic business. In consequence the often very high cost of the English Ambassador's journeys to Russia and the expenses of the Russian delegations in London were borne by the company. On the other hand, the Government was often impelled by pressure from the company to take diplomatic action in Eastern Europe, so that one can see how private and State interests played into each other's hands. And it is clear that the earlier political and economic relations between England and Russia can be studied and understood only as one complete whole.

As to Russia, the provisioning of the Russian army with imported English cloth, weapons and war munitions, was certainly a great advantage for the bellicose Ivan the Fourth. But he wanted still more. In the extensive promotion of English trading interests in Russia he saw the means of acquiring English political co-operation in his struggle for the Baltic. If the development of Anglo-Russian trade was mainly due to the activities of the English merchants, the intensifying of Anglo-Russian political relations both now and later was the work of the Russian rulers themselves.

The district between Libau in the west and Narva in the east, known as the Livonian Confederation, which was so important geographically and politically, was by the middle of the 16th century little more than a remnant of the Middle Ages, and showed distinct signs of disintegration. With a sure instinct, Ivan, in opposition to his advisers, who were in favour of continuing the southern war against the Tartars, decided to fight for the Livonian inheritance and the acquisition of the Baltic ports of Reval, Pernau and Riga. On the Russian side hereditary rights and religious and ecclesiastical claims provided a sufficient excuse, but any loss of time would be dangerous. Livonia was already being described by contemporaries as "a bride rich and desirable for all." A historian of our time compares her position with that of the Bosphorus in the 19th century. In 1558 the Russians crossed the Livonian border, and not till 25 years later were the hostilities then begun once more laid aside.

The long and stubborn struggle for Livonia had its influence on the development of Anglo-Russian relations. Through the action of Russia the whole of Eastern Europe was set in motion, and Poland and Sweden, the neighbours most directly interested in the fate of Livonia, were drawn into the war. So Russia found herself pitted

against a strong coalition, and was soon obliged to look towards Western Europe for help and support. At that time no diplomatic relations existed between France and Russia, the latter country being regarded at Versailles as little more than "a den of thieves." The Holy Roman Emperor and the German Empire, intimidated by the emergence of Russia, were more inclined to take the field against her than on her side. The English Queen Elizabeth, the protectress of her country's trade, seemed to the Tsar to be his natural ally. In Germany at that time rumours were abroad and were taken with great seriousness, that the Tsar intended to continue his march on the west as far as the Netherlands and England. It was, however, a fact that Ivan IV, in 1567, sent to the Queen through the well-known discoverer, Anthony Jenkinson, a formal offer of alliance—an extremely significant document. The central idea of this very modern proposition was, that the enemies of the one country should automatically become the enemies of the other. The right of the Tsar to purchase war material in England, the right to engage English shipbuilders for Russia, and, above all, at the expense of her trade with Poland, England's active support were all to be assured by this secret offensive and defensive alliance. One of the requests made by the Tsar is to be understood only in the light of his dangerous struggle with the Boyars and the constant fear of civil unrest. The Autocrat of Russia actually asked Elizabeth, privately, on a basis of reciprocity, for the right of asylum in England in case of personal danger to himself.

However, Ivan's attempts to conclude an alliance with England were not successful. Although the Queen declared the hospitality of England open to the Tsar, for the rest her reply was negative, and necessarily so. What stood in the way of an Anglo-Russian alliance at that time?

The position of the two countries has hitherto been studied by historians much too faithfully through the eyes, as it were, of the English merchants in Moscow, and without sufficient regard to Anglo-Polish relations, which were of the highest importance and had, above all, a very great influence on the development of the relations between England and Russia. It seems that it was the close interweaving of English national interests with Polish economics that led in the end to the wrecking of the Russian attempts at an understanding with England. It was impossible for Elizabeth to risk the important positions and trade held since the 14th century in the "Far East of the Middle Ages"—I mean in the Baltic-Polish area—through the economic blockade of Poland and the

one-sided, pro-Russian agreement demanded by Ivan. Protests had already been received by the English Queen from the Polish King, Sigismund August, on the subject of the sale of weapons of war to Russia. From Eastland, as Prussia, Poland, Livonia and Estonia were at that time collectively called, until the discovery of sources of supply in North America, England drew large quantities of much needed naval supplies. And England, which was just then changing from tillage in open fields to grazing in enclosures, was largely dependent on Polish grain. The increased importation of grain from Poland, besides hastening the development of serfdom there, was one of the means which made it possible to avert in England famine riots and a rising of the Catholics. It is evident, therefore, that Elizabeth had important grounds for refusing to undertake anything which might endanger the *status quo* in Eastern Europe.

The foreign policies of Russia and England also ran on different lines. Russia had at that time no connections with England's arch enemy Spain. It was not till the beginning of the 18th century that the tension between England and Russia led to a Russo-Spanish approach.

The refusal of Elizabeth in 1568 to consider the proposals for an alliance put Anglo-Russian relations to a severe test. Only with the greatest trouble did the very able English Ambassador, Thomas Randolph, in the next year at a private nocturnal audience at the Tsar's palace succeed in reconciling Ivan the Fourth and even in obtaining from him a new privilege for the English merchants.

But when the new Russian delegate returned in 1570 to Moscow without a signed treaty of alliance, the break was inevitable. Elizabeth preferred then, as later, contrary to the wishes of the Tsar, not to bind herself as to the future. This policy of a free hand, so characteristic of England, was, however, over and over again rejected by the Tsar as a factor of too great uncertainty. And at last Ivan raised his arm for a powerful blow at the Muscovy Company. In 1570 all the goods of the company were confiscated and their privileges withdrawn. It was also at that time that a communication of great psychological interest was sent by Ivan to the Queen, containing the now famous reproach: He the Tsar had thought he was dealing with an independent monarch, but now he saw—I quote his very words—"that there be other men that do rule, and not men but bowers and merchants, the which seek not the wealth and honour of Our Majesties, but they seek their own profit of merchandise, and you flow in your maidenly estate like a maid."

In modern comparative constitutional history the study by

periods has been replaced by the study of types—the insular type, the continental type, etc. The Autocrat of Russia, the first to wear the crown of a Tsar, and paradoxically enough, the first also to seek the right of asylum in England, who later regarded with horror the Polish electoral kingdom and yet was himself a candidate for the Polish crown, looked with contempt upon the woman representative of the insular State and upon the land to whose language even the word “Absolutism” was always to be foreign.

The anger of the Tsar and his action against the Muscovy Company were, however, contrary to the real interests of his country, and as early as 1572 the breach was healed and the company reinstated in its former rights. But the Tsar's renewed suggestions to conclude a solid, close and formal alliance in London in the seventies were again unsuccessful, the Queen now proudly declining his offer of the right of asylum in Russia: “if our subjects—she wrote—should never so little conceive that we grew into any doubt or suspicion of any change or alteration in them towards us, it would breed so dangerous a misliking in them, as might put us in peril of our estate”

The idea of a political alliance with England never left Ivan IV to the end of his life. He still clung to the conception that “first princes' affairs are to be established and then merchants'.” In 1582, two years before his death, the Tsar again laid before the Queen his former offers. This time there was even included, as suggested by his English physician, Robert Jacob, a request from the monarch himself, now fifty-two years old and already seven times married, for the hand of the Queen's kinswoman, the Lady Mary Hastings. All Elizabeth's attempts to represent the lady as ugly, weakly, and altogether undesirable, were in vain. The Lady Mary had in the end to be shown to the Tsar's emissary, and, to Elizabeth's horror, met with his entire approval. In his report to the Tsar, the Ambassador praised the lady's slim figure, white skin, grey eyes, fair hair, straight nose, and long fingers, and it was only owing to the sudden death of the Tsar, who had fully intended to come to England for a personal inspection, that the bickerings in the two courts over the lady's charms finally came to an end.

The zenith of the English influence in Russia and the privileged position of her merchants in Moscow passed at the death of Ivan IV. Not without reason was Ivan given by a Russian dignitary of the time the name of the English Emperor. Under his successors the relations between the two countries became distinctly cooler, in spite of the fact that the Russian representative in London, Mikulin,

was even willing to protect Elizabeth actively against the plot hatched by the Earl of Essex. Negotiations for an alliance were not continued, and the emphasis shifted to the economic side. But English trade in Russia was also dwindling. Ivan's son, Feodor, failed to renew the privileges of the Muscovy Company in their entirety. The right to the exploitation of the Russian iron mines was withdrawn, Russian workmen were trained, and the mines came under Russian control. Retail trade and the sale of goods not of English manufacture was forbidden to Englishmen, and the worst blow of all was the prohibition of the transit traffic to Persia, which formed one of the company's chief sources of revenue.

All the hopes of the English merchants of regaining their former dominating position were now centred in Boris Godunov, the Lord Protector, as they called him, who, after the death of Ivan IV, succeeded in obtaining first the power, and finally, in 1598, the crown itself. But Tsar Boris was no longer in a position to fulfil the far-reaching expectations of the English. As in the past the anger of Ivan the Fourth, so now the sympathies of Boris for England had to be subordinated to the interests of the Russian State. It is true that Godunov, as a man of comparatively humble birth, and the first man outside the family of Ruric to mount the throne of Muscovy, found it necessary to create for his family an improved and assured position, and attempted, though without success, to secure the hand of an English princess for his son and thus form a dynastic connection with the English throne. As with Ivan IV, at the first signs of disaffection against himself, Boris had his treasure chest removed to Solovki in the north of Russia, ready for transport to England. But England now had to share Boris's sympathy for European culture and for Europeans in Moscow with other nations, for instance, with France and Holland. As Russia was now making strenuous efforts to extend her foreign political relations, it was clearly impossible for the English to retain the monopoly of the northern trading route through the White Sea. And, moreover, it might in the end become a danger to Russia if her direct trade relations with Europe were dependent on the favour of one country.

In spite of all this, it would not be true to the facts to regard the state of Anglo-Russian trade in the beginning of the 17th century as unfavourable. England still had a leading position, and while other foreigners were limited to the north, English merchants were still able to travel freely up and down the country. And they were also the only foreigners who possessed the important privilege of customs-free traffic of goods in and out of Russia.

The strength of the English position was shown particularly clearly during the so-called "Time of Troubles" in Russia, one of the greatest political and social upheavals of Russian history, the extent and significance of which can only be rightly appreciated in the light of the happenings of our own days. While all other foreigners hurriedly left Russia, the English continued in Moscow, and managed to get their privileges renewed by each of a rapid succession of Tsars. Even Muscovy glass seems, at the time when everything had gone to pieces, to have been among the goods exported by the English. And the strength, on the other hand, of the English Government's desire to retain this position can best be seen by James I's consent to the highly remarkable proposal made to him, that part of the Russian State, which was clearly falling into decay, should become part of the British Kingdom.

In the winter of 1612, Captain Thomas Chamberlain, who had been for some time in the service of the Tsar, handed to the King a most peculiar memorandum in which James I was informed of the preference of certain classes of the Russian population rather "to cast themselves into his hands than any others." While indicating "the distressed estate of the people of Moscovia," and particularly the great danger of the annexation of Russia by Poland, Chamberlain pleaded with the King to accept "an offer of the sovereignty of that part of Moscovia which lay between the Archangel and the River Volga with the tract along that river to the Caspian or Persian Sea, or at least the commands and protection of it with liberty and assurance of that trade." Thereby would be assured the equipment of the Royal Navy with ships' commodities independent of the "courtesy and mercy of the King of Denmark," the building up of trade relations with the "remote parts of the East and North-East," independent of the control of the Turks and the Spaniards, and also an increase in the English national revenue. "Since Columbus offered King Henry VII the discovery of the West Indies," no such magnificent offer, said Chamberlain, had ever been made to England. The question as to whether the English king should assume sovereignty or merely a protectorate of the route from Archangel to Persia was left open by Chamberlain. On the other hand, it is not quite correct to represent his project as a proposal for the acquisition of Russia by James I, as is done, for example, by Inna Lyubimenko, who was the first to make known this extraordinary episode in the history of Anglo-Russian relations. James's rule was, in fact, to extend only to the afore-mentioned northerly and easterly parts of Russia.

However that may be, Chamberlain's proposal was at first favour-

ably taken up by James. In April, 1613, the King was completely engrossed by the plan, and "sanguine of success." But when the two prominent members of the Muscovy Company sent by him as emissaries to enter into negotiations on the spot arrived in Russia, they found that the election to the throne of the first Tsar of the House of Romanov, which had happened in the meantime, had put a stop to any partition of Russia.

The first half century of Anglo-Russian relations passed under the influence of the genius of Queen Elizabeth for statesmanship. The plan of her successor, which it is true must be regarded as an extraordinary method for extraordinary times, was well suited to the general policy of James I, the symptoms of which were, to quote the words of the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, "extravagancies or paradoxes."

To sum up, if we now glance at the first sixty years of Anglo-Russian relations, we must admit that the interests of England were given the very highest consideration. The volume of English trade increased to a considerable extent. The English cloth industry profited enormously by the Russian trade. The provisioning of the English fleet was put on a broader basis. Unfortunately, we have no detailed information on the subject of naval stores in the 16th century, such as we possess for later times in the well-known book of the American scholar Robert Albion.

On the other hand, it was not possible that all that Russia desired from the relation with England should be satisfied. It is true that the "Europeanisation" of Russia through the setting up of English factories, and the influence of the English soldiery, was hastened, and the discovery of the northern traffic route brought Russia nearer to the rest of Europe. It seems almost unbelievable that, even in the 17th century, the Muscovite Ambassadors had to travel to Vienna and Italy by way of the White Sea. But in spite of many strenuous efforts Russia was not successful in obtaining the active help of England in the struggle for the Baltic. The English policy in the Baltic question was, on the whole, now and later, conservative and directed towards maintaining the existing situation. It is not by chance that England acted as intermediary and guarantor in peace negotiations in the East. Thus it happened that Russia reached the Pacific coast before she was able to set a firm foot on the Baltic. On the other hand, England set herself against all attempts to make Russia a Swedish or Polish colony.

S. YAKOBSON.

RUTHENES, CZECHS AND SLOVAKS (II).

THE ecclesiastical conditions in Carpathian Ruthenia developed on lines entirely different from those among the Czechs and Slovaks. It can hardly be doubted that the Russian population there brought with them from their earlier home an Orthodox type of ceremonial and succeeded in maintaining it. As a result, they were dependent upon Constantinople, although in reality this relationship was somewhat loose. Until the end of the 15th century, when a bishop began to rule the whole area with his headquarters at Mukačevo, it did not belong to any Orthodox diocese. The consecration of priests and certain other episcopal ceremonies were probably performed by prelates of neighbouring countries, the Metropolitan of Moldavia in the eastern part and the Bishop of Přemysl in the western regions. But the actual ecclesiastical administration involving the consistory courts, the appointment of priests, etc., was in the hands of the abbots of the Orthodox monasteries. Of these, there were at least seven in the 14th and 15th centuries in the district of Marmaroš alone, according to records which have been preserved. As a rule, however, they were evidently small monasteries containing only a few monks entirely dependent upon the founders and their heirs, who regarded them as their private property and, indeed, as a kind of business affair.

Apart from Mukačevo which, as we have seen, was governed by Fedor Korjatovič, the best known and the most important of the old monasteries of Ruthenia was that of St Michael at Hrušovo in Marmaroš. It was founded probably in the middle of the 14th century, or perhaps earlier, by the Voivode, or autonomous ruler, of the Wallachs, or Roumanians, who had settled in the south-eastern areas of the Marmaroš region and had been granted considerable privileges. At the end of the century two members of this family, who looked upon themselves as Hungarian magnates and became župans of Marmaroš, secured a specially prominent status for the monastery of Hrušovo and at the same time lavishly equipped it with material possessions. In 1391 they received from the Patriarch of Constantinople its recognition as an institution independent of any bishop and subject only to his own direct authority, and this arrangement also involved the acknowledgment of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of its prior over the clergy and people, mostly Wallach or Roumanian, on the estates of its founders. It would seem that this authority of the prior of Hrušovo was extended to other parishes in the Marmaroš area. In 1479 we hear that the Wallach priests

in Marmaroš were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan at Belgrade, but this jurisdiction would seem to have been only transitory and perhaps existed only in name. Shortly afterwards, about 1490, the supreme authority over the Orthodox Church in Ruthenia was transferred to the Bishop of Mukačevo.

It would appear that the Orthodox Church in the Ruthene districts was not materially restricted in its activities by the Hungarian State, in which the Orthodox faith long occupied quite a prominent position, but it is true that Orthodox institutions did not enjoy the same favour with the Crown and the nobility as those of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, while the Catholic churches and monasteries used to receive lavish gifts and bequests from the King and private persons, the corresponding Orthodox institutions lacked official support, received only scanty benefactions and lived modestly from their frugal resources. In the second half of the 14th century under Louis of Anjou (1342-1382) the situation of the Orthodox Church in Hungary became more precarious. Through the action of the Papal See a campaign was started against schismatics, and this was directed mainly against the estates and property of the Orthodox monasteries. This led to great material losses on their part, and the clergy connected with them, not enjoying the privileges which had been granted to the Roman clergy, found themselves reduced to the same degree of poverty as the simple Carpathian peasants, and in the end most of them lived in an equal state of subjection. Nor was any fundamental change brought about by the appointment of an independent bishop of Mukačevo towards the end of the 15th century.

The profound divergence of church life among the Slav population of Ruthenia and that of the Czechs and Slovaks, who were mostly attached to the Western church and entirely permeated by its spirit, rendered all ecclesiastical relations between them impossible. In that age all higher learning was identified with religious life, and the educational movement which became so active in the Czech lands during the 13th and 14th centuries cannot be matched by anything analogous among the population of Ruthenia. While, for example, there can be no doubt that the University of Prague, which had been founded in 1348 by Charles IV, exerted a great educational influence in Slovakia, scarcely any traces of such an influence are to be found among the Ruthenes farther east. It may be remembered that this University was distributed among four nations, and that the Czech nation comprised professors and students not only from Bohemia and Moravia, but also from Hungary. Of these Hungarian students,

who, as the university records show, were very numerous, no doubt many came from Slovak districts, and some were possibly Slovaks by speech and nationality, while the remainder were either Germans or Hungarians. As for students of Russian origin, it is doubtful whether a single one can be identified. Hence the Czech movement towards the reform of morals and the Church, which had its main centre in the University of Prague, and finally developed into the Hussite movement, found even fewer outlets in Ruthenia than in Slovakia, where we do meet sporadically with adherents of Hussitism. Later on, when the Hussite movement had assumed the proportions of a vast struggle between the Czech heretics on the one hand and the Christian world around them on the other, the Hussite armies made several incursions into Slovakia. But none of them penetrated as far as Ruthenia, the easterly limit having been reached by Jan Pardus of Hrádek, the captain of Tábor, who in 1433 invaded Slovakia from Poland and marched as far as Kežmarok.

Nor was Ruthenia affected to any extent by the long rule of Jan Jiskra of Brandýs, the Czech military commander who, jointly with Pankrác, a Slovak nobleman, held sway over nearly the whole of Slovakia from Bratislava to Prešov. So far as we know, however, only the county (comitat) of Užhorod, and not all of that, came under the influence of the Hussite movement. Thus, this vast upheaval which so profoundly affected the Bohemian lands from the social no less than from the religious standpoint, and which exerted considerable influence in Slovakia also, produced very slight effects among the Ruthenes.

In the end, however, the results of the Hussite revolution did affect the relationship of Czechs and Ruthenes. During the wars which were waged by Matthias, King of Hungary, against the Czech King George of Poděbrady for the purpose of enforcing the papal ban, the former, in 1468, gained possession of the lesser provinces of the Czech Crown—Moravia, Silesia, and the two Lusatias—whereupon he had himself crowned as King of Bohemia and assumed the position of ruler over these areas. The wars continued after the death of George and were only terminated in 1478 by the Peace of Olomouc. Matthias not only retained the royal title, but maintained his hold upon Moravia, Silesia, and the Lusatias until his death. Thus, under him these provinces were governed jointly with Hungary, and hence also with Slovakia and Ruthenia. On the death of Matthias in 1490, Vladislav II was chosen as his successor. All the territories of the Bohemian Crown were united with Hungary and thus also with Slovakia and Ruthenia, under a single ruler, and this

state of affairs continued under Vladislav's son Louis until the year 1526. This fairly long association with the territories of the Czech Crown was undoubtedly not without significance for Slovakia. It facilitated the direct contact of the ruling class, and especially the nobility, with the corresponding class in the Czech lands, it opened the way for western cultural influences and may also have strengthened Slovak national consciousness by instilling upon the Estates the importance of the Czech State and the Czech language which was their language also. But no such effect was produced in remote Ruthenia.

Not even when the Jagellons became extinct in 1526 did the association of Bohemia and Slovakia under the rule of a joint dynasty come to an end. It was renewed when the Habsburgs ascended the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones, and with brief intervals it continued until the Great War. Indeed, after 1526, this association became even closer than before, because the rule of Ferdinand I and his successors until the second half of the 17th century did not extend over the whole of Hungary, but only to its northern and western portion, which constituted the core of Slovakia. The remaining portions of Hungary were ruled first of all by John Zápolya, the opponent of Ferdinand, and after him by other antagonists of the Habsburgs, while in 1541 the whole of central Hungary with Buda, fell into the hands of the Turks.

A part of the Hungarian Estates, consisting mainly of the petty gentry, chose John Zápolya as King, despite the fact that he was of Yugoslav origin and had by his long residence in Slovakia, where he owned landed property, appreciably adapted himself to Slovak surroundings, and had been the acknowledged leader of the "national" party among the Hungarian estates actually before the Habsburg period. He already held sway over nearly the whole of Hungary before Ferdinand I had made good his claim to the throne, but had soon been driven out by the Habsburg armies and compelled to take refuge in Poland, where he concluded an alliance with the Turks. With their help he recovered a considerable proportion of his former possessions, but after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529 he was again driven back, though even then he still retained the district of Marmaroš, comprising the eastern half of Ruthenia; and this remained almost continuously in union with Transylvania for more than a century and a half, until it was permanently restored to Habsburg rule at the end of the 17th century. In addition to Marmaroš which at that time was thinly populated, two other counties of Ruthenia—Bereg and Ugoča—were, as early as the 16th

century, for quite a long time united with the Transylvanian area of Hungary, and in the 17th century these two districts belonged to it for more than 40 years (1606-1649), while the county of Užhorod continued to be in almost permanent union with the Habsburg realm. For many years it formed the only part of present-day Ruthenia which was under Habsburg rule and, indeed, was a kind of Habsburg enclave in the midst of territories held by the Transylvanian opponents of the dynasty

Fully half of the present-day Ruthenia, and in the course of time nearly the whole of its territory, apart from the county of Užhorod, did not belong in those troublous times to "Habsburg" Hungary. The basis of the latter region was Slovakia, and as it had the same rulers as the territories of the Bohemian Crown, it shared their interests. It also maintained active political relations with those parts of the country which were opposed to the dynasty, and the chief centre of which was Transylvania. Here, in the second quarter of the 16th century, had been formed a separate State virtually independent of Hungary and the Habsburgs, but recognising the sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte and paying it annual tribute. In this State, in which the bulk of the population was Roumanian and Ruthene, the Magyars were the ruling element, and in the opinion of Magyar historians, such as Eckhart, it was they who carried on the old traditions of Hungarian policy and, in particular, protected Hungarian State Rights from the fate which had befallen Bohemian State Rights after the battle of the White Mountain. Against this view it can be pointed out that the most eminent Transylvanian rulers of this State, especially Gabriel Bethlen and the two Rákóczys, did not act in any way as representatives of the Hungarian State idea. If in the 16th century efforts were still being made to reunite Transylvania with Hungary, the Princes of the 17th century were concerned only with maintaining and strengthening their independence. "Their measures and efforts," says the Czech historian Macúrek, "were not inspired by the idea of a Hungarian State, but by the scheme for a Greater Transylvania which would become a factor of power in Eastern Europe and acquire influence beyond the Danube and in Eastern Poland. In so far as they intervened in Hungarian affairs, they did so because Hungary, being a neighbouring State, might become the scene of their ambitious political plans, and their forces were turned towards it by Turkish policy and by the anti-Habsburg alliances concluded with the Swedes and with France."

Transylvania was drawn away from Habsburg Hungary, in

which the Catholic Counter-Reformation was winning more and more decisive victories against the Protestants, by its entirely divergent attitude in religious matters. Protestantism, especially in its Calvinistic form, had acquired great power as early as the 16th century, and in 1560 religious liberty had been recognised there. If we leave out of account the Kutná Hora convention of 1485, by which the Czech Catholics and the Hussites (under fundamentally different conditions, however) guaranteed each other religious liberty, we can agree with those Magyar historians who declare that Transylvania was the first country where religious liberty was established by law. This liberty, which survived during the later period, gave Protestantism in Transylvania ample opportunities of free development. Indeed, it is the decisive preponderance of Protestantism which explains Gabriel Bethlen's alliance with the Bohemian estates during their revolt against Ferdinand II, and also the support given by the Rákóczy Princes, who were known to have had dealings with Comenius, to the enemies of the Habsburgs during the Thirty Years' War and later.

In the first half of the 17th century Transylvania, which at that time included the greater part of Ruthenia, was passing through a period of active intellectual development, and this process was promoted by its close contact with the Protestants of Holland and Germany. In the middle of that century, however, began the political downfall of Transylvania. This was manifested particularly by its extreme dependence upon Turkey and the loss of all the Slovak and Ruthene counties of Hungary except Marmaroš. This state of affairs continued until the Turks were driven out of Hungary, and the whole of Transylvania was restored to Habsburg rule in 1696.

Very little is known about internal conditions among the Ruthenes at the period when it belonged to the non-Habsburg part of Hungary, or even when it was associated with the anti-Habsburg areas ruled by the Princes of Transylvania. Certain districts probably became centres for the Magyar refugees who escaped from the regions under Turkish rule, in exactly the same way as Slovakia, to which large numbers of Magyars at that time migrated from their homes in the great Hungarian plain. On the whole, however, Ruthenia was not affected by this stream of colonisation to the same extent as Slovakia, not only because the bulk of it was in the power of the adversaries of the dynasty, but also on account of the divergent character of its economic and social structure. The development of ecclesiastical and religious conditions among the Ruthenes was

quite different from that in Slovakia. There in the 16th century Lutheranism made progress not only among the German bourgeoisie but also among the Slovak population, both in the towns and in the rural districts, and as a result, there developed an active exchange of political and intellectual ideas with the Czech lands where the old Hussitism had been strongly affected by the influence of Luther. At that time the Protestant Slovaks migrated in large numbers to the Czech towns, and studied either at the University of Prague, or at other centres of learning, while many of them remained there permanently. On the other hand, many Czechs, especially during the second half of the 16th century, went to Slovakia, where the Evangelicals possessed well-appointed schools, and many of them remained permanently there as clergymen and teachers. This active intercourse between the Czech lands and Slovakia did not extend to Ruthenia, partly because it was under different rule and partly also because the ruling class there favoured different religious ideas, while the lower classes among the Slavs, devoted as they were to their inherited Orthodox faith, remained aloof from the subversive ideas of the Western reformation. Indeed, they were probably not much affected by the struggles between Protestants and Catholics in that part of Hungary to which they themselves belonged. It is evident that the comparative liberty they then enjoyed created conditions favourable to literature, with the result that the 17th century is sometimes known as the literary golden age of the Ruthenes. In other respects, however, the favour of the authorities did not fall to their lot, and the legal status, material welfare and standard of education of their clergy continued to be deplorable.

In order to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs a proposal was made in 1640 to amalgamate the Church in Carpathian Ruthenia with that of Rome. The idea was brought forward by Basilius Tarasovič, the Bishop of Mukačevo, who most probably was prompted to do so by Habsburg circles, but it did not meet with the approval of Prince George Rákóczy, who had the Bishop arrested and imprisoned. Rákóczy and the Protestant magnates round him undoubtedly objected to such a union because they considered that it would mean the triumph of Roman Catholicism with which they were waging stubborn warfare. Nevertheless, the Union was formally proclaimed in 1649 at the castle of Užhorod which then belonged not to Rákóczy, but to the Habsburgs. This union, however, left it open to the Ruthene clergy to retain the Greek Catholic ceremonial if they wished, and granted them the right of electing a Bishop whose appointment would be confirmed by the Holy See, as well as equality

of status with the clergy of the Roman rite. The union did not actually come into effect until later, when Habsburg rule had become fairly established almost throughout Carpathian Ruthenia. This was brought about through the intervention of Cardinal Kolonics, Archbishop of Gran (Esztergom), who, in 1690, entrusted the application of the Union to a Greek, Joseph de Kamelis, who was appointed Bishop of Mukačevo. At the same time, however, this bishopric of Mukačevo, which then extended over thirteen counties, comprising 823 purely Ruthene and 499 mixed districts, with 858 parishes and 690 priests, was placed under the authority of the Catholic Archdiocese of Erlau. This circumstance may certainly be taken as a proof that Cardinal Kolonics, as also the Habsburg Government in Hungary, and the Papal See, looked upon the Union as a step towards complete amalgamation of the Slav inhabitants with the Roman Church. In their eyes the Union formed only a part of the great work of counter-Reformation on which it was engaged with such resolute perseverance and success. The Uniate clergy, who were not anxious for complete amalgamation with the Roman Church, resented the dependence of their bishopric upon the Archbishop of Erlau, who exercised control over them through his subordinate clergy; and from the beginning of the 18th century onwards the Uniats made efforts to become independent. They did not achieve this until 1771, during the reign of Maria Theresa, when the bishopric of Mukačevo, the seat of which had been transferred a few years previously to Užhorod, was placed under the direct authority of the Archbishop of Gran as Hungarian Primate.

It can hardly be doubted that the Union, although on the whole it did not improve the social and economic position of the Ruthene clergy, promoted their standard of education, since it gave them an opportunity of studying at the Catholic seminaries in Trnava, Erlau, and particularly Vienna. The training received there had, of course, a Latin bias. They became acquainted with Latin scholarship which, since the Battle of the White Mountain, flourished both in the Czech lands and in Slovakia. This scholarship, permeated with the spirit of the victorious counter-Reformation and because of its Latin stamp, was unable to contribute towards the development of the national literature, but nevertheless it did indirectly affect it. The teachers of the School of Theology which was established at Mukačevo in the middle of the 18th century, and transferred to Užhorod not long afterwards, had been trained partly at Trnava and partly at Erlau, and they wrote in a literary language of their own which was a mixture of Church Slavonic with the local vernacular

By their training in Catholic seminaries of a comparatively high educational standard, the Uniate clergy, amongst whom was then concentrated all the intellectual life of the Ruthenes, escaped from their previous isolation from Western European influences: and this process of liberation, as among the Czechs and Slovaks, did much to kindle the Ruthene national awakening.

The restoration of the whole Ruthene territory to Habsburg rule, which made it possible to realise the amalgamation of the Orthodox communities with the Roman Church, also affected racial conditions there. We do not know what proportion of the present inhabitants were affected by the mass emigration to the Hungarian plains which followed permanent reunion under Habsburg rule at the beginning of the 18th century, and which caused large numbers of Slovaks and Ruthenes to leave their homes, especially in the district of Zemplin. It is, however, certain that this was also the period when Ruthenia, perhaps even more than Slovakia, began to be overrun by Jewish emigrants from Galicia, and after Galicia was united with the Habsburg Monarchy the Jewish influx increased enormously. At the county assembly of Užok in 1802, it was asserted that every fifteenth inhabitant there was a Jew, and six years later, at the Bereg county assembly, a complaint was made that along the Polish border numerous Jewish families had swarmed in and occupied nearly every available dwelling-place.

The more active intellectual intercourse of the clergy of Carpathian Ruthenia with the rest of Europe which had resulted from the Church Union, was doubtless the chief reason why, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, it was possible for the Ruthenes to feel the effects of the new ideas of nationality created by the French Revolution and German romanticism. These ideas had a considerable effect upon the rise and development of the national consciousness of the Ruthene people. Just as under the counter-Reformation Latin training of the clergy had given the same turn to spiritual life as in Bohemia and Slovakia after the Battle of the White Mountain, so now these new revolutionary and romantic ideas led their national development along clearly parallel lines. As a result, the 19th century brought the same national revival among the Ruthenes as it did among the Czechs, Slovaks, and other smaller nations of Central Europe, and when the Revolution of 1848 arrived, the ground for it was prepared here as elsewhere. This revolution gave the political leaders of Carpathian Ruthenia at the Slav Congress in Prague an opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of those fulfilling similar functions for

the Czechs and Slovaks. It was their influence which gave rise to the project for uniting the Ruthene counties of Hungary into a single unit, with a definite measure of administrative autonomy and the right of free linguistic development

This scheme, the origin of which is attributed to Adolf Dobryansky, a prominent political worker among the Carpathian Ruthenes, was put into effect, at least partially and for a brief period, by the Viennese Government after the Magyar Revolution had been crushed. Within the new centralistic organisation which the absolutist régime of Alexander Bach gave to all regions of the Habsburg Monarchy, a special Ruthene district was established, comprising the four counties of Užhorod, Bereg, Ugoča and Marmaroš, and Dobryansky was appointed as commissioner. The absolutist Bach régime, which weighed so heavily on the Czechs, brought the Ruthenes and also the Slovaks a brief respite from Magyar oppression, and while it lasted their intellectual life, and in particular their literature, flourished to a certain extent. They now turned away from the Latin culture of the preceding era and adopted Ruthene as their written language. It was, however, too remote from the language of the people, and therefore had to extend its resources by continual borrowings from the spoken dialects. Moreover, Russian influences were considerably strengthened by the arrival of Russian troops on Hungarian soil, where, in 1849, they helped Vienna to suppress the Magyar Revolution. Their presence in the Carpathians brought about a messianic Russophilism—that fanatical belief in help from Russia which henceforward became the distinguishing feature of all intellectual movements. It is worth noting that during this period a number of Czechs worked in Ruthenia, as also in Slovakia, in the interests of the national revival.

The fall of the Bach régime was followed by a series of attempts to reorganise the Habsburg Monarchy on the basis of political units and a return to the historic constitutions of the various provinces. This resulted in a certain intellectual progress for the Ruthenes. But as a result of the Ausgleich with Hungary in 1867, they, like the Slovaks, were once more shackled to Hungary, and entirely at the mercy of the harsh policy of Magyarisation. In the straits to which they were thus reduced the Ruthenes sought some measure of comfort in the Russophil messianism to which reference has already been made. At the same time, however, a movement gained strength among them in favour of closer contact with the peasantry and their language, as a substitute for Russian speech and a Russian national outlook. On the other hand, the intellectual

classes were succumbing to Magyarisation, and they absorbed not only Magyar culture, but Magyar national feeling with it. In the period before the war works of Ruthene scholarship and science were published only in the Magyar language, and Magyar papers were issued for the educated members of the community, the Ruthene Press being intended only for the people. The latter, however, had no clear national conscience and maintained their separate identity only because they had a religious denomination of their own. The conditions prevailing in this respect were revealed on the eve of the Great War during the notorious trial of Orthodox peasants at Marmaroš Sihot (Sziget). Proceedings were taken against 94 Ruthene peasants and clergy, who were charged with conspiring with Russian agents against Hungary. This is how the Magyar indictment interpreted the endeavour to convert persons to the Orthodox faith, and the result of the trial was that 32 of the accused were condemned to periods of imprisonment aggregating more than 40 years, in addition to heavy fines. The development of strong national feeling or, indeed, any real intellectual life among the Ruthenes was held in check by the wretched social conditions prevailing among them. Just as centuries earlier, they gained their livelihood partly as hired labourers, but chiefly by working on the land and tending cattle, but they had so little soil and so few cattle of their own that for the greater part of the year they were underfed. The medium holdings in land comprised only about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the arable soil, while the major part consisted of large landed estates. The rest of the land was divided up into such small holdings that it was inadequate to keep the population alive. For this reason large numbers of Ruthenes left their native country and went in search of work elsewhere or emigrated to America. There they came into contact with Czech and Slovak emigrants with whom they could easily make themselves understood in their native language. On the other hand, the Ruthenes who remained at home were almost entirely deprived of any chance of getting into political touch with the Czechs. The latter, who, at least in principle, took their stand upon their historical State Rights, could not concern themselves in any practical way with internal conditions in Hungary, which, so far as they were concerned, had been a foreign country since 1867. Nevertheless, the Czechs had by no means lost their interest in the Carpathian Slav populations, and on such occasions as the Marmaroš trial, openly manifested their keen sympathy with them. The Ruthenes themselves could keep in touch with their Slav neighbours and fellow-citizens only within

the narrow bounds of the Hungarian State, which limited any freedom of movement among the non-Magyar nationalities and systematically and deliberately stifled their intellectual activity

When at last the idea of national self-determination triumphed as a result of the war and brought into existence a free Republic, common to the Czechs and Slovaks, it also liberated the inhabitants of Carpathian Ruthenia from Magyar servitude, and by their own will their territory was proclaimed as an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia. The incentive to this originated with the Ruthene National Council in America which, in July, 1918, passed a resolution embodying these demands :—

1. The people of Carpathian Ruthenia should receive complete independence.

2. If this should not be possible, they should be united with their fellow-kinsmen of Galicia and Bukovina.

3. If this should also not be possible, they should receive autonomy (evidently within the scope of some other State which might perhaps have been Hungary, if it had retained its old boundaries)

On 21 October, 1918, a week before the proclamation of Czechoslovak Independence, this resolution was submitted to President Wilson. When he pointed out that the first two proposals contained in the resolution did not meet with the sanction of the Allies, the Ruthene Council in America was induced to concentrate its efforts upon the third. Two days after the resolution had been handed in the people of Carpathian Ruthenia were accepted as a member of the " Central European Union " in Philadelphia, the chairman of which was then Professor Masaryk. The Ruthenes were thus recognised as a separate nation entitled, in accordance with the principles of self-determination, to decide freely as to their future and the form of government which they desired. The representatives of the Ruthene National Council in America, headed by Dr. Žatkovič, then began to negotiate with Professor Masaryk with a view to incorporating Carpathian Ruthenia in Czechoslovakia. These negotiations began on 25 October, and nothing was known of them at Prague, when three days later, the Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed. They continued after that date, and on 12 November the Ruthene National Council in America resolved that the Ruthenes in former Hungary should join the Czechoslovak Republic, reserving for themselves certain autonomous rights. A plebiscite was then held among the Ruthenes in America, of whom 62 per cent. were in favour of the resolution, 28 per cent. voting for union with Ukraine, 2 per cent. for complete independence, and 1 per cent. for Hungary.

In Carpathian Ruthenia itself, although very little was known there about the action taken by the Ruthenes in America, the national liberation movement started shortly after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy. It created its own authorities in the form of National Councils which were elected at mass meetings and assemblies. These councils, the best known of which were at Jasina, Prešov, Užhorod and Hust, at first held very divergent views. In the end it was decided to adopt the attitude of the Prešov National Council, the chairman of which was Dr. A. Beskid. Its proposals were identical with those of the Council in America, recommending union with Czechoslovakia; and they were finally accepted at a mass meeting in Užhorod on 8 May, 1919, by the Central National Council, which had come into existence through the amalgamation of the Councils of Užhorod, Hust and Prešov.

From February, 1919, a special delegation from the Ruthenian National Council of America (Dr. Žatkovič and Dr. Gardož) and the chairman of the National Council of Prešov (Dr. Beskid), were negotiating in Paris with Dr. Kramář and Dr. Beneš, the representatives of the Czechoslovak Republic at the Peace Conference. These negotiations resulted in a decision of the Peace Conference to incorporate Carpathian Ruthenia with Czechoslovakia, and a clause to that effect was included in the Treaty signed at St. Germain between the Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia (10 September, 1919), at the same time as the Peace Treaty with Austria.

While these negotiations were proceeding, there had been a certain amount of unrest in Carpathian Ruthenia itself. Soon after 28 October, 1918, popular feeling began to make itself felt, particularly in the eastern regions. In November, 1918, the Huzul peasants demonstrated against the National Council of Užhorod, which had expressed itself in favour of the autonomy of the Ruthenes within the frontiers of Hungary, and they established their own Huzul National Council and militia at Jasina. This movement was temporarily suppressed by Magyar troops, but it broke out afresh when the Ukrainians arrived at Jasina early in January, 1919. This Ukrainian army was recalled on 5 February, whereupon the Huzul National Council took over the government and continued in power until 11 June, when it was dispersed by the Roumanians. The Roumanians were led to intervene in the affairs of Carpathian Ruthenia by the fear that it would fall into the hands of the Magyar Bolsheviks who had invaded it from the south. When in this emergency the hopes of assistance from the Ukrainians were not

fulfilled, the Ruthenes began to look more and more expectantly to the Czechs for support. As early as 1 January, 1919, when it was realised that—in accordance with the resolution of the Allies, notified to the Hungarian Government by the French staff officer, Colonel Vyx, on 3 December, 1918—the Czechs would occupy the territory as far as the river Už, a Ruthene deputation negotiated with Dr. Milan Hodža, the plenipotentiary of the Czechoslovak Government at Budapest, with regard to the details of this occupation, and on 12 January the first Czech legionaries reached Užhorod. When in the spring of 1919 the Czech troops began to penetrate eastward to the Už, driving out the Magyars and occupying the districts evacuated by the Roumanians, they were eagerly welcomed by the native population, who gave concrete expression to their sympathies for Czechoslovakia in the resolution of the Central Council at Užhorod on 8 May, 1919, already referred to. This resolution in favour of union with Czechoslovakia was subsequently brought forward at the Peace Conference and confirmed by the Treaty of St. Germain.

The reasons for which—apart from the actual desire of the population and their American compatriots—the Peace Conference was led to take this decision, were explained very clearly by Dr. Beneš in his recent speech on the problem of Carpathian Ruthenia. He pointed out that at the Paris Conference it was recognised from the beginning as equally impossible for Carpathian Ruthenia to become an independent State or to remain under Magyar rule, which would expose the Slav population to a relentless policy of denationalisation. Its union with either Ukraine or Soviet Russia involved insuperable obstacles, the chief of which was the resolute opposition of a powerful Poland. Under these circumstances, the only alternative solution was union with Czechoslovakia. In adopting this solution the Peace Conference was undoubtedly convinced that in the Czechoslovak Republic the inhabitants would enjoy the freedom necessary for developing their own national culture and preserving their racial individuality, and, moreover, that Czechoslovakia, where the chief nation is so closely akin to the Slav inhabitants of Carpathian Ruthenia, would be the most suitable of all Central European countries to undertake the onerous task of raising the standards of living in a territory which under the Magyar régime had been so scandalously neglected and oppressed.

There was, however, one further reason which influenced the Peace Conference, namely, the need for Czechoslovakia, in the interests of security and peace in Central Europe and a salutary development

of Central European policy in general, becoming a direct neighbour of Roumania.

It is thus clear that Carpathian Ruthenia was united with the Czechoslovak Republic in accordance with the wishes of the Slav majority of its population, with the consent of the responsible representatives of Czechoslovakia, and by a decision of the Peace Conference, prompted by very cogent motives of international policy.

When this decision took effect, Czechoslovakia signed a special Convention guaranteeing to Carpathian Ruthenia an autonomous status within the Republic, such as would entitle it to an independent Diet with jurisdiction in educational, linguistic and ecclesiastical affairs. The terms of the Convention ensured also linguistic and educational rights for the racial minorities and the appointment of a Governor responsible to the local Diet. These commitments can be carried out only in a gradual manner, and a more rapid handling of them cannot be attempted until a number of outstanding difficulties have been overcome. These difficulties are due mainly to the fact that the territory of Carpathian Ruthenia has now for the first time become an independent administrative and political unit. In the speech already mentioned, Dr. Beneš rightly referred to this circumstance as a great revolution, and added that it imposed upon the people of Carpathian Ruthenia a task which they had not hitherto performed and with which they could hardly yet be expected to cope. Without adequate preparations it was not possible to entrust the whole administration of the territory to a population which had never hitherto faced such a responsibility. Indeed, it was the duty of the Government of Prague by means of a period of systematic work in the political, economic and cultural sphere, to establish the essential conditions for a genuine democratic autonomy in Carpathian Ruthenia for the benefit of its Slav majority. The results of this work are already obvious, but there is still much to be done before the national cultural and political revival is complete. "Carpathian Ruthenia," said Dr. Beneš, "would certainly become the centre of serious struggles and European conflicts if its union with Czechoslovakia did not make it a guarantee of stability and peace precisely in that area of Europe which is the meeting point of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Roumania, and which is exposed also to influences emanating from the Ukrainian movement and from Russia."

The incorporation of Carpathian Ruthenia was not, then, prompted by imperialistic aims or by a selfish desire on the part of

Czechoslovakia to extend its territory and power. The decisive factors were the wishes of the native population as expressed by their authorised representatives, and the concern on the part of responsible international authorities for the best interests of a long and harshly oppressed people, and a sincere desire to achieve a settlement on a better and just basis than before the war, and thus to promote European peace. As Dr. Beneš rightly said: "In no other country would Carpathian Ruthenia enjoy so favourable a situation, no other arrangement would provide it with such a significant function in international affairs or enable it to settle its problems on so liberal a basis." The Czechoslovak nation has the right and the duty to insist that Carpathian Ruthenia shall remain an integral part of Czechoslovakia and to reject most emphatically any attempt to modify or change this state of affairs.

KAMIL KROFTA

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LORD DURHAM AT ST. PETERSBURG AND THE POLISH QUESTION (1832)

I

IN *The Times* of 15 August, 1932, in the customary column of reprints of centenary news, there was an account of the reception which had been given to Lord Durham a hundred years back, on his arrival in the capital of Russia: "Two or three papers contain a trashy account of an attempt made by the Emperor Nicholas to cajole the officers and sailors of the ship-of-war which took out Lord Durham to St. Petersburg. . . . The whole account is a disgusting exhibition of humbug, and will be read with contempt by every man possessing one particle of common sense." The report dates from the eventful time when a widespread yearning towards a further development of English ideas of liberty led to the Reform Bill of 1832, and when English people, exulting as they did at their glorious achievement, held it forth as an example of freedom and full citizenship to the rest of the world. And it was not without apprehension that they viewed the Tsardom of Russia as a force which threatened Europe with spreading by arms a doctrine opposed to the English conception of the Rights of Man.

Since George Canning's days English public opinion was being gradually educated to envisage Great Britain as a World Power which should hold a balance not only, as she had done before, between contending nations, but also between conflicting principles: the principles of democracy and of despotism. And as, at that time, anti-Liberalism was in power, the English public adopted, in opposition, Liberal ideas.

The blow which was dealt by Russia at Polish liberties after the insurrection of 1831 seemed an untoward happening, which portended a calamitous turn to the cause of European democracy. It was at that juncture of political affairs in Europe that the London *Metropolitan* wrote (September, 1832): "A fearful crisis in the destinies of Europe is approaching. That war of principles so eloquently foretold by Mr. Canning has already begun; and bold indeed must the man be who ventures to predict its result. In Germany the dense masses of the military despots are in motion to silence public opinion—to hurl back the march of freedom, patriotism and civilisation. Austria has nearly a million of men under arms; Prussia is putting her army on a war footing, and is calling out the

Landwehr; while Russia is rapidly concentrating her columns in the neighbourhood of Cracow. In fact, the moving principle of this anti-Liberal crusade is this last-mentioned power. Prussia is enchained in her political wake, the influence of the autocrat is all powerful in Vienna. In the midst of the preparation of this machiavellian war, we look with deep anxiety to the result of Lord Durham's mission to St. Petersburg. Of its precise objects we profess our ignorance; but if we can credit public opinion, it is of a nature to precipitate into open rupture the long-stifled jealousy existing between the two countries."

The *Metropolitan* had to confess its ignorance of the precise objects of Lord Durham's mission, as it was only in very indefinite terms that Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, had imparted them to the public. For, unlike his great predecessor, George Canning, who had based his foreign policy on the principle of popular appeal and, as a consequence, never hesitated to disclose State papers to the knowledge of the people, Lord Palmerston, in spite of his genuine endeavours to secure popularity, made certain inner aspects of his diplomacy impervious to the demands and inquiries of the British public. Still, on the verge of a new era of democratic ascendancy, so insistent a force as public opinion was not easy to disregard; every statesman had to pay some deference to its claims. So did Palmerston in all matters with which it was concerned; in the matter of Poland, too. Therefore, when suggesting to Lord Durham the necessity for his proceeding to St. Petersburg, he wrote to him: "... There are several important questions now pending which require the presence of a person of weight at St. Petersburg on the part of England, and which would form an appropriate subject for a special mission. These are: (1) The Belgian question ... (2) The affairs of Poland. Our communications with Russia on this subject have been anything but satisfactory, and it would be very desirable if something could be effected in favour of the wretched Poles, and in accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna. ..."

There was, at that time, an almost universal indignation in Great Britain at the destruction of Poland and her treatment at the hands of victorious Russia. The tender and anxious concern of the English population for the Polish cause was so widespread that the Government could not remain indifferent to what public opinion required them to do with regard to Poland. And so as to gratify its feelings, and to relieve what most heavily weighed upon its mind, the Foreign Secretary publicly announced in *The Times*

(26 June, 1832) that the main object of Lord Durham's mission was to effect a satisfactory settlement of the Polish cause.

Vague as they were, the intimations of the Government did not fail to inspire the Poles and their friends in England with hopes of some great advantage from Lord Durham's mission. On the other hand, the announcement of English interference in the Polish problem was bound to cause disquiet in Russia, and in Russian circles in England as well. Princess Lieven, wife of the then Ambassador in London, in a private letter to the Prime Minister (27 June, 1832), expressed her astonishment at the step the British Government was to take on behalf of the Poles; she was rather disposed to think that the announcement was either a mistake, or a make-believe, with some other purposes and intents underlying it.

Some days before Lord Durham's departure for St. Petersburg, the House of Commons resounded with a violent debate on the Polish cause (28 June). Words and passions, in its course, ran so high that, on the morrow, Princess Lieven felt compelled to give vent to her indignation in another letter to Lord Grey: "How deeply I regret the discussion that took place yesterday in the House of Commons, and above all, the silence of the Ministers while such insulting words were spoken of the Emperor. . . . Lord Palmerston's silence will have a bad effect at St. Petersburg, and despite all that we are trying to ensure Lord Durham a cordial reception, I fear much that this circumstance may have an unfavourable influence in the matter of his welcome." To which letter Lord Grey hastened to reply on the very same day: "I can only repeat what I said an hour ago to the Prince—that you cannot be more vexed than I am at what passed last night in the House of Commons. I did all I could to prevent the discussion, and (when I failed in that endeavour) to make the form of the motion unobjectionable. But I always feared, in consequence of the excited feeling which prevails on this subject, that there would be violent expressions in the debate."

So, in an atmosphere charged with bitter animosity towards Russia, Lord Durham set sail for St. Petersburg, leaving public opinion to solve the enigma of his "Polish" mission, and to conjecture the results which it was to yield in the domain of European policy. The enigma was all the more puzzling as Lord Durham was one of the most uncompromising members of the Whig Party and Cabinet, and the most decidedly opposed to the autocratic ideas of the Tsar. Why was it he who should have been singled out to go to St. Petersburg on a political errand? Was his mission meant as

a challenge to the Russian Emperor, a challenge pure and simple? Or was it a mere mistake, following upon a rash and inconsiderate decision? Lord Durham's was, assuredly, a perplexing and grievous situation: how was he, as a Radical, to face the despot's moods, and teach him a Liberal attitude towards Poland, to deprecate his policy of repression, and induce him to forego his triumph over a prostrate nation?

II

H.M.S. "Talavera," with Lord Durham on board, cast anchor off St Petersburg on 22 August, 1832. Oblivious of his English guest's political creed, the Tsar gave Lord Durham a most cordial and friendly welcome. On hearing from him about his reception at the Imperial Court, Lord Grey gladly took the opportunity of expressing his gratitude to Princess Lieven, who had been, to a very large degree, instrumental in predisposing the Tsar Nicholas in favour of the British envoy. "A thousand and thousand thanks, dearest Princess"—he wrote on 9 August—"for your kind note. I should, indeed, be most ungrateful if I could be insensible to the consideration for myself, and to the kindness and condescension which have marked the Emperor's reception of Lord Durham. Since I saw you, I have received letters both from him and from my daughter [i.e. Lady Durham] down to the 29th ult., and they both speak in raptures of everything they have seen and met with. Lambton [i.e. Lord Durham] has conceived a great admiration of the Emperor, from all his conversations with him, and speaks also with great satisfaction of his communication with Count Nesselrode. He is sensible, as he ought to be, of the kindness he has received from everybody."

Meanwhile, the startling news of the show of liberal hospitality, convivial spirit and kindly sentiments, displayed by the autocratic Sovereign, and the ready response of Durham, rapidly spread all over the country. Public opinion was amazed; Whig opinion, in particular, felt discomfited and avowedly uneasy. The *Morning Chronicle* (18 August) did not fail to note: "The conduct of the Emperor Nicholas to Lord Durham and the crew of the 'Talavera' attracts a great deal of attention in this country, and gives rise to many unpleasant suspicions and fears." The Tsar's forthcoming and cordial behaviour—according to a report from St. Petersburg, printed in another morning paper—were such as to surprise even Court circles. "No doubt it was surprising to all the Russian courtiers"—ironically commented the *Examiner* (19 August, 1832) upon this report. "They knew the man, and what his real feelings

were towards England; and well may they have marvelled at his princely skill in hypocrisy, and address in cajoling the admiring tars from the captain to the midshipman, who had the enviable honour of touching the hand red with the blood of Poland."

Besides the periodical press and occasional meetings convened for the purpose, the opinion of anti-Russian circles in England found also expression in the Parliamentary debate on 7 August, 1832, and in the speech delivered then by Sir Francis Burdett respecting the foreign policy of Great Britain. Incidentally, a poetical sidelight on events in St. Petersburg was thrown by Thomas Campbell in his rhymed address "To Sir Francis Burdett"; the allusion, in its closing lines,

Oh, feeble statesmen—ignominious times,
That lick the tyrant's feet and smile upon his crimes,

was unmistakable.

III

After two months' stay in St. Petersburg, Lord Durham was leaving for England. The results of his mission were duly conveyed by the Russian Government to their Ambassador in London. On being informed of how Lord Durham had acquitted himself of his task, Princess Lieven wrote to Lord Grey (1 October, 1832): "Lord Durham returns with a full conviction of the perfect good faith and loyalty evinced by our Cabinet. The reputation he has left behind him in St. Petersburg is of the best. Everybody writes to me in his praise."

Everybody wrote in his praise because, contrary to all expectations, he managed to keep the British Cabinet in strict amity with the Russian. He did not allow the Polish cause to stand in the way of his chief design: and this was—as transpired only at a later stage—to prevail upon the Russian Government to join with England in bringing about a settlement of the Belgian question, then pending and demanding prompt action. The affairs of Poland were handled by him merely in a fortuitous way, and with rare delicacy and restraint. Living and breathing, as he did, an atmosphere of perfect cordiality and correctness in his intercourse with the Emperor and the Russian courtiers, he became like one of them: he could not bring himself boldly to raise the Polish question, which was bound to offend their susceptibilities. But, although Princess Lieven had expressed her conviction, before his departure for St. Petersburg, that he would not be allowed at the Russian Court to say a word about Poland, still he managed to have some talks with Count

Nesselrode and other Ministers on that subject (never with the Tsar himself). In this connexion, he wrote a letter to E. Ellice, M.P. (29 August, 1832): "I have declared to the Russian Government an opinion of their proceedings in Poland, received from them explanations of their acts there, and made such representations of our feelings and those of the people of England as I trust will have the effect of promoting acts of clemency and grace, which was all we could expect." His activities on behalf of Poland were confined, then, within very narrow limits; all he wanted to effect was some mitigation of the vindictive severities in the Polish administration (which was promised him, but never carried into execution). English public opinion would have wished him to handle the Polish question on a higher, international plane, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna. This he did not do, as he feared lest the paramount object of his mission might thus be defeated.

IV

The bulk of the British public rejoiced at their newly-won victory in the Reform Bill campaign; they would have all the rest of the world enjoy the blessings of such freedom as they had secured for themselves; they were unreservedly hostile to autocratic Russia and wished for her downfall; and, anticipating a clash between the British Liberal envoy and the Russian Emperor because of the Polish question, they hoped for an open rupture which would check the progress of despotism. Their dreams and wishes were doomed to remain unfulfilled; they were far too remote from the political realities of the time.

In his private capacity and as a Liberal, Lord Durham was a candid well-wisher of the Polish cause. As a British statesman, he felt under an obligation to waive it, even in defiance of public opinion.

The British public, when pleading on behalf of Poland, expressed themselves in terms of political idealism; Lord Durham, when dealing with the crude actualities of diplomacy, had to cast aside some of his democratic ideals and bring his conduct into closer correspondence with the immediately palpable interests of his country. And this was what the Government expected him to do, in spite of the pro-Polish enthusiasm of public opinion.

T. GRZEBIENIOWSKI.

VINOGRADOV

(*A portrait by one of the most able of Vinogradov's pupils in his
Reminiscences of the Arts Faculty of Moscow University*)

To me Paul Vinogradov was the ideal of what a university teacher should be. I am not competent to judge of him as a scholar; his invitation to Oxford and his world-wide reputation speak for themselves. I can only remember him as an outstanding teacher who could, and to a certain extent did, create in the University of Moscow a school of his own. Vinogradov combined the two main qualities of a great scholar: memory and creative gift; the possession of a vast, previously accumulated store of knowledge and facts, without which the advancement of modern scholarship is impossible, and the skill in handling this store without succumbing to its power, without following the beaten track which it is then impossible to quit. Only through a combination of these two qualities can one avoid the danger of becoming either a learned dullard, a "bookcase," or a "visionary" in learning. To *know* a great deal and not to lose the faculty of *creating*—therein is the acid test of a real scholar. This Vinogradov could do with supreme ease. He had not Klyuchevsky's brilliance, nor did he care for it. He did not spend so much time and labour in chiselling his exposition. Vinogradov's courses of lectures changed every year, and he would not have waited six months for a subject "to bite at the hook." But whatever subject of conversation you would broach with him, he always had at his disposal a vast collection of analogies, comparisons, and illustrations from various epochs and various nations, which showed with the utmost clarity that in history everything obeys the infallible laws of social life, that there is nothing inexplicable in it. In disclosing and defining this regularity lay the crux of Vinogradov's lectures and his research work. Yet he never imposed on us the idea of this regularity, never tried to inspire it in us *a priori* as an axiom of his historical philosophy. It was a simple logical conclusion to which, after grasping Vinogradov's exposition, every one naturally arrived of himself. He lectured, among other things, on the history of the Middle Ages; for many people this course was a hard nut to crack, being quite unlike the usual presentation of that history. "My ideal," he once told me, "is to lecture about the history of the Middle Ages without mentioning a single proper name. They are unnecessary for its understanding." It was perhaps this abstractedness, which made history akin to sociology, that made his school textbook little comprehensible and of little interest to school children.

But where Vinogradov was irreplaceable was in his seminars. They gave a no lesser æsthetic pleasure than Klyuchevsky's lectures,

and a more valuable one at that. Vinogradov knew how to make his students work in front of him; he provoked objections, he tried to discover in every silly or naive utterance a grain of truth; he would develop other people's ideas, showing where they led and wherein lay the error. In doing this he would illumine his exposition with such a mass of instances and analogies, not neglecting contemporary life, that the logic of the historical facts became self-evident, while a new objective light was thrown upon modern events.

Vinogradov realised full well how unprepared our students were for serious work, but he did not build upon this a system of tuition, he did not make it a task of the university to provide that which the secondary school had failed to give. He organised two parallel seminars: one obligatory for everybody, another facultative, for the select—as we used to say, not without boasting, for the “specialists”; it was in this latter that our real academic education took place. These seminars were not numerous, but like Klyuchevsky's lectures, they attracted people from outside; those who came here had more serious interests, they did not come merely to listen to an effective lecture. I remember how there appeared at those seminars and began regularly to attend them an inconspicuous silent gentleman, wearing spectacles and ordinary civilian clothes, whom none of us knew. His regular attendance intrigued us the more since no one knew who he was. We began to suspect him of being an “observer.” The first time he addressed some questions to Vinogradov, the latter took the opportunity of inquiring with whom he had the pleasure of speaking. The stranger turned out to be Mr. A. E. Worms, a post-graduate student in Roman Law; later on we became great friends, and I owed him a great deal when I began to pass examinations in the Faculty of Law. Although Worms's academic interests lay elsewhere and he had already graduated in the Faculty of Law, Vinogradov's seminars were not only useful to him, but, as he himself used to tell me, they showed him for the first time *how* one must work. I could testify from my own experience that when I already became a practising lawyer, the school of thought through which Vinogradov had taken us proved of use to me more than once. One of the assiduous members of those seminars was also Gerschensohn, a connoisseur and admirer of old Moscow.¹ “Only one Slavophil is left in Russia and even that

¹ Once Vinogradov, with the words: “I am very proud of my pupils,” mentioned two names to me, they were Gerschensohn and Maklakov. He proceeded to tell me how scandalised he was when in spite of all his efforts Gerschensohn was refused advancement in the University on the ground of his Jewish blood. Later, when Vinogradov was asked by Stolypin if he would accept the Ministry of Education, he refused because of the rejection of his demand that such restrictions on Jews should be abolished.—B.P.

one is a Jew," Nicholas Homyakov used to say of him. A brilliant, fascinating writer and a great master of style, but incapable of making up a good sentence verbally; a fine delicate æsthete, with an exaggerated, almost caricatured Semitic appearance.

In Vinogradov's personality there was little puzzling; he was just a very gifted normal man, excellently brought up from childhood onward, widely and variedly educated, a European in the best sense of that word, a better European than many representatives of the West who had had time to become bored with European culture. Big and strong, of exceptionally good health (he did not know what a headache was, even when he was ill), indefatigable in work, he struck one by the depth and especially the clarity of his extensive knowledge, by the variety of his interests and tastes. Everything seemed to be within easy reach of his mind; he was more than a learned historian and sociologist; he had a definite and exact idea about everything; he had an excellent knowledge of European literatures, he loved and understood music and other arts; he was even a good chess player, a member of the Moscow Chess Club. One day there was a conversation about the navy; he cited by heart the names of all the Russian warships, giving the exact tonnage of each (it is true that he had a brother in the navy). His vast knowledge, which he always carried on him, so to speak, gave him a great measure of self-confidence; it was manifested in the tone, grave, even slightly solemn, which he invariably used for uttering emphatic statements, never to express any doubts or hesitations. He was a quiet, even somewhat indifferent man, to whom everything that was going on seemed clear and logical. Nothing could disturb his mental balance; that is why he was capable of laughing with such an infectious, childlike laughter.

As a student in the Faculty of Arts, I came to know Vinogradov very well, and could observe him at close quarters. But when I first saw him and first succumbed to his spell, I was still very far removed from the interests which later on were to bind us together. I was then in the Faculty of Science, and saw Vinogradov at the public debate of my former schoolmaster, A. N. Gilyarov, a son of the editor of *The Contemporary Bulletin* (*Sovremennia Izvestia*), N. P. Gilyarov-Platonov.

I went to that debate for the sole reason that Gilyarov was one of the few, not to say the only one, of my school teachers of whom I had a pleasant recollection. He taught us logic; this subject was, as a rule, neglected, and everybody was rather careless about it, especially as there was no examination in logic. Gilyarov himself took a purely formal view of it; he did not adopt the usual school

method, that is, he did not devote all his time to "asking questions" and "giving marks." His lessons were something different; he asked questions only of his favourite pupils, and this asking took the form of a dialogue, or even a monologue, during which he tried to stir his pupil's mind, to rouse him to retorts and objections, to discover his interests, and to impart to him something of which he had not thought. While such a dialogue was going on, the majority of the class did not even listen to it, preparing their lessons for more exacting teachers or just amusing themselves in their own way. Gilyarov was aware of all this, but did not care: "You are not interested; well, do as you please," was his attitude.

Gilyarov was our only teacher with whom we gave no thought not only to the examinations, but to the possibility of his "asking" us, testing our knowledge and giving us marks; we listened to him only in so far as what he said interested us. It must be said that in school teaching in general, the prospect of examinations played a not unimportant part; personally I felt an irresistible weakness for examinations as a kind of sport. In connection with the hypnotic spell which the end-of-year examinations exercised upon Russian schoolboys, I recall a witty remark made once by Klyuchevsky. With his usual graphic parallels, he began once to point out the difference between his men and women students. Comparing what the men and the women liked and disliked, what was a success with the one sex and a failure with the other, he explained among other things that men students were much better than women at understanding problems of law, while women students grasped much better the details and descriptions of life (*byt*). "This," he said, "is because women students always ask themselves what they should do in such a situation and how they would feel; while men bother about one thing only: what answer they will give on the subject at the examination." In my schooldays I used to be very fond of Gilyarov's lessons, and when I happened to hear that he, being at the time a professor in one of the southern universities, was going to defend his dissertation before us, I went to listen to him, looking forward to his triumph.

The dissertation had for its subject the sophists of Ancient Greece. I remember vaguely that before the debate, but especially after it, there were unfavourable rumours both about the book and its author. If I am not mistaken, the work had already been rejected by some other university, and only thanks to someone's patronage was it admitted by the Faculty in Moscow. Gilyarov himself, so liberal and progressive as a schoolmaster, appeared, as a university

teacher, to be a real obscurantist. It was perhaps because of those sensational rumours that the great hall of Moscow University where the debate took place was full to overcrowding; but I remained ignorant of them and came to the debate merely out of sympathy for my old teacher.

As was the custom, the debate began with a long introductory speech by Gilyarov. Of the little that I still remember from this long speech, I recollect Gilyarov's thrust at the French Revolution. "I do not deny the significance of ideas," he said, thus repeating a phrase which I had often heard from him at school; "I think that man's dignity is determined by the quality of the ideas in which he believes; but I have eyes all the same; I cannot help seeing that the ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality of the French Revolution led to the rule of the Jacobins who flooded France with blood, and then to the dominion of Napoleon who flooded Europe with blood." The dissertation was submitted for the chair of Philosophy. What the reference to the Revolution and Napoleon had to do with it, I no longer remember; but I remember very well that it was there. The first opponent was N. Y. Grot; his debate with Gilyarov soon turned into a heated, caustic, and unpleasant squabble. Both gave vent to personal irritation. Grot seemed to be biased, Gilyarov in turn was brusque and rude. The atmosphere was becoming heated, the audience was excited, and by its applause added oil to the fire. I remember that to some critical remark Gilyarov bluntly replied: "And why did you write to me in your letter of such and such date that my dissertation was brilliant?" Part of the audience began to applaud furiously, while Grot, struck by this applause even more than by Gilyarov's retort, was embarrassed; all he found to say in reply was: "But after all, what methods you use!" Altogether the dispute was carried on not in the serious academic tone, but rather in that resembling a public meeting. Gilyarov did not give in, and always had the last word.

But the whole picture was changed when Vinogradov's turn came. It was the first time that I saw him and heard his even, quiet, loud voice, uttering every word distinctly, especially the ends of words and sentences, as if he were afraid of the common shortcoming of swallowing them. Vinogradov began by saying that one could not expect from a specialist in philosophy, even when he was dealing with a historical subject, that caution and that critical attitude to literary sources without which it was impossible to be a historian. There was, however, a minimum below which one should not go; Gilyarov in his work had overstepped it. There followed

references and exposures which showed that Gilyarov could not tell *bona fide* historical sources from mere tendentious pamphlets. At first Gilyarov replied with briskness and self-assurance, but then his tone began gradually to sink more and more. Without losing his temper, in a quiet and polite way, but with deadly clarity and determination, Vinogradov proved and demonstrated the complete lack of anything scientific in Gilyarov's methods, his absolute indifference to historical truth. Gilyarov's replies were now aimed at self-vindication, and showed a wish at least to prove his *bona fides* and to give a plausible explanation of his errors. He sometimes asked his opponent questions, as if inviting him to explain what he himself had not understood. To all these questions he immediately received detailed answers from which it was obvious to everybody that the questions did not contain anything intricate, but that Gilyarov had been writing about something he did not know and, what is worse, had taken no trouble to find out. Finally, Gilyarov was reduced to complete silence. I remember him on the platform, cowed, staring with imploring eyes at Vinogradov, fearing to open his mouth lest he should receive another blow. He seemed to be wishing only for one thing—that this execution should be over as soon as possible.

But having done with the dissertation itself, Vinogradov turned to his introductory speech. He established a logical connection between the tendency which pervaded the historical part of Gilyarov's book, and his speech in which, "with great boldness and, excuse me, with an unforgivable audacity," he had dealt in passing with such a colossal fact as the French Revolution. Vinogradov came to one conclusion which seemed to contain an explanation of the whole of Gilyarov's work: "All your construction," he said, "is dictated by one political sentiment. That sentiment is your animosity—I may say, your hatred—for democracy, and in this respect your work is a characteristic sign of the sad times we are living through." All this was said in a tone which admitted of no doubts, behind which was concealed such an abundance of arguments, that it reduced to silence even such a voluble man as Gilyarov. This dispute was not only a triumph of a scholar. In the field of history Gilyarov and Vinogradov were, of course, incommensurate quantities. But if one remembers that all this took place at the end of the eighties, in the reign of Alexander III, with Delyanov as Minister of Education, and Count Dmitry Tolstoy as Minister of the Interior, a year after Maxim Kovalevsky had been deprived of his Chair, one cannot help admitting that Vinogradov's sally was also a courageous political act.

In general, I can say that Vinogradov had the courage of his opinion, and never made any secret of his views. Soon after that debate, he started at the Law Faculty an optional course on the history of public law, that is, a substitute for the deleted course of Kovalevsky. Vinogradov's debate with Gilyarov had so impressed me that I went to his inaugural lecture. He began it with a word of praise for his predecessor and ended with words in which at that time everybody saw a challenge. "If not in scope and merit, at least in its direction, my course will closely approximate to that of M. M. Kovalevsky."

It was before 1905 that Vinogradov finally left not only the University of Moscow, but Russia, and accepted the invitation to Oxford. There I met him when he received the Russian parliamentary delegation which visited England in 1909. It was not easy for Vinogradov, with his views, his Europeanism, to live in Russia. And if we cannot imagine Klyuchevsky outside Russia, we can see Vinogradov much better in Europe. On the contrary, it was difficult for him to get on in Russia, not only with the Government, but also with our public. He knew Europe too well, was too genuine a European, not to realise that Russia's failures and disasters were to be laid at the door not only of the Government, but also of the public, with its lack of training and seriousness. He could not help sympathising with the liberation movement in its ultimate ideals, but he understood that it was not easy "to set straight the work of centuries," that freedom and democracy alone would not heal Russia from the habits which our foolish absolutism had grafted on to her. Vinogradov did not share the excesses of the Cadet programme. I recall one of Vinogradov's rare political articles in *Russkia Vedomosti*² on the foundations of a Russian constitution and electoral law. Vinogradov was a partisan of a two-chamber system; it was not without irony that he viewed the maximalism of our political parties, their claims to introduce at once all the latest novelties of European democracies. "One must leave something for the future generations," he used to say jokingly. But the main question which he put was the question of the electoral law, for on it depended the character and the destiny of the future government. He was all in favour of elections in two stages, discarding the famous "four-tailed formula" of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage. He realised that in peasant Russia one could not introduce a franchise based on property qualifications;

² An organ reflecting the views of the Liberal professors of Moscow University.—ED.

he knew that in Russia there was no material for an aristocracy, that it was madness to exclude the peasants from political life. But just because he regarded universal franchise as inevitable, he insisted on a second stage of election; through this the Russian Parliament could find a basis in local self-government, in the development of which Vinogradov saw the necessary training for the people as a whole and therefore the foremost task of a new Russia. Milyukov then wrote a reply to this article of Vinogradov, he was, on the contrary, in favour of a single chamber and of the "four-tailed formula" which, in his opinion, would strengthen the representative assembly in its struggle with the historical power. That controversy revealed the difference between two outlooks. On one side was a real European who remained a historian and therefore did not forget that democracy and universal franchise were neither a panacea nor good for everybody. This European looked somewhat haughtily, like a stranger, upon our people's lack of culture, and reconciled himself to it as an inevitable evil which was not to be ignored in favour of political sympathies and considerations. On the other side was an active politician who was stewing in the atmosphere of everyday struggle, who involuntarily suited his views to the practical aims pursued at the moment; for tactical reasons he had to insist on universal franchise, shutting his eyes to its drawbacks, and leaving out of account the fact that the Russian educated public and the Russian people had not yet given proof of their political maturity. On this point their ways must have parted. Had Vinogradov remained in Russia after 1905, Russian party life would have passed him by as ruthlessly, without making use of his gifts, as it passed by many of those who by their qualities and merits represented what was best in the Russian society of that time, but who refused to follow obediently the crowd and its leaders. Vinogradov, by his temperament and the turn of his mind, had already outgrown the enthusiasms and illusions of the childish period of our political freedom, when political parties and their leaders not only worked for Russia's good, but also played at Europe. His departure for England at the time of the constitutional reorganisation of Russia was a mere coincidence, but it was also a symbol.

I owe it to Vinogradov that, although I did not become a scholar and professor as he expected me to do, I nevertheless learned to know the charms of scientific creation. That episode in my life is connected with my work in his seminar.

BASIL MAKLAKOV.

THE PAN-SOVIET LITERARY CONGRESS

BETWEEN 15 August and 2 September, 1934, there took place in Moscow the first Pan-Soviet Literary Congress held under the auspices of the Union of Soviet Writers, which is presided over by Maxim Gorky. The Congress, which was made very much of in the Soviet Press, was a somewhat tardy outcome of the latest swing-over in the literary policy of the Soviet Government which took place in April, 1932, when an end was put to the policy of forcible proletarianisation of literature in compliance with the Five-Year Plan; the proletarian literary organisations, which had exercised the functions of self-appointed censors, were dissolved; and all the "loyal" writers grouped into a single Union. At the time this reversal of policy, in which Gorky was to a great extent instrumental, was grounded on the assumed success of the Socialist construction and "loyalty" of the so-called "fellow-travellers." But it is an open secret that there was another side to the picture, that the Five-Year Plan period in Soviet literature had proved the most barren, that the literary standards in the period 1929-1932 had fallen off considerably, and that the need for a greater freedom of self-expression was strongly felt in the more independent literary circles. This lowering of the standards is a fact that has been implicitly and explicitly admitted at the recent Congress. In 1932 and 1933 it was the *leitmotiv* of a great deal of Soviet-Russian criticism. Gorky, whose voice in literary matters became particularly weighty after the measures of 1932, launched a campaign, in which he was joined by some of the leading "proletarian" writers, such as Sholokhov and Fadeyev, in favour of improving literary technique, of purifying the language, which had come to be sullied with slang and dialectisms, of learning from the "classics," both Russian and foreign. Works of which the fame and success rested chiefly on their well-intentioned political bias and not on their literary qualities, but which had previously been declared masterpieces of Soviet literature, were now run down. One of the most glaring examples of this was Panferov's collectivisation novel, *Bruski* (of which there is an English translation), which was held out as an example of slovenly literary technique.

At the same time the "back-to-realism" tendency which could be perceived in Soviet-Russian literature ever since 1924 became still more pronounced. Socialist Realism was proclaimed the slogan of Soviet-Russian literature in its new phase. The formula is ascribed to Stalin himself, who also said that writers were to perform the function of the "engineers of human souls." Though most critics and writers failed to agree upon a clear definition of Socialist Realism (the discussions went on throughout 1934, and one finds their echoes in the speeches at the recent Congress), it was proclaimed the dominant method and, next to the

"adherence to the political platform of the Soviet Government," was turned into one of the principal tenets of the new Writers' Union, being incorporated in its Statutes. This makes this Union into something really unique in the history of world literature: a literary organisation held together both by the adherence to a definite political regime and the acceptance of a definite literary method. But the actual interpretation of the meaning of this method allows of a great laxity, and such works as Sholokhov's *The Uplturned Soil* (a forceful picture of compulsory collectivisation of land in the Cossack regions), and Alexis Tolstoy's masterful historical novel, *Peter the First*, come under the same heading of "Socialist Realism."

The Congress, in which a part was taken by nearly all the leading Russian writers actively at work in the Soviet Union, as well as by numerous delegates representing literatures of the national minorities (Georgian, Armenian, Ukrainian, White-Russian, Tartar, Mordvinian, and others) was turned into an imposing literary-political parade. The political note was sounded very distinctly. There was the usual amount of lip-service to "our great leader" Stalin, one of the writers going so far as to exhort his fellow-writers to emulate Stalin's "style." Much attention was paid to the problem of enlisting literature in the active service of national defence, with a view to warding off the impending "imperialistic attack"—in this connection one may specially single out the speech of Vsevolod Vishnevsky, a bombastic Communist playwright, which was pervaded with the spirit of Soviet militarism and patriotism. The Congress was naturally encouraged and patronised by the authorities, that is, by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. The Party and Government spokesman at the Congress, a certain Zhdanov (who, incidentally, has taken the place of the murdered Kirov), laid it down without any possible ambiguity that literature in Soviet Russia must be "tendentious," and that the tendency must be clearly Bolshevik. This principle was accepted, either implicitly or explicitly, by every member of the Congress. One of those who adhered most explicitly and unequivocally to the principle proclaimed by Zhdanov, was the novelist Vsevolod Ivanov, who once belonged to the group of Serapion Brothers, which in 1922 preached political impartiality and abhorred all tendentiousness. Now Ivanov declared that they were all "in favour of Bolshevik tendentiousness in literature."

But though the general note struck at the Congress was that of well-meaning docility and readiness to comply with the implied "social command," to extol Socialism in terms of Socialist Realism, provided a certain scope of freedom of expression and a certain stylistic liberty were allowed, one can pick out among the numerous utterances at the Congress some that struck a more original and individual note. Thus, Victor Shklovsky, a talented but somewhat "wild" critic, once the head of the "Formalist" school in literary criticism and among other things a student of Sterne, spoke of the period of "new humanism" in Soviet

literature, and emphasised the revival of the interest in man. Yury Olesha, the brilliant author of *Envy*, one of the most original works in the whole of Soviet literature, dwelt on the impossibility for a writer to fulfil a "social command." "Every artist," he said, "can write only what he can write." Olesha confessed that it was difficult for him to put himself into the shoes of an average workman or of a revolutionary "hero," and therefore he could not write about them. His interest was focussed on man as such, and especially on the modern young man, on the inner workings of his mind and soul. Olesha's conception of literature, as revealed in his speech at the Congress (which strikes one as one of the most genuine and sincere), is purely moralistic. He would impose on the writer of our days the task of creating books that would call forth in the young a sense of emulation, a desire of "becoming better." He looks upon the writer as an educator. For him Communism, in addition to being an economic system, is also a moral one. He hopes that the young people of Soviet Russia will be the first to embody this aspect of Communism.

A heated debate arose at the Congress in connection with Bukharin's paper on "Poetry," in which that noted Communist seemed to advocate a return to the "eternal" philosophical themes of poetry instead of the topical political and technical bombast which at one time prevailed in Soviet poetry.

However, the principal resolution passed by the Congress on the report of Gorky confined itself to well-intentioned commonplace statements. It said that, "thanks to the victorious Socialist construction and the routing of the class enemies of the proletariat," the imaginative literature of the Soviet Union has become a mighty factor of Socialist culture and of the education of the labouring masses in the spirit of Socialism. It insisted on the necessity of helping writers to create "works of art of high quality imbued with the spirit of Socialism." The general impression which one gets from reading the lengthy reports of this Soviet literary parade is that literature in Soviet Russia has once again admitted that its principal task is to serve the ends of the Communist State. This time it has done so with a certain show of enthusiasm or at least freedom from compulsion.

Great attention was paid by the Congress to the national literatures of Georgia, Armenia, and other minority republics, and the necessity of a better knowledge of those literatures. Delegates of national minorities played an important part at the Congress and presented long reports on the conditions in which they have to work. These reports certainly attest a great numerical development of vernacular literatures, but hardly enable one to judge of their intrinsic qualities.

G. S.

CURRENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

IV. YURY OLESHA

UNTIL 1927 the name of this writer was completely unknown, even in Soviet Russia; to non-Russian readers it is still more or less unfamiliar.¹ Yet he is the author of one of the freshest, most interesting and most widely discussed works in all post-revolutionary Russian literature.

Born in 1894 at Odessa, Olesha² was till 1927 engaged chiefly in daily journalism. It was in that year that his novel *Envy* (*Zavist'*) appeared, establishing his literary reputation at one stroke. There was an air of novelty and freshness about this novel and an accent of compelling sincerity and earnestness, which made the bulk of Soviet criticism welcome it most enthusiastically—it was only on second thoughts that the orthodox Communist critics began to have their misgivings about its social and political purport and import. Olesha's theme was by no means new to Soviet literature—it was the everlasting theme of the conflict of the old and the new in the Revolution, of the clash of two different worlds, two different psychologies. It was the treatment of this hackneyed theme that was new and fresh: instead of treating it in terms of actual episodes and concrete social and political problems in the life of Soviet Russia, Olesha raised it to a higher philosophical plane, gave it a deeper and universal meaning. That is precisely what Soviet literature most lacks; in spite of having been enriched by the Revolution with a vast and multifarious stock of novel life experience, literature in post-revolutionary Russia has certainly narrowed down its range; its themes are centred round the Revolution and its experiences, and inevitably lack that universal appeal which the works of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Chekhov possessed. Olesha's novel, although also concerned with Russian revolutionary realities, tries to extend its field of vision, to strike profounder chords of human psychology. But it was also the freshness of Olesha's form, the novelty and originality of his perception and presentation of the outside world, that contributed to the success of his work. Not only has he a keen vision of the world, especially of its bodily aspect, but

¹ His principal novel has, I believe, been translated into German, but I have been unable to establish whether the announced French translation did actually appear; in English there is only an extract from it and a short story, to be found respectively in Professor Konovalov's and Messrs. Reavey's and Slonim's anthologies.

² Pronounced "Alyòsha."

he has a special gift for presenting it in striking and unexpected images, for making us see it as it were with new eyes. His prose has something of that quality which is possessed by the poetry of Pasternak, the most genuine of all Soviet-Russian poets, a freshness of outlook and vision combined with unusual felicity of expression. Some critics have spoken of Olesha's art as eclectic, as a combination of different methods, of realism, symbolism and impressionism. This may be true. But Olesha's combination of styles and methods is not purely mechanical, it is an organic blend, and its result is something new and original. It would be wrong to speak of him as either a realist, or a symbolist, or an impressionist. Sometimes his manner has been described as expressionist—it has indeed some points in common with the literary movement known under that name. Comparisons are one of his favourite devices, and they are nearly always striking and happy. He enjoys mirror-like, reflecting effects which make the every-day, usual things look new and fresh. The hero of *Envy* speaks, very characteristically, of the childlike nature of his perceptions, of looking at the world through the wrong end of the binoculars. Here is a typical image of Olesha, taken from one of the first pages of *Envy* :—

“ The blue-and-pink world of the room is moving round and round in the mother-of-pearl lens of the button.”

One of the important episodes of the novel, the first meeting between the two principal characters, Ivan Babichev and Kavalеров, takes place while Kavalеров is looking into a street-mirror and enjoying the peculiar backward view of things. It is obvious that Olesha's insistence on this romantic, mirror-like perception of the world is not accidental. He is essentially a Romantic, and although, as we shall see, his novel ends in a defeat of his romantic characters, his heart is to some extent on their side.

The luxurious imagery, the rich verbal texture of Olesha's novel is counterbalanced by the relative simplicity of its plot and construction. There is a certain deliberate baldness in the symbolical presentation of the clash of the old and the new. The novel is quite short—not more than 30,000 words—and in this rather un-Russian, and there are only six characters : four men and two women. The women are left in the symbolical background, they are “ flatter ” (I use the term of E. M. Forster in his *Aspects of the Novel*) than any of the men, although all Olesha's characters are rather “ flat ” than “ round.” The women are only passively concerned in the drama which is enacted between the four men : Andrey Babichev, his

brother Ivan, his adopted son Volodya Makarov, and Nikolay Kavalero, who describes himself as Andrey Babichev's "buffoon." Andrey, Volodya, and one of the women, Valya (Ivan's daughter and Volodya's sweetheart), represent in the novel the new world. Ivan, Kavalero, and the other woman, Anichka Prokopovich, an abject old widow embodying the mean vulgarity of life, stand for the old world. Andrey Babichev is a director of a Soviet food industry trust, an embodiment of physical fitness and moral and intellectual self-contentment, a curious type of a Soviet business man. Volodya, to whom in the eyes of Andrey belongs the future, is a member of the Young Communist League and a noted football player—he is rather narrow-minded, with a strongly pronounced cult of machinery and sport. Ivan Babichev and Kavalero are both "Romantics" cast out by the Revolution. Ivan is a gifted but good-for-nothing dreamer ("the last dreamer on earth," he calls himself), who wants to organise a "conspiracy of feelings." Kavalero, a much younger man, has in him a touch of Dostoyevsky's "Man from the Underworld": his dominant emotion is envy; he feels out of touch with his age and with the order of things in Russia; he dreams of personal fame, of some way of bequeathing his name to posterity, but sees no way open to him in Communist Russia. He envies and hates Andrey Babichev, with whom fate accidentally brings him in contact and whose "hanger-on" and "buffoon" he becomes. He hates him the more as he realises that he, Kavalero, is, after all, more gifted, more clever than the prosperous and self-satisfied director of the Food Trust, the "sausage-maker," as he contemptuously calls him. His wanderings about town after he leaves Andrey's house bring him across Ivan Babichev, who is also out to fight Andrey and dreams of organising "the last parade of human feelings" banished from the new world. He is in search of individual incarnations of those feelings, and in Kavalero he sees a perfect embodiment of envy. It is, of course, deliberately that Olesha chooses envy, the meanest of all human emotions, as the corner-stone of this conspiracy of feelings. But other and better feelings must take part in it, too. From the point of view of the idea of the novel, the central scene is that where Ivan holds forth before Kavalero in a squalid Moscow public-house. It has a distinct touch of Dostoyevsky. Ivan is ultimately arrested by the OGPU and in a somewhat confused peroration explains to the investigating magistrate the purport of his conspiracy of feelings. Despite Olesha's keen gift of visualisation, there is a certain element of unreality hovering over the whole book, and it comes out especially

clearly in the episode with a curious machine, invented—or alleged to be invented—by Ivan, which he calls by the romantic name of Ophelia, and which he intends to use, in his own words, “for the lasting dishonour” of the modern mechanised civilisation, and among other things for the destruction of his brother’s pet scheme, a gigantic model industrialised kitchen called “*Chetvertak*” (“Sixpence”) which is to provide cheap and hygienic meals for the population of Moscow and free the housewives from domestic enslavement. In the imaginary speech which Ivan delivers at the inauguration of “Sixpence,” he thus apostrophises its creator:—

“Don’t call upon us. Don’t beckon to us, don’t tempt us. What can you offer us to take the place of our capacity to love, to hate, to hope, to cry, to pity, and to forgive? Here is a pillow. Our coat-of-arms. Our banner.”

He raises his voice against that monstrous industrialised and socialised kitchen in the name of family life, of the traditional home, and brandishes his pillow as its symbolical expression. He speaks of turning figures, which his brother worships, into flowers. This speech of Ivan, which he holds only in his mind, puts clearly the essence of the conflict. The clash ends in Kavalеров’s and Ivan’s capitulation. Their conspiracy falls flat, and they have to admit that not all the feelings have been done away with and discarded by those whom they oppose. This is brought home to them especially clearly through Valya and her love for Volodya. Kavalеров himself is romantically in love with her, and imagines himself her knight protector in the struggle in which he engages against what he believes to be Andrey’s and Volodya’s encroaching designs. In the person of Valya, Olesha seems to have endeavoured to reconcile the world of feelings with that of the new realities. She combines earthliness and romanticism. Behind the exterior of a modern Soviet girl, keenly interested in sport and physical culture, Olesha shows the charms of the eternally feminine. The key to her personality is in the phrase which Kavalеров addresses to her: “You have swept past me like a branch full of flowers and leaves.”

Kavalеров’s surrender and ultimate realisation of his failure lead to his utter degradation—he returns into the bosom of Anichka Prokopovich. The same fate awaits Ivan Babichev. The new triumphs over the old. But the problem of the place of certain human feelings and values in the Communist society, which occupies Olesha, remains unsolved. In the conflict between the individual and the collective, between Romanticism and Realism, the apparent victory is on the side of the collective and of Realism. Olesha appears

to accept this as a fact, as something that has to be taken for granted, but he hardly hides his sympathy for the Romantic individualists or at least his pity for them, and he endows Kavalerov with such qualities as intelligence, keenness of vision and artistic sense—his own qualities, as a matter of fact—which give him a definite advantage over his adversaries. What is more important, in the first part of the novel, written in the name of Kavalerov, we see Andrey Babichev as he is seen by Kavalerov, with all his negative characteristics thrust to the forefront. Whether Olesha wanted it or not, he does not succeed in making his reader sympathise with Andrey's animal and self-satisfied healthiness or Volodya's machine-like cleanliness and sportiness, however antipathetic may be Kavalerov and Babichev—these obsolete, degenerate, sentimental, loquacious Romantics of the world irrevocably gone. When the first enthusiasm over Olesha's novel was over, the Soviet critics began to suspect him of a deliberately distorted portrayal of the "new" in the Revolution. It was realised that neither Andrey nor Volodya looked attractive, and what is most, both were shown as if they were completely devoid of any *political* interests.

Envy remains Olesha's only novel, but his other works—two books of stories, *Love* (1929) and *The Cherry Stone* (1930), several plays, of which one is a dramatisation of *Envy* (called *The Conspiracy of Feelings*), a cinema play, *A Strict Youth* (1934), and a romance for children, *The Three Fat Men* (also dramatised, and even made into a ballet)—show him to be a writer of one theme. In *Love*, two stories (*Love* and *Liompa*) represent a development of some of the motifs of *Envy*. In *Love* we see a Marxian realist transformed into a Romantic by love. His dialectical partner is a nameless, colour-blind citizen in a black hat. His vision of the world tallies with reality, except for his colour-blindness. At one moment in the story the Marxian hero, Shuvalov, is ready in despair to change places with his antipode, to give up the romantic green colour of nature which has become the dominant colour of his world, and to see pears as inedible blue objects. But finally the feelings triumph, and Shuvalov keeps his love and his green vision of the world. In *Liompa* Olesha develops another side-motif of *Envy* (where it is introduced to set in relief the contrast between Andrey and Kavalerov)—that of the relations between man and the objects amid which he lives. *The Cherry Stone* gives variations on the same principal theme. *The Three Fat Men* also shows Olesha's inherent Romanticism. Its main idea is that man must not be deprived of his human heart, that no other heart, whether of iron, of ice, or of gold, could replace it.

In *A Strict Youth* Olesha sets out to vindicate the principle of "qualitative inequality" in a Communist society. The three principal personages in this skeleton play, which has a great lightness of design and an almost masque-like symbolical delineation of characters, are a Young Communist; a famous bourgeois specialist on cancer; and the latter's wife. The Young Communist and the surgeon's wife are in love with each other. The Young Communist, Grisha Fokin, combines physical healthiness with great admiration for culture, art, beauty and other things of a spiritual order. He has drawn up a new code of "Young Communist" morality, at the root of which lie modesty, truthfulness, magnanimity, generosity, hatred of egotism, chastity and—sentimentality. His comrades argue whether these are "bourgeois" or "human" qualities. In the discussions which Olesha's latest work has provoked in Soviet Russia, it is now and then being pointed out that Olesha's conception of morality is non-Communist and savours of idealism. The critics seem to be rather nonplussed. Their utterances are therefore extremely guarded. One of the latest criticisms (in the semi-official *Literary Gazette*) takes the curious form of a discussion between the personages of the play itself on its meaning, in which "the Critic" was also to take part, but to which he comes too late—this being a direct thrust at the Soviet critics, who are often late in their estimate of any work that departs from the usual pattern. At the same time, by making the characters of the play utter their personal and often contradictory opinions, the author of the article in question (D. Maznin) prudently avoids committing himself to any definite pronouncement. One gets the impression that the critics are waiting for a "hint" from above—are they to praise or blame. In the past Olesha's "individualism," his insistence on the theme of "feelings," his obvious reluctance to deal with more concrete and topical themes of Soviet actuality were viewed unfavourably by the Soviet critics, especially during the Five Year Plan period in literature, when the manifestations of independent creative spirit in Soviet literature were at their lowest. Olesha has recently replied to his critics and detractors in a spirited speech at the Pan-Soviet Literary Congress. The gist of it the reader will find on pages 641-3, in a note on that Congress. It formulates very well the essence of Olesha's outlook and art, which I should be inclined to describe as "new sensibility" or "neo-idealism."

GLEB STRUVE.

SERBIAN WEDDING CUSTOMS:

ST. PETER'S DAY IN GALIČNIK

I. GALIČNIK is a village in Southern Serbia, near the town of Debar, close to the Albanian frontier, 1,350 metres above sea level. It contains some thousand or so inhabitants.

The houses are all built of stone on the steep mountainside, usually with an upper storey. They are set very close together, without gardens, having a small yard (*avlija*) round them for storing wood, and for the stables and cowsheds. Generally a house of several rooms has a *podrum* or cellar-storeroom on the ground floor. All the rather small windows slide into the wall when they open, rather like the inner doors of a corridor railway carriage. The wooden shutters and double windows, which are usual, are made in the same way. The people sleep in beds, not on the floor, as is the custom in the Tetovo villages and elsewhere. Perhaps Turkish influence has always been less powerful here, or perhaps the men have travelled more and seen other countries.

The people do not cultivate the soil, but support themselves as stockbreeders, keeping large numbers of goats, as well as sheep and cows. Each morning the village goatherd and shepherd takes his flocks to pasture on the mountain side, bringing them home at night. Many of the peasants are quite rich. In addition to keeping stock, they grow maize, grapes, paprika, and some parsley and potatoes in the few fields on the opposite side of the ravine, but not wheat. They live for the most part on meat, bread, milk and cheese, wine and fruit; and have to buy their green vegetables elsewhere.

Most of the men leave the village of Galičnik to find work in Greece; some also go to Roumania, Bulgaria, and to other parts of Yugoslavia. Before the war, many went to the United States. This is the origin of the old greeting, "*Ilija Solunac!*" or "Hail thou from Salonika!" The exiles return, however, for two months in the summer for the village *slava*, or feast of the patron saint, on *Petrovdan*, St. Peter's day (29 June / 12 July), when it is

the custom for most of the weddings to take place, although they are sometimes celebrated also on *Iligdan*, St. Elijah's day (20 July / 2 August), and *Velika Gospojna*, the Assumption (15 / 28 August).

II. *Men's Clothes*.—In olden times all the men wore a long, full, white home-spun coat. This is nowadays worn only by the old men. Over it is a short, brown woollen jacket reaching to the waist, with elbow sleeves, and a very deep collar which can be hooked together in bad weather to form a hood. Nowadays press buttons begin to fasten its edges together, instead of the old-time hooks and loops. Under this is worn a long-sleeved waistcoat; the sleeves below the elbow are often made of hand-woven material, and embroidered in variegated circling patterns and stripes. The upper part of the sleeves is made of thinner inferior stuff, as it is always hidden by the short sleeves of the brown jacket. A brightly-coloured sash, in which red predominates, is swathed several times round the waist outside the white coat, just below the ending of the jacket. The trousers are full, and decorated with patterns in black braid. They are kept on by means of a narrow leather belt threaded through their tops and drawn very tightly, extremely low down, round the hips, so low that it is a wonder they do not drop off. Still, the belt is always pulled so very tight that it keeps them firm. Leggings are made of the same white cloth, with braid up the back. A low reddish-brown or black cap, like those worn in Hercegovina, from which depends a long black tassel, covers the head.

III. *Women's Clothes*.—The people of Galičnik are very proud of their national costume, so much so that girls, whose families have recently lived in towns where they wear ordinary European clothes, if they should marry and return to Galičnik, always as a matter of course assume the national dress.

A married woman's clothes consist first of all of a vest bought in shops. Over this is worn a short coat (*mintan*) with long sleeves, made of a thick hand-woven cotton or hemp material, with a row of silver buttons down each side of the front, and gold embroidery on the sleeves, cuffs, and front part. Next a long chemise-frock (*košulja*) with elbow-length sleeves, very heavily stitched, chiefly in magenta and red designs, with the addition of a little black and white, and ending in a long fringe, red and gold for a bride, otherwise mostly magenta and red. There is a little red embroidery round the bottom, mixed with black and gold. Over this again appears a sleeveless waistcoat (*jelek*), sometimes made of magenta-dyed

material or bought stuff, or of thick hand-woven cotton or hemp material, embroidered down the front in red and gold, with flecks of darker red and magenta, having a row of silver buttons down each side as far as the waist-opening. It is not fastened, being drawn in at the waist. The next layer is the long white coat (*klasenik*), embroidered in gold down the front, and having a row of silver buttons down each side, like the *jelek*. Some red embroidery with black and red lines in it runs round the hem, most elaborate at the back and front. There is a largish armhole, whence issues at the back a very narrow strip of sleeve, which is always tucked into the belt. Then the plain striped hand-woven belt (*vrŕce*) goes twice round the waist. Over this is worn a dark red or magenta fringed belt (*pojaiz*), which is wound two or three times round the waist. Its long red or magenta fringes hang down over the hips, to make the clothes and apron stand out well. Then comes the apron (*boŕce*)—usually two are worn. They are woven by hand, of red, magenta, or more usually of pale brown wool in patterns or stripes. Over this is arranged a long silk scarf, either white or of some pale colour with a long silk fringe, worn like an apron. It is always bought. Over all these a metal belt, with a long buckle or clasp, is always placed. The pocket handkerchief is tucked in this. A young wife of from one to six years' standing wears, in addition, a heavy silver or metal belt with looped chains hanging down in front (*niŕalka*), to which are attached big silver coins as large as crown pieces. I frequently saw such silver coins, of Maria Theresa, dated 1780. The belt is hooked into the dress in four places. A gold chain made out of Turkish lire and other gold coins is hung like a mayor's chain round the neck and hooked into the dress at the back. A white scarf is tied round the head, over which is thrown a red or magenta, or more rarely a brown, scarf-square. The scarf-square is bought, and always has a wide border with patterns of printed pink roses on it. During the first year a newly-made bride wears on high occasions a red net cap with a magenta and gold fringe, over her white head-scarf. The clothes worn by girls are always dark-coloured, usually magenta, and are much less ornate.

IV. *Etiquette for Women and Brides*.—Women whose husbands are away, and widows, do not go to wedding suppers or feasts; but they may see the weddings at church, and may also pay visits. Even then they must not wear their best clothes; only their ordinary ones without so much gold and embroidery.

Husband and wife always go visiting together. The wife will

never go out without him except sometimes to near relations, and then she does not dance the *kolo*. Even a young wife does not wear her best bride's clothes if he is absent, because it would be *sramotna* (shameful) and *smešna* (ridiculous).

The bride is always very carefully called the girl or maiden, *devojaka*, until she is brought to the house of the bridegroom or *zet* (literally the son-in-law), in reality that of her father-in-law—after which she is always called the bride, or *nevesta*. They are also very punctilious in calling an unmarried female a girl (*devojaka*), and a married one a woman (*žena*). Of course, all the unmarried females are quite young, because it is customary for every one to be married. Old maids and old bachelors are practically unknown—unless mentally or physically unfit.

Young men and young women kiss the hands of older men and women, but not of one another. They also stand up when older men or women come into the room. These older people get up only for old and important men. Of course, a woman rises for her own husband; and every one, as a matter of course, for the clergy.

V. *Preliminaries to the wedding*.—On Easter Sunday (*Veligdan*) and Christmas day (*Božić*) the bride brings her two chests (*sanduka*) to the field beyond the graveyard, or by the church, when all the girls, young married women, and young men, in their best clothes, dance the *kolo*. The young men talk to the girls and decide upon their future wives. Later, when the man's father asks for the girl, she may refuse, if she does not like the bridegroom proposed. Here in Galičnik no money passes when a girl is asked in marriage, except one Napoleon given by the bridegroom's father to the bride's father. The time for this asking is between *Petrovdan* (29 June / 12 July), and *Mitrovdan* (26 Oct. / 8 Nov.).

As many as thirty or forty marriages may take place at the same time; but, when I was there in 1932, there were only sixteen. The festivities last four or five days, with very special marriage customs and ceremonies rigidly observed. I propose to give a short account of those that I saw, for, so far as I know, none has been written in English.

In translating the songs I have kept as close as possible to the original wording.¹ They have not, I believe, been translated or published before in English.

¹ I am much indebted to Drs. Jovan Erdeljanović and Petar Petrović of Belgrade, for corrections of the original text of the songs, which I had taken verbally from the peasants.

VI. *The Eve of Petrovdan* (28 June / 11 July).— This is a universal fast. In olden times it was preceded by a preliminary fast of four to five weeks, nowadays very rarely kept. Yet sometimes it is, as in the case of the young man whose strict father made him observe all the fasts, refusing otherwise to provide his books and maintenance at the university.

The whole house is always thoroughly spring-cleaned and very often whitewashed beforehand. Either on the eve or very early the next morning, all the children are bathed, and the men shave, and everyone's hair is cut. The lady of the house (*domaćica*) carries incense into all the rooms, and lights the little olive oil lamps (*kandil*) in front of the ikons. This also happens every Saturday and saint's day.

In the afternoon nearly every one goes to church wearing their best clothes, the women almost without exception in national costume. So are most of the men, although many of the younger ones prefer to be, as they think, "modern" in ready-made European clothes—a pity, for they do not look so distinguished as in national costume.

In the evening the women go to the graveyard and light the little *kandil* lamps on all the graves, to burn all night. These lamps, little earthenware vessels, contain olive oil and water and a floating wick. It is a universal Serbian custom to light candles on graves for saint's days, or other times of visiting. A little hollow or small chamber, usually on the right side of the grave, receives the candle or lamp. Strangers coming to Galičnik for *Petrovdan*, so the legend runs, once mistook this brightly-lighted graveyard for the village, and spent the night there looking for the houses!

Some time during the day, the bridegroom, with his mother, sisters, and nearest relatives, goes to the graveyard to confess and ask forgiveness of his nearest dead (*oprostiti se*). They go particularly to the grave of a recently-dead relative; in any case to the grandfather's. A gipsy (*cigani*) band accompanies them. Waiting a little apart, it plays sad music while they light candles on the grave, bow three times, and kiss the cross. They eat a lump of sugar and drink a glass of water; in old times they ate much more, and nowadays a meal is still occasionally taken there.

The wedding houses usually have a supper party for the nearer relations; at about 11.30 p.m. other relations are called in, when the Jugoslav flag is hung out at all the centres of wedding festivals, remaining up for a week.

Invitations to supper that evening were sent out from the

wedding houses by a young man, usually a relative, called the *zovac* or inviter. He carried a wooden flask with leather handles, decorated with roses, and was accompanied by his friends. On entering a dwelling, the *zovac* handed the flask to each person, who took hold of the leather handles, as a sign of acceptance. The lady of the house sometimes offered sweets, or coffee, or *rakija* (spirit distilled from plums or other fruits), if he had time to wait for it. Usually he just entered the house, and invited the guests, leaving immediately to go further. More invitations are always accepted than can possibly be carried out, because the friends of the various wedding families are the same, and so may be requested to attend several festivities.

Many gipsy bands, consisting of two big drums and two trumpet- or flute-like instruments (*surla*) play throughout the night. They go round all the streets playing as loud as they can, early in the morning of *Petrovdan* itself.

VII. *The Wedding Ceremonies : Petrovdan (29 June / 12 July)* — All day long gipsy bands play, one for each wedding. Service is held in church early in the morning, from about 6 to 9 a.m., after which the women visit their friends, then go home to cook, while the men continue to pay visits till it is time for dinner.

The bride remains all day in the *podrum* or cellar-storeroom, to which she had been confined for the last week. In olden times she had to stay there for two months, mourning the loss of her virginity, or, as others say, making herself beautiful and white, like a plant grown in the dark, before going to her husband. Her girl friends are allowed to visit her, and at nights she may sleep upstairs in her usual place.

When dusk has fallen, about 8.30 or 9 p.m. on the evening of *Petrovdan*, and the bride or *nevesta* is sitting in the *podrum* with her girl friends, the bridegroom or *zet*, with his friends and relations, male and female, comes to the house preceded by a gipsy band, led by a man carrying an iron pot full of blazing pine wood, fastened to a long pole. They come to escort the bride and four maidens to fetch water from the Three Fountains, so that she may wash her head and bathe herself at night after all her family has gone to sleep, to be beautiful and clean for her wedding. As soon as the bridegroom arrives he goes upstairs to greet her parents, and to sit for a little among the guests, while being served with *slatko* (jam), *rakija*, and coffee. In olden times the bridegroom stayed at home, and only his brothers and relatives came to take the bride to the Three Fountains.

Most, if not all, the women and girls have gone into the *podrum* to talk to the bride. They sit on low stools or forms, watching the great bonfire burning outside, or joining in the *kolo*, danced by the light of it to the strains of a *cigani* band.

While the bride and her girl friends are sitting in the *podrum* they sing this song¹---

The rose put forth buds in the *podrum*,
But in the house opened the flowers.
Here grew up a boy,
The only son of his mother.
Lead out the horse carefully,
That thou break not the rose !
For the rose has been watered :
Morning and evening, with water,
But at midday with tears.

When everybody is ready and the guests have come into the yard where the bonfire is burning, some of the bride's relatives go round giving chips and small bits of pine-wood, about seven or eight inches long, to each guest for a torch. These are lighted from the bonfire or from other torches. When the procession is ready, the leader pokes up the wood in his iron pot, and starts away up the hill, followed by the band and all the people carrying flambeaux.

The bridegroom and his friends are somewhere near the head of the procession. The bride is at the other end, with her four maidens, who help her along, for she must walk with downcast eyes, none of them speaking a word. One of the four, always a little girl of about eight or nine years old, walks in front of the bride, and, at each fountain, fills her pitcher a third full. At each fountain she must also fill her own mouth with water, spitting it out at the next. But the water from the last fountain she must keep in her mouth till she gets home, then spitting it out into the *bakrač* or tin-lined copper pot hanging over the fire in the kitchen. In this water from the Three Fountains is heated for the bride's ablutions.

The procession goes winding up the steep mountain side to the Three Fountains, becoming entangled in all the other processions from the other houses where there are maidens to be married. All of them flame and wander along like a giant centipede, so that the little steep paths and the one road of the village are lighted up with dots and dashes of fire; and the air is filled with the aromatic scent of burning pine-wood.

¹ Appendix A.

During the procession everyone joins in singing the following²:—

Radovan set out for the wars,
But went seeking a maiden to Buda;
So in Buda great strifes arose,
And from Buda we must return without the maiden.

A *détour* is sometimes made on the way back; the same path must never be trodden twice, so that a scramble up a narrow mountain sheep-track is often necessary. Then, when the pitchers have been filled at the Three Fountains, all the different processions sort themselves out, and wander back to the respective homes of their brides. Later, the bridegroom, too, goes home, often to a supper party. At the bride's house, however, there is none; only in the *podrum*, she and her girl friends eat meat and *tiganica*—a kind of pancake-doughnut, fried in a *tigan* or frying-pan—and the customary rice cooked with butter and water. Afterwards, when all her family have gone to bed, she, too, may go upstairs, having previously washed in the water from the Three Fountains.

The gipsies continue to play their music outside the wedding houses, or by the church. Many people often stay out all night, dancing the *kolo* by the light of the moon and the bonfires.

VIII. Meanwhile, in the evening the bridegroom and his friends, together with his father, brothers and other relations, hold a great feast in the upper room.

Supper begins about 9.30 p.m., or whenever the procession is over; as many as a hundred or more guests may be present. At the feast I attended, there were not more than eighty or ninety. All the men sat together, as is customary; sometimes all the men sit on one side of the long tables (*dugačka sofra*) and the women at the other. The tables are usually arranged in an L-shape, the short arm of the L the high table, where the bridegroom and his father sit with the oldest and most important men. If the guests exceed the places, other smaller tables are brought in. The guests may even overflow into an adjoining room, for strangers are also welcomed and given supper.

The company sits more or less as it pleases, on wooden forms, often arriving long beforehand, to secure a good place. The tables are just bare planks laid on low trestles. Spoons and forks are placed at intervals along the tables; the guests themselves sort these out, and return any extra ones. No one has a plate, and if a knife is

² Appendix B.

required, one's own pocket knife must do. Knives are rarely necessary, because the meat in the dishes is always cut and disjointed; and most people use their fingers. All the women, and nearly all the men, are in national dress. The meal is a lengthy one, for no one dreams of hurrying, or of beginning to eat as soon as the dishes are put on the table. They talk or listen to the gipsy music. The gipsies beat their drums as loud as they possibly can, often with one iron and one wooden stick. The men with the trumpet-flutes blow them as hard and as long as is possible, until one is nearly deafened, seemingly in a sort of competition in volume and duration of sound.

The young men of the family bring in the dishes, and set them on the table, roughly speaking, one dish to every four or five guests. Every one dips his own spoon or fork into the dish, choosing the morsels he likes best.

At my banquet, the first course or *meza*—rather like hors d'œuvres—consisted of little saucers of liver, fried or grilled on the hot ashes (*žar*), and little plates of soft, white sheep's milk cheese, and harder *Kaškavala* cheese. After this had been served, the young men carried in little bowls of soup made from lambs' intestines, one bowl to every three or four guests, who dipped in their own spoons. Then came an interval, some of the guests perhaps taking a taste of cheese, or the much-liked liver. Presently the "waiters" handed round trays of tiny glasses of *rakija*. No young women drink *rakija*, which is for men and grandmothers. Another man now placed little saucers of cigarettes at intervals down the tables. Most of the men took one; but none of the women. Either the bridegroom or his father walked round the tables, and clinked glasses with all those drinking *rakija*.

Next the men came round with trays of bread, two huge hunks for each person. Then followed great plates of lamb, boiled and then fried in lard (*mast*), one dish to every six; then similar dishes of roast lamb (*jagnjetina pećanje*). While the first dishes of lamb were being placed on the tables, other young men of the family came round with trays to collect empty liver and cheese dishes. All plates that contained anything were left on the tables, since a little cheese was often taken between mouthfuls of meat. Meanwhile another young man collected *rakija* glasses, previously refilled more than once. Still another young man handed trays of glasses of home-made wine, or brought a glass of water to any who asked for it, taking the same glass to refill for the next water-drinker. Jugs of wine were placed all down the tables at intervals, so that each could fill up his glass as

he liked. Last of all appeared plates of sweets and *leblebija* or chick-peas—like a cross between nasturtium seeds and hazel nut kernels.

After the meal was more or less at an end the banqueters began to sing, while the gipsy band was resting and feeding, the dishes remaining on the tables all the time, for casual refreshment. The wine also remained, and glasses were filled and refilled. The bridegroom went round to clink glasses with every one. The customary toasts (*blagosilja*) and invocations of prosperity and fertility went on.

The feast is very often kept up till dawn, new guests dropping in from other suppers. They sit at the tables the whole time, except when one is removed to make a space for the *kolo*.

IX. *Second day Petrovdan* (30 June / 13 July). *In the Bride's Home*.—When the bride gets up in the morning she still wears her maiden clothes; and must again sit in the *podrum* with her girl friends. Her mother and the other women of the house, besides doing all the ordinary household work, are busy preparing for the guests who are expected about 2 or 2.30 p.m.

After the midday meal, about 2 p.m., all the guests, who had been visited by the *zovac*, a young man who had previously been to their houses with the wooden flask of invitation, sat down at the long, low tables on forms arranged along the walls in one of the upper rooms. Turkish delight (*ratluk*) and glasses of water were handed round to all, after which one of the young men of the family placed little plates of sheep's milk cheese along the tables, while others handed round glasses of *rakija* and wine. Just before the cheese was brought in, an old man, the father of the bridegroom (but if he should be dead, another patriarch would have replaced him) came in carrying his double saddle-bags (*bisage*), and sat down at the table. After a little while he produced from his saddle-bags three large, flat, round loaves (*pogača* or *kolač*), which he put on the table. His wife had made them, placing in the dough little old silver or nickel coins for good luck. He then placed upon one of them a pair of shoes, a silk scarf for wearing at the waist, a looking-glass, the *nižalka* or silver chain belt with silver "ducats" attached, and a ring, the two latter in a little box. All these presents and one loaf were taken to the bride in the *podrum*, the loaf to be eaten by her family for supper, and the shoes and other things to be worn later, with her wedding clothes. One of the two remaining loaves was put back into the saddle-bags, to be consumed by the bridegroom's family. The father took the other in his hands, and, covering it with a towel, pulled it in two with the help of one of the old men. Then he broke it into small pieces, and filled one of the basket-trays,

telling one of the young men to distribute them among the guests, each of whom hoped to be the lucky one, and find the coin. After this cheese was handed round While this happened every one sang the following songs³:—

Moonlight shone on my table so tidy,
Was there not moonlight upon my table so tidy,
Where already a pure white wheaten loaf lay.

Mother Vasilijeva—mother of the bride—sent for
Mother Jakovleva—the bridegroom's mother—
“Hast thou, Mother, perchance,
A bundle of wood
To bake a fine loaf of white wheaten flour?
Hast thou not also, Mother,
A pinch of salt
To flavour the fine loaf of white wheaten flour?”

Another man then came round with a tray bearing a glass of water on the left, and a glass of wine on the right This he presented to each person, who gave some money—ten dinars⁴ or more, or silver coins, these latter being dropped either into the wine or the water. All the money in or under the glass of wine would be given to the bride, that by the water to the two men who supported her on her horse, when she was brought to the bridegroom's house

The bride was now led into the room by one of her sisters-in-law, or any near female relative or friend. She might not speak, and had to keep her eyes downcast all the time Still dressed in her maiden clothes, she was led first to her father-in-law and then to each guest in turn, bowing over and kissing their hands. She was then led away. Soon after this ceremony, the father-in-law returned home to await the bride's arrival later in the afternoon.

During the ritual greeting the guests all sang this song⁵:—

A maiden betrothed with a golden ring, went forth;
She kissed the hand of her father-in-law,
And her father-in-law gave her a brooch of gold from Stambul.
And it was a bad bargain.

X. *In the Bridegroom's Home: Shaving of the Bridegroom.*—

At about 1.30 p.m. on this second day of *Petrovdan* the bridegroom went into the *podrum* accompanied by large numbers of his relations, both men and women, to be shaved, before his ride to the bride's home, to bring her presents. It is the custom nowadays that the bridegroom should not be shaved for a week before his wedding. Formerly it was two months, as a sign of mourning for his lost

³ See Appendices H & K.

⁵ See Appendix F.

⁴ In 1932 there was about 230 dinars to the £ sterling.

freedom and bachelorhood, for all over the country the custom of remaining unshaven for a certain period is considered a sign of mourning. In olden times, I am told, the family used to weep and mourn with him, singing:—

Song G.

The bridegroom permits not the barber to shave him,
Until he has received his father's blessing.

Nowadays they omit the weeping and mourning, and all talk while watching the shaving ceremony. The place was crowded with people, while others waited outside to see him ride off, on a white horse, to the bride's father's house. Some of his relations brought him a bunch of the faintly-smelling green leaves of the plant *Kopida* ⁶ All the time the *cigani* band was playing loudly near the door of the *podrum*.

After the shaving, one of his sisters and one of his brothers took hold of the corners of a handkerchief, in which was placed the shaved-off hair, together with a silver half dinar piece and a little wheat (*sunif*). This handkerchief he took with him when he went to the bride's home. Later it was put in one of the chests she took to her new home.

Before mounting his horse, the bridegroom gave backshish to the gipsies who had been playing during the shaving. After which he mounted, and with a company of men friends rode to the bride's house, the procession being led by a man carrying the flag. As soon as he arrived there, he leant down from his horse, to kiss the hands of her father and mother. They gave him a long scarf (*peškir*), which was flung over his right shoulder, and carefully tucked into his belt. He greeted them, saying he had come to warn them that as soon as he returned he would send his horse to bring his bride home. Then, wearing the scarf, he and his company rode back to his father's house.

As he was greeting the bride's parents and kissing their hands, everybody sang⁷:—

May thou bring no shame upon thy father or thy mother,
Nor upon thy sister or thy brother. . . .
(and so on for the other relations).

And while he was given the scarf, they sang⁸:—

Lucky, O hero, the scarf which the maiden flung o'er thee.
At night, beside the lamp, she stitched the scarf for the hero.

⁶ In the Balkan *Flora*, the nearest name is *Kopitnjak* (*Asarum Europæum* L.) *Asarum Europæum* L. is almost certainly the same plant. It grows in stony places, and flowers in April and May. The natural order is *Aristolochinaceæ*.

⁷ See Appendix D

⁸ See Appendix E.

When he arrived home he dismounted and with his companions went into the *podrum* to await the bride, for whom he had sent his horse as he promised. While they waited in the *podrum* they all ate *pita*. This is made of several layers of very thinly rolled-out dough; between each layer is placed, according to the season, either chopped spinach, pumpkin, or egg and sheep's milk cheese mixed together, spread with hot lard or olive oil, and baked in a large shallow tin-lined copper dish or tray (*tepsija*). Some *pita* is left in the *podrum* for the bride when she comes. The peasants say that the bridegroom stays in the *podrum* to be on firm ground, thus showing he is head of the house, and will keep it securely and safely, when the bride comes there to care for, but not to rule it.

XI. *Fetching the Bride to her Father-in-law's House* —It was now time for the bride to be brought to her future home. But first she was taken again into the *podrum* in her own home, after she had greeted all the guests assembled at the feast. Then she put on her bridal clothes, including the scarf, shoes, and ring which her future father-in-law had brought as a present from his son. She waited there with downcast eyes among all her friends and relations, until the bridegroom's friend on the bridegroom's horse, accompanied by another friend on another horse, returned to fetch her from the *podrum*. The bride was led out with her eyes shut, her white muslin, or hand-woven striped silk and cotton veil falling over her face to her knees. A wreath of roses and *kopida* leaves was bound over her veil. She bade farewell to her family, and was then helped on to the horse. An ordinary striped black and white blanket was held behind her until she mounted, one man held the bridle, while two others, one on either side, supported her arms, for her eyes must be kept closed, or very much downcast. Her two large dowry-chests were fastened on the other horse, which preceded her in the procession, that now wound its way slowly to the bridegroom's house. On her arrival she was straightway led to the door of the *podrum* to meet the bridegroom. He came out with his mother and the other relations and friends who had been waiting there with him. His mother carried a large flat loaf of her own baking (*pogača*) resting on a big round sieve on her head. This she steadied with one hand, while in the other she held a jug of wine. Before the bride dismounted she greeted her, walking slowly three times round her and the horse. Each time the round was completed she approached the bride, and touched her forehead with the bread. The bride kept bowing, with her eyes still closed or downcast. This was a time for jokes; an old woman went after the bridegroom's mother, trying to hit her

with a stick, while a young man threw his cap on the top of the loaf. The bride meanwhile continued to bow from the waist. Then she was lifted off the horse, a blanket again being held behind her; and was led into the house, up the steps covered by a carpet spread by one of the young men. She stopped at the threshold, and was carefully helped over it into the kitchen, her arms being continuously supported by the two men who upheld her on the horse.

As soon as she entered the kitchen she was taken to the great chimney; and the chain supporting the large pot was knocked against her head, to make her love her home and be a good housewife (*domaćica*). She was next led to the open flour chest, and given a rolling-pin, with which she thrice rolled a loaf of bread. In olden times she actually rolled the dough. After this she stood near the chest holding a jug of sweet unfermented wine (*slatko vino*). All her relatives and the guests came up in turn; she kissed their hands, offering the jug of wine, from which they sipped. A man standing beside her took the jug from her each time a guest drank, returning it after she had kissed the hands of the next comer. This went on until every one had greeted her, when she was conducted to the *podrum*. A space had been made ready for her; a blanket was hung on the wall and another spread over bracken on the floor, upon which was set a low wooden stool. She sat down; a little boy unfastened her shoes, and sat on her knee. She gave him a scarf, which she took from the front of her dress.

As the bride came to the *podrum* from the kitchen, the people sang⁹:---

Why hast thou come to our *podrum*, O Maiden?

I have strayed from the good highway, my Friend.¹⁰

According to custom, Maiden, what wilt thou promise me, if I
show thee the way?

I promise you my milk-white face, my Friend.

What shall I do with a milk-white face? I, too, have a face.

I promise you my fair innocent body, my Friend.

What shall I do with a fair innocent body? I, too, have a body.

Then some of the women took off her veil and rose wreath, and arranged the red and gold fringe on her forehead under her head scarf. They straightened her buckle and silk scarf-apron, putting over it the heavy silver chain belt with coins attached, a present from the bridegroom. All the time she stood silent, with downcast eyes. Another woman arranged over her hands a new cream scarf

⁹ See Appendix J.

¹⁰ The word for friend in this song, denotes a woman.

with a fringe, to hang down in front like an apron; this she held with her little fingers, keeping her hands hidden. A woman then fed her with something sweet, a lump of sugar, or a piece of *rattuk*, or a little cooked fruit, and gave her a sip of water. A gipsy band was playing, and the girls danced the *kolo* outside; but the bride remained standing with downcast eyes, perfectly mute, in the *podrum*. Guests arrived for a feast in the bridegroom's house in the evening. The bridegroom sups with them; but the bride remains in the *podrum* with the women and girls, without feasting.

She slept at night in the *podrum* with her girl friends, in her long chemise-like frock (*košulja*) with beautifully embroidered sleeves, and the short coat or *minlan*, which compose the usual sleeping apparel of the women. The bridegroom slept upstairs in his usual place. In old times he never saw his bride till the wedding day, but now, they say, he sometimes goes to see her in the *podrum*, and, according to others, even sleeps with her beforehand, though this is not at all usual.

XII. *The Third Day of Petrovdan* (1/14 July).—The procession to church started from the bridegroom's father's house, led by a man carrying the flag, which is taken down from the house for the occasion. The bridegroom followed in the midst of his male friends. Behind them walked the bride in her national wedding dress, with its beautifully embroidered sleeves and bodice, all red and gold. She wore a wreath of red roses, marigolds and *kopida* leaves over a white veil falling over her face and reaching to her knees. Nowadays it is generally muslin or net, but the veils of olden times, consisting of hand-woven white striped silk and cotton or linen materials (*platno*) are still occasionally seen. The bride walked with downcast eyes, without speaking, her right arm supported by one of her husband's near male relatives, her left by her mother-in-law, and thus was led up the steep village street to the church. Before her went a woman carrying a vessel (*bakrač*) of water decorated with red roses, and a bunch of red roses. All the women of the party came behind her in national costume. Last of all the gipsy band played for all it was worth.

The processions all started from their respective bridegroom's houses, but, as they met, or caught up with one another on the way, they linked up together, being separated only by the flag-bearers. All walked very slowly up the steep winding street to the church, where those couples who were to be married first arranged themselves behind two little tables in the body of the church, the bridegroom standing on the right and the bride on the left, facing east,

head; the same procedure accompanied the wreath (or crown) for the bride. The priest next took the wedding rings from the bride and bridegroom's fingers, and placed them on the prayer book on the little table. He took the ring for the bridegroom, with it making the sign of the cross on the book three times, and then on the bridegroom's forehead. He gave it to him to kiss; and then, kissing it himself, finally put it on the bridegroom's little finger. This ritual was repeated with the other ring for the bride. When the ring was on her little finger, the priest made the pair hold hands by crossing little fingers, and so they stood. He next took up the glass of wine, putting in it a little piece of bread, and fed first the bridegroom, then the bride, with a spoon, giving each a morsel. This was ordinary bread and wine. Then he offered the glass of wine to the bridegroom to sip, next to the bride, then to the *kum* and *dever*, then to the man and woman standing beside the couple, and afterwards to others near them as long as the wine lasted. The attendant man and woman now respectively fastened up the shoes and clothes of the bridegroom and bride.

The company next formed a complete circle round the table, the priest, if necessary, pushing in other bystanders to make it so. All holding hands, they moved round in a ring three times. The men were on the side near the bridegroom and the women on the bride's side. Bride and bridegroom now kissed the hand of the priest, who then kissed both on their foreheads. Thereupon first the men and then the women who were in the circle one by one kissed both in turn. The bride and bridegroom, however, did not kiss each other. The near female relatives and friends of the bride kissed her on the mouth; the men usually kissed her red and gold forehead-fringe. All the time the bride had to keep her eyes downcast, and her hands hanging down straight at her sides, as before holding the fringed scarf to hide them.

After the priest had removed the wreaths (or crowns) they proceeded out of the west door, leaving him by the table in readiness for the next couple, who had been waiting at one side of the church near by. First he put the loaf on the shelf under the table. Both inside and outside the church brides were waiting in little clusters of their friends.

The bridal crowd returned home in a procession as it came, except that now the bride's face was uncovered, and her veil hung down her back, as it had hung since the priest turned it back in church, though her hands were still hidden.

XIII. *Return of Wedding Procession and attendant Ceremonies.*—When the wedding procession returned to the bridegroom's house,

the bride, still with downcast eyes and hands covered by the fringed silk scarf, her right and left arms supported respectively by a man and a woman, was led slowly into the kitchen to the flour chest. This was opened, and again she moved a rolling-pin three times over a loaf; while all the people sang¹¹ :—

The bride knows how to bake and cook,
The bride knows how to bake a rich cake,

Afterwards every one came up to greet her, and she kissed their hands and gave them sweet wine to drink out of a pitcher, as on the preceding day, while the other guests sang¹² :—

The bride knows how to serve her mother-in-law;
The bride knows how to wait upon her god-mother.
(*etc., etc., for all the other relations*).

She was then led back into the same *podrum* which had been her abode ever since she came to the bridegroom's house. She sat on a stool, and again a small boy removed her shoes, leaving her in her bright embroidered stockings. He then sat on her knee; and, taking a handkerchief from the front of her dress, she gave it to him, whereupon he got up and went away. Then she stood up near the blanket on the wall, and the women arranged the fringed scarf over her hands. A woman or girl continued to mop her face. Even if the bride wept when her father and brothers came to kiss her—it is not the custom for the mother to come—she might not remove her hands from under the scarf; and the woman beside her had to dry her eyes for her.

It is said that the bride has to stay in the *podrum* as a punishment because she has no husband (*kazna zato nema muž*). There she must certainly stand till evening, although she may sit on a little stool when no visitors are present. The *podrum* became crowded, and the children were everywhere in the way.

She remained with eyes cast down to receive the guests who came to gaze at her, for she might not speak, or look at them. The bridegroom also came down to look at her from the room above, where he was receiving guests, offering them a glass of wine, or a flask of *rakija*, and a plate of sweets and *leblebija* (chick-peas) with a small glass of *rakija* on it.

During the afternoon everybody paid visits. When the father

¹¹ See Appendix L.

¹² See Appendix M.

and brothers of the bride went a-visiting they went heralded by a gipsy band. Other gipsy bands played outside the houses of the various bridegrooms, where girls and young men and women danced the *kolo* in the road, or in the *avilija*, if it was large enough.

In the evening there was a great supper, when the bridegroom and his father and brothers were present, but not his mother or sisters or sisters-in-law, for they were busy cooking and preparing the feast, which as many as a hundred guests attended. It was a replica of the former one. When the dishes of roast lamb were brought in the bridegroom's father took the flat loaf off its sieve and held it out to his next door neighbour, another old and important man. (This was the same loaf that his wife had carried on her head when the bride first came to the house.) Both kept turning it round and round in their hands to bring good luck to the bridegroom. All the men sang the same songs as were sung during the breaking of the loaf at the former feast (*see* Songs H and K.)

At the end of the songs the two old men broke the loaf into small pieces and put them on a plate or sieve, which was then given to one of the young men to hand round to each guest.

Most of the time the gipsies were beating their drums as loud as ever they could, and for as long a time as they could endure; when they were tired, the trumpet-flutes began to play so violently that the players nearly blew out their faces. Every one seemed to enjoy it as the proper thing, except two old men, who put their fingers in their ears, which was not at all surprising. At any time during the meal, a guest might turn aside and blow his nose like a tramp, or spit out of the window. Although they all have pocket handkerchiefs, these are kept for show, or very gentle use!

The feast went on all night, and ended only at dawn. All the time the bride remained in the *podrum*, standing with hands covered and downcast eyes, with a few women to keep her company, except when no guest was present, and she was allowed to sit down. When it was bedtime, one of her sisters-in-law (*jetreva*) spread rugs and sheepskins over the bracken on the floor of the *podrum*, and helped the bride to take off her top clothes. Later in the evening the bridegroom came into the *podrum* accompanied by a number of his friends and relations, mostly young men. When he had gone inside to the bride they locked the door. Then his relatives dashed an earthenware dish (*bukare*) of walnuts and sweets against the door so as to break the dish, and all scrambled for the nuts and sweets. The dish is broken, so they say, that the pair may have a good first night together, also health and good luck. The gipsy band played

all night for them, and for the feasting, singing, and dancing of the *kolo*, which continued upstairs throughout most of the night

XIV. *The Fourth Day of Petrovdan (2/15 July).*—Very early in the morning, at about 4 30 a m., the bride, still with downcast eyes, accompanied by her friends and relations, male and female, took her way to fetch water from the nearest fountain. First went the men, then the women, and last of all the bride, with her mother-in-law and a little girl. She carried two pitchers, both decorated with red handkerchiefs, one an earthenware pitcher (*testija*), the other a tall silvered Turkish water jug (*ibrik*). These the little girl filled at the fountain, standing the pitcher aside to be taken back to the house and used for household purposes, and giving the tall Turkish jug to the bride.

As people came up one by one to wash their hands, the bride poured water over them from this jug. Here, again, was a time for joking, as they came, the old men first, then the young ones, and lastly a few of the women. Some of the young men sprinkled mould over people's hands, or tried to sting them with nettles, or scattered any kind of rubbish, sand, or soil, or even manure, to hinder the quick washing of their hands, or gave a stone instead of a piece of soap, and so on. When all had washed their hands, the bride dried her own on a new silk scarf which a woman passed to her. Some of the other women now arranged a fringed silk scarf over her hands, and she stood with downcast eyes and arms hanging straight at her sides, just holding the scarf with one finger, so that it could not fall, exactly as she stood in the *podrum*. Then her father-in-law approached her, and gave her money, ten dinars or more; she bowed and kissed his hand, and presented him with several scarves and handkerchiefs, which a woman beside her handed from the pile over her arm. Then the other men in turn presented her with money, and she kissed their hands and gave them a scarf or handkerchief. A few of the women then ventured to her, and one or two children, who received small handkerchiefs. Some of the men gave dinars to the children, who pressed round to get them. None of the scarves or handkerchiefs were hand-made, but had been bought in Skoplje or some other town. All this time the *cigani* band, standing a little apart, was playing steadily.

Every one now returned to the house, and the waiting bridegroom. The bride poured water over his hands; and then, still with downcast eyes, served every one with *slatko* (jam), hot *rakija*, and Turkish coffee.

The bride, for this ceremony of fetching the first water for use

in her new home, wore on her head a white hand-woven fringed scarf, such as women in old times used to wear, over a kind of silvered chain cap, with silver coins attached to it; this she would continue to wear on special occasions during the year, especially during the next fortnight.

For the rest of the day the bride rested and slept, while the household prepared for the feast at night.

From about midday onwards the bridegroom and a company of his friends went round inviting their friends to the evening feast. He carried a flask of *rakija* and a plate of sweets and *leblebija*. This is a kind of carnival, and every one is merry, and many of the young men dressed up in anything they could find, most frequently in the old men's long white coats, wearing the tasselled cap, or sometimes as women. The procession was headed by a young man in his grandfather's clothes, arm-in-arm with another dressed as a girl or married woman; then followed the young men with the bridegroom, and after him a few girls and numbers of children, and at the tail the four gipsies with their drums and trumpet-flutes. They went through the village into the various houses, issuing invitations and having great fun, sometimes joining in the dancing of the *kolo*; which was going on round each *cigani* band.

The supper in the evening was a repetition of the others; the bridegroom was present, but not the bride, who stood in the outer room (*predsoba*) as before, with downcast eyes and hands covered by the fringed silk scarf, waiting to greet the guests after the meal, and pour water over their hands. This was really necessary, since most of the guests had eaten their food with their fingers. It is usual in most villages for a girl to come round with a jug and a towel before and after a meal, pouring a little water over the guest's hands. After this every one shakes hands with her, leaving some money in her palm, and she kisses their hands.

The feast ended just before dawn, for the guests were nearly exhausted. The gipsies played in the same deafening manner, and some of the younger men danced the *kolo* in a space cleared by removing one of the tables. Often, while the men were dancing, many of the women went into the small passage room to talk to the bride. In Serbian feasts the guests can always come and go as they like and really do just what they feel inclined; the same liberty applies to the food they eat, everything put on the table being left there throughout the meal. The fact that nobody wants hot dishes simplifies the duties of the host and hostess considerably; it allows a leisurely supply of food—for often fifty to one hundred sit down.

There is no other room available; and the company sits round the table singing songs —always a great feature of all gatherings, talking and drinking wine, toasting each other and clinking glasses. Any one can go home when he is tired.

This night the bride and bridegroom slept in a bed in the room allotted to them, not any more in the *podrum*.

Conclusion.—The peasants themselves say that these marriage customs and ceremonies have always been followed in Galičnik, and that they are very similar to those observed before the Battle of Kosovo, insisting also that their village suffered little interference from the Turks, because it was so far in the mountains and so inaccessible. For, until the Great War, when a vehicular road was made, only mule and goat tracks led to it; and these are still the most used. I have also been told, *à propos* of the people of Galičnik, that they are very fearless and look all the world in the face, because they have never known the terror of the Turk like their brethren in less remote places.

The people, like all the Serbians, are extraordinarily hospitable, and certainly they were exceedingly kind and friendly towards me when I was there.

Many of the customs still observed in Galičnik would seem to have their roots in far away antiquity, and resemble those found scattered among widely differing peoples all over the world, as well as in other parts of Jugoslavia. For instance, the seclusion of the bride for a time before her wedding, and the bridegroom's abstaining from shaving for a period previous to it; the separation of the bride from the wedding festivities; the begging forgiveness beforehand of the parents and ancestors; breaking something on the wedding night; the bride's pouring water over the hands of the guests; and her being fetched to her father-in-law's house before the marriage ceremony, as well as the various fertility and friendship ceremonies, and the covering of the heads of both bride and bridegroom with a single piece of stuff at the wedding, and hooking their little fingers together. This is to mention but a few examples of very widely distributed customs. I have described what I saw and heard at the wedding ceremonies, without making comments or comparisons.

But it would be an interesting study to trace the history and evolution of these different marriage customs and ceremonies, and especially to disentangle the later Moslem influences from those of Byzantium and the East generally, before the subjugation of the whole country by the Turks after the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389.

Original text of Galičnik wedding songs, as taken down from the peasants, *Petrovdan*, 1932.

Song A.

Cutela ruža vo kled
A vo dvorovi razvila.
Tu je pomina detence
Edno u majka
Krotkom vodiija kunjata,
Da ne ukršiš ružata,
Ili je ruža vadena
Utro i večer so voda
A na pladnina so slzi.

Song B.

Kinisuvat Raduva na vojska,
Da mi odit Budim po devojka.
Budimci su mnogu kavgađžiji,
Ča ne vratit Budim bez devojka.

Song D.

Tatka ti ne ustramiš, majka ti,
Sestra ti, braća ti . . .

Song E.

Čestita riza, junače, šo te devojka kitila,
So nočna lamba sedela, junaku riza kitila.

Song F.

Strojevala devojaka na zlaten prsten izlagat,
Svekoru roka celivat.
Svekor ja daruval eden altin stambolski,
I toj beše zajmen, po buniščata najden.

Song G.

Neće zetot berber da go bričit,
Dur ne zemet od tatka prošćenje.

Song H.

Ogrejala mesečina po česna trpenza.
Ne mi bila mesečina po česna trpenza,
Tok mi bila česna svaća od bela pčenica.

Song K.

Naročuvat svaća Vasilkovica
Svaća Jakovice :
Zar nemaše, svaće mori,
Edna škorka drva,
Da ispečeš česna svaća ?
Da l' nemaše, svaće mori,
Edna skrupca solca,
Da posoliš česna svaća ?

Song J.

Šo si došla, o devojčce, vo našite kledi ?
 Su grešila, moj drugački, potišča drumišča.
 Veti mome, šo ča vetiš potot da ti kaža ?
 Ča vi veta, moj drugački, mojvo belo liko.
 Šo će mene belo liko i ja liko ima,
 Ča vi veta, moj drugački, mojva ramna snoga.
 Šo će meni ramna snoga i ja snoga ima.

Song L.

Umejala nevestata pecivo da mesi ;
 Umejala nevestata pecivo da sučet.

Song M.

Umejala nevestata svekra da služit ;
 Umejala nevestata kuma da poslužit. . . .

OLIVE LODGE.

OBITUARY

MARIE CURIE

MME. CURIE, whose death occurred on 4 July after a brief illness, held an outstanding position in science, for she had long been regarded as the foremost woman investigator of our age. Although her greatest scientific work, the discovery and isolation of radium, was done nearly thirty years ago, yet, as professor in the Sorbonne and director of the Radium Institute in Paris, Mme. Curie until the time of her death was actively engaged in researches on the physical and chemical properties of the radioactive bodies. At the same time, she was also director of a vigorous school of research which attracted investigators from many countries. During the last few years, she was engaged in preparing preparations of actinium much stronger than had previously been available, for the purpose of examining the fine structure of the α -ray groups emitted by the products of this element. With the help of her colleague, Dr. Rosenblum, and the use of the large Paris electro-magnet, many new results of importance were obtained.

Marie Skłodowska was born at Warsaw on 7 November, 1867, and received her early education in that city. Interested in science, she resolved, notwithstanding financial difficulties, to go to Paris to perfect her scientific training, and took lectures and examinations in the Sorbonne. In 1895 she married Pierre Curie, a young physicist in Paris who was making those highly original and fundamental contributions to magnetism and crystallography so well known to every student today. The young couple joined forces in their scientific work, which was carried out initially under difficult con-

ditions, for laboratory arrangements were poor, and both had to undertake much teaching to gain a livelihood.

The turning point of the scientific career of Mme. Curie came as a consequence of the fundamental discovery of radioactivity by Henri Becquerel in Paris in 1896. He showed that the element uranium spontaneously emitted new types of penetrating radiation which darkened a photographic plate and discharged electrified bodies. This new discovery attracted the attention of Mme. Curie and, using the electric method as a means of quantitative analysis, she showed that the radioactivity of uranium was an atomic property. She also observed that the mineral pitchblende, from which uranium was separated, showed four to five times the activity due to the uranium alone. Since the activity of uranium was due to the atoms alone, this observation could only be explained by the presence of a new element or elements in the pitchblende much more active than uranium.

Boldly relying on this hypothesis, Mme. Curie made a systematic chemical analysis of pitchblende, using the electric method as a means of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the activity of her preparations. The first active element observed by these methods had properties allied to bismuth and was called polonium after her native country. She later discovered the presence of another element, happily named radium, which was similar in chemical properties to barium. We now know that radium is one of the long series of products of the radioactive transformation of uranium and exists in uranium minerals in about 1 part in 3 millions compared with uranium, and weight for weight shows an activity many million times that of uranium. The paper announcing this discovery was published in the *Comptes rendus* of 1898 under the names of M. and Mme. Curie and G. Bémont.

While at this stage M. and Mme. Curie did all their scientific work together, it is natural to assume that Mme. Curie, as the chemist of the combination, was mainly responsible for the chemical work involved. She alone was responsible for the large-scale chemical work required to separate radium from radioactive residues in sufficient quantity to purify it and obtain its atomic weight—a splendid piece of work for which she was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1911. It may be recalled here that Mme. Curie is the only recipient of a second award, for she shared a Nobel Prize with her husband and Henri Becquerel in 1904.

The discovery and isolation of radium was an event of outstanding significance to science from both the theoretical and practical points

of view. The spontaneous emission of radiation from this element was so marked that not only was it difficult at first to explain but also, what was more important, still more difficult to explain away. The discovery of polonium and radium prepared the way for the ultimate explanation of radioactivity in terms of the spontaneous transformation of the radioactive bodies. Moreover, radium, in virtue of the radioactive emanation and other radioactive products into which it is transformed, has proved an invaluable source of great intensity for a study of the effects of the α -, β - and γ -rays in their passage through matter, and has thus played an important part in the growth of our knowledge of the internal structure of atoms in general. In addition, radium, in consequence of the highly penetrating γ -rays emitted from its products, has been widely used for therapeutic purposes and has proved an invaluable adjunct in the treatment of cancerous growths. Indeed, the greater part of the radium now separated on a commercial scale is utilised in the hospitals of the world for this purpose. Mme. Curie throughout her life actively promoted this use of her discovery to alleviate suffering, and during the war personally devoted herself to this remedial work—possibly at the expense of her own health.

Space does not allow me to mention more than a few of her numerous investigations in the field of radioactivity. She was for many years deeply interested in studying the chemical properties of the first element she discovered—polonium—and in developing methods for obtaining powerful sources of this element in the form of a thin film. Such active sources of polonium have proved of great use in later years in studying the transformations of matter by the action of α -particles, for the experiments are not complicated by the intense emission of β - and γ -rays which arise from sources like radium (B + C) and thorium (B + C). It was with the aid of these strong polonium sources that her son-in-law and daughter, M. and Mme. Curie-Joliot, have recently studied with such success the production of neutrons and induced radioactivity by the action of α -particles.

Mme. Curie retained her enthusiasm for science and scientific investigation throughout her life. She was an indefatigable worker and was never happier than in discussing scientific problems with her friends. All her publications are characterised not only by accuracy and skill in experimentation but also by marked critical power in the interpretation of the experimental results. Quiet, dignified and unassuming, she was held in high esteem and admiration by scientific men throughout the world, and was a welcome

member of scientific conferences, in many of which she took an active part. She was a member of the Conseil du Physique Solvay from 1911 until her death. Since 1922 she had been a member of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, and made many visits to Geneva.

The life of Mme. Curie was not without serious trials and tragedy, for her husband lost his life in a street accident in 1906. Immediately afterwards she was called to assume the directorship of the new Radium Institute named the "Laboratoire Curie" which had been built specially for Pierre Curie and herself. She was made professor in the Sorbonne—the first time that a woman had gained this position. She was a clear and attractive speaker, and her lectures in the Sorbonne were widely attended not only by students of science but also by the educated public. In her later years, it was a source of pleasure and pride to her to watch the fine discoveries made by her daughter Irene and her daughter's husband in collaboration in her own laboratory. In a sense, history had repeated itself.

The importance of the pioneer work of M. and Mme. Curie in radioactivity was promptly recognised by the scientific world. In 1903, the Royal Society awarded them its Davy Medal. It is of interest to note that in 1903, M. and Mme. Curie came to London and M. Curie gave a lecture before the Royal Institution on the properties of radium. On this occasion, with the help of Sir James Dewar, the heat emission of radium at the low temperature of liquid oxygen was demonstrated for the first time. Mme. Curie was awarded numerous honorary degrees and was made honorary member of many societies both in Great Britain and abroad. In her last visit to England in 1929, she received the freedom of the city of Glasgow as well as an honorary doctorate of laws from the University. She was invited by the women of the United States to visit them in 1921; they presented her with a gram of radium in recognition of her discoveries, and in order to allow her to extend her investigations. She was everywhere received with great honour and repeated her visit in 1928.

The many friends of Mme. Curie throughout the world, who admired her not only for her scientific talents but also for her fine character and personality, lament the untimely removal of one who had made such great contributions to knowledge, and, through her discoveries, to the welfare of mankind.

RUTHERFORD.

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ALEXANDER LEDNICKI

At a banquet of Polish barristers near Warsaw, in June, 1905, the late Alexander Lednicki made a memorable speech in which he most successfully defined what was his personal part in the work of *rapprochement* between Russia and Poland—which was the chief purpose and great merit of his lifelong activity. He said then: "There, in Russia, as well as here, the work of the Poles must be devoted to the national cause. We who are there function *ipso facto* as representatives of our country—in a way, consuls for the Polish cause." Lednicki pointed out that just then, at a moment of a general Russian political upheaval, he was no more the only one to fight for right and liberty. The fighters for these things in Russia were stretching out their hands to the Poles. "We need no more to wait for a Messiah to come, when the watchword of liberation resounds all over the plain of Russia."

And, indeed, it was the moment of a very promising start of the first Russian Revolution of 1905, which resulted in the convocation of the first Russian Duma. About the same time two parallel political parties were created, representing the democracies of both nations: the Constitutional Democratic (Cadet) party in Russia, and the Progressive Democratic party in Poland. Lednicki was among the founders of both of them. We of the opposition to the old régime in Russia could now carry on our political struggle together. It was particularly happy for our common cause of liberation that the "Cadet" leaders were united with Lednicki not only by their political aspirations, but also by the ties of personal friendship. A great Polish patriot, "Alexander Robertovich" was regarded by his Moscow friends as a genuine Russian intellectual and, accordingly, he enjoyed a great influence in the ranks of both nations. His spacious Moscow house, No. 8 in the Krivonikolsky Lane, served as a centre where Russian and Polish Progressives had met since 1904 and had tried to find a common language in the common cause.

There remained between them, however, an important point of difference. The Poles could not for a moment forsake their compatriots' centennial claim for complete liberation of their country. The Russians, who fought at home, felt constrained to take account both of international and of local difficulties before the final solution, and they were unable to follow their Polish friends up to the extreme consequences of their noble idea. It was Lednicki's merit that he understood this, and that he took upon himself the arduous task of adapting the national claim to a scheme acceptable to Russian

friends and realisable—as they then thought it—within the limits of their constitutional struggle. This was the idea of giving national autonomy to Poland. In his speeches of that time (1905), published since, Lednicki insisted to the Russians that Polish autonomy, far from menacing them with an increase of secessionist aims, would strengthen the centripetal tendencies of this as well as of other Russian borderlands. And, indeed, Poles, as well as those of other national minorities of Imperial Russia—Estonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Armenians and Mussulmans—joined the Cadet party; Lednicki brought them together in a club of “autonomist-federalists,” over which he himself presided. On the other hand, he tried to prove to the Poles that a union with the Russian Liberals and Radicals was the only way to promote their cause and to attain what was “within the limits of the possible.” One can imagine that the part Lednicki thus had to play was no easy one; but he carried it through with complete self-abnegation; and his lofty character, joined with his political perspicacity, preserved him from anything demagogic or visionary. He thus succeeded in preserving both unity of action in the present and the possibility of enlarging his political scheme in the future.

After the collapse of the Russian Revolution of 1905, it looked as if this “future” was never to come. But Lednicki still preserved his firm belief that the Russian people would finally win its freedom. The old watchword “for your (Russian) and our (Polish) liberty” was for him no mere phrase. He remained faithful to the common cause of both peoples—and he was not mistaken. He did not lose hope even in the years of the Russian reaction of 1907–1917, and he stuck to the union with the Russian democrats while his more “realistic” compatriots were courting the favours of the autocratic government. Moreover, in his unswerving optimism, he now, as before, was in advance of his time. He had already extended “autonomy” to “federation.”

During the Great War he boldly unfolded the banner of Polish independence, which was now to take the place of Polish federation with Russia. As his Russian friends were again unable to follow him at once, he left the ranks of the “Cadet” party. However, the moral, ideological and political links were not broken. When the second Russian Revolution of 1917 proved victorious, our ways met together again. The end of autocracy brought with it the dawn of Polish liberty; no lesser change than that was required to bring the Polish claim within the reach of practical policy, and no other issue than the Allied victory in the world struggle could give to that claim

an international sanction. Lednicki's old Russian friends were now at liberty to endorse the complete Polish programme; the former Polish "consul" was to become the first Polish "ambassador" to the New Russia, and his historical residence, No. 8, Krivonikolsky Lane, actually became for a time the first Polish Embassy. Unhappily, of the two parallel causes, the Polish and the Russian, the former alone was definitely triumphant, the latter proved to be much more complicated.

A false legend was built up as to the part played by Lednicki's Russian friends in the declaration of Polish independence by the revolutionary Provisional Government of Russia. The rumour went, that Polish independence was not proclaimed by Lednicki's political friends of their own free impulse, but that it was wrung from the recalcitrant government by political or by moral pressure, that of Great Britain and of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The falsehood of this legend was more than once shown up by Lednicki and myself; the leaflet of Leon Kozłowski told the whole story in detail. Poland's independence was the ripe fruit of a long-standing design, originated and realised in brotherly love. It was proclaimed as soon as the necessary objective conditions for it were in sight. It crowned our previous common work so logically that no pressure either from outside or from below was needed to realise it; it sufficed to say the word for the deed to follow. Four days proved sufficient to prepare the draft and to have it confirmed by the Provisional Government¹ The text was written by myself; Lednicki introduced some changes in it. At the same time, on his own suggestion, he was nominated President of the Liquidation Department, i.e. of an institution set up to make a peaceful settlement of all questions that might present themselves in the procedure of separation.

Many acts of the revolutionary Provisional Government only remained on paper after the Communist victory. But the Act of Declaration of Polish independence in the main preserved its legal force from the international point of view. It served not only in its positive provisions, but also in some of its reservations (as to the Eastern frontiers of Poland) as a basis for the decisions of the Peace Congress. Many things have happened since then which have relegated this document to the domain of history. But I do believe that the great achievement of Lednicki, in spite of all fluctuations of Russo-Polish relations, will not be forgotten. By it was given a convincing proof that no historical grievances of olden days can or

¹ Professor Milyukov was then Foreign Secretary to this Government.—ED.

will hinder a sincere friendship between these two democracies—as soon as their leading spirits find the means to harmonise their real interests with their aims and ideals. This is the legacy which Lednicki left behind him, and we cherish the hope that the day will come when his lofty aspirations for Russo-Polish brotherhood will become a reality.

PAUL MILYUKOV

Alexander Lednicki, although the greater part of his life was spent in Russia, was among the most popular political figures of Poland. He was in contact with the country through his publications, and any speech he delivered in any Polish town was an event. His visits to Poland were frequent, and he took an active part in the work of several cultural institutions. One of his great achievements was the organisation of relief for the numerous Polish refugees in Russia during the War, as well as the organisation of their return to Poland after 1918. Later on he settled in Warsaw. In the years 1919–1923 he edited a political weekly *Tydzień Polski*. During the years 1928–1930 he was a judge on the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland. He was also known for his philanthropic work and for energetic activities in various societies promoting international concord. A good Polish patriot, he was also a good European and a pacifist in the deeper meaning of the word.

W. B.

JOHN WARD

JOHN WARD, who died at Andover after a trying illness on 19 December, for those who are interested in Russia rather than in theories, might well be the subject of a special article in this *Review*, only that the article could be no more than a shadow of his own live record *With the Diehards in Siberia*. It is impossible to imagine an environment in which this son of British artisan parents, the navvy worker of the Manchester ship canal and later founder of the Navvies' Union and Labour member of Parliament, might have felt more out of place than in the civil war following the Russian Revolution, when he found himself figuring at the principal support of a Russian dictatorship. Yet it all came naturally of itself to him. Not many people can have had so much affection from the most various and unlikely quarters clustered about them; but that was because his strong, clean character stood out unchangeable and left its clear mark on anyone who met him.

John Ward enlisted before he was twenty and served with

distinction in the Suakim forces under Lord Wolseley, and from this experience he returned quite naturally to his work as an organiser of labour and a member of the Social Democratic Federation. He was elected to Parliament for Stoke-on-Trent in the sweeping General Election of 1906, the year of the meeting of the first modern Russian national assembly. His speeches, whether in Parliament or in the General Federation of Trade Unions, of which he later became Trustee, were always marked by sound British sense and pith, but above all by the love of liberty.

On the outbreak of the Great War he went straight back by instinct to the army, giving his reasons to his Labour colleagues in the following short speech:—

“There are worse things than losing life. Losing one's honour, one's sense of decency, or self-respect, not merely as a man, but as a member of a great race and nation—that shows a moral decay which is worse than physical death a thousand times.

“But no matter how many Englishmen may die outwardly, spiritually they continue to live, and it is that conviction which has made me don the uniform I wear today.”

He raised as many as five labour battalions, and was the creator of the 25th Battalion of the Middlesex Regiment, with which he later went to Siberia. The war was for him essentially a war for liberty and the national honour, and he was as much at home in this atmosphere as in his work for British labour. During his journey with his men to the Far East on the troopship “Tyndareus” he was mined off the South African coast, and those who knew him will see again his big rugged towering figure as he spoke thus to his troops:—

“Officers and men of the 25th, you have now the supreme test of your lives, the one moment we all ought to have lived for . . . All the best traditions of your country and your race are in your keeping. Obey orders and we may be able to save you all, but if we cannot, then let us finish as English gentlemen. Stand easy.”

In Siberia he was thrown into the most extraordinary *milieu*, which certainly remained unfathomable for nearly all the diplomats who found themselves there. After some creditable fighting in Eastern Siberia, he was sent up to Omsk; and here, by the freak of circumstances, with the line of communications cut behind him, it was left to him more than to any other person, Russian or foreign, to take the governing decision which launched and supported Admiral Kolchak in his dictatorship for the election of a new Constituent Assembly (the first had been dispersed by force by the

Bolsheviks) and the establishment of a constitutional régime. If the diplomatists on the spot saw little of the bearings of this issue, far less was understood by the circles from which John Ward himself came. It was not for him, of course, to put forward Kolchak, nor did Kolchak put himself forward, for the Admiral only undertook this task in the broadest spirit of Russian patriotism and as a heavy and unwelcome burden. But it was for Ward, both at the outset and later in the sharp crisis of December, 1918, to settle whether this régime was to go down amidst the welter of ugly personal intrigues which was the governing atmosphere in Omsk at the time; the immediate alternative in Omsk was probably a monarchist reaction. In December, in the depth of a Siberian winter, Ward's decision had to be taken of a sudden and at night, but he put the protection of his troops behind the Admiral without delay, with no use of force, yet in such a way as to make any bloodshed unlikely. It was because Kolchak had this British support behind him, because it was represented in deed and word by a natural leader with the best traditions of Britain and of British labour within him, because Kolchak was by nature a man to accept all the responsibilities which such support indicated, that this seemingly strange combination was possible. The two men became warm personal friends. Ward sensed at once all that was disgusting in the atmosphere of Omsk and steered his way with a triumphant simplicity through several other crises and through all the intrigues of Rights and Lefts, noting with a clearness of judgment which was much more than horse sense all the main features of the situation, and unfalteringly taking the line natural to a big-hearted friend of Russia and a man who put honour, character and liberty before all other considerations. From the start he had made his own simple conditions, all of them prompted by his fear for the future of the Russian people as a whole, which were at once welcomed and accepted by Kolchak. At one time he found himself by Kolchak's desire travelling the length of Siberia and back, making speeches instinct with the interests of labour in the workshops of the Siberian railway, and in every case his words went home even through the medium of an interpreter and had their full effect. He saw with a sure and immediate instinct the miserable variations of Allied policy, the selfish and monarchical intrigues of Japan, the grave mistakes of American ignorance, even the partial failure of his well-loved Czechs and, clearest of all, the entire self-seeking of the motley herd of monarchist adventurers, military and civilian, who surrounded Kolchak, as well as the purely professional and intellectual character of the Bolshevik propagandists in

the rear. So long as Ward was there, balanced as he was on the edge of an eruption, things stood firm. In his last conversation with Kolchak he asked: "Admiral, do you think you will carry this through?" To this Kolchak replied thoughtfully: "I do not know; but within a year one of two things will have happened; either the Constituent Assembly will have met in Moscow or I shall be dead." Those who have any knowledge of the Admiral will know that he would have kept his word, but his environment was too fatal and his task too great.

Ward never failed after his return to England to speak up loyally for his friend. He gave the name of Omsk to his house at Andover, where he died. Among all the freaks of history, I know none more surprising than that which brought him to Siberia, and whatever else has happened since, everyone who saw him or heard him there, will never forget the living image which he presented of the character, good sense and honour of his country.

BERNARD PARES.

ALLEN LEEPER

To those who knew his work—selfless and unostentatious, but untiring, tenacious, full of vitality—the death of Allen Leeper is a real disaster. It removes a mind which was not merely inspired by high ideals and a background of vivifying faith, but which had that essentially constructive quality which does not always go with resourcefulness or capacity for hard work. He never hugged illusions, yet he never lost hope; he combined the realist and idealist better than any man I ever knew. Disappointment never drove him to negation.

Allen Leeper came of Irish stock transplanted to Australia. His father was Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne, well known as a scholar and a teacher. After taking his degree at Melbourne, Leeper went on to Oxford, and then from Balliol to the Egyptological Department of the British Museum. He had a natural facility for languages, and already bade fair to make his mark in Egyptian and Assyrian studies, when the war swept him into new channels. Never robust enough for active service, he had to be discouraged from his desire for work as an orderly in Serbia during the typhus epidemic, and he was soon enlisted in one of those embryo departments of "intelligence" which were forming in 1915. A year later he formed one of a small band in Lord Edward Gleichen's "Intelligence Bureau," which reported week by week to the War Cabinet on the

foreign situation (While Headlam-Morley, George Saunders and Edwyn Bevan wrote on Germany, John Bailey on France, Arnold Toynbee on Turkey, myself on Austria, Allen and Rex Leeper dealt with the Near East and with Russia.) This gave his love of languages fresh scope, and he ploughed daily through masses of Greek, Roumanian, Hungarian and Bulgarian newspapers. It is allowable to add that while checking all the written material, public or confidential, which we could lay hands upon, we also maintained many personal contacts with Allied statesmen and journalists and with the numerous exiled leaders who passed through London. Specially close were his relations with Take Ionescu and with Nicholas Mişu, the Roumanian Minister in London, until in 1918 he was entrusted with the painful mission of acting as Foreign Minister in the Cabinet which concluded a forced peace with Germany.

Our close daily consultations on all manner of foreign problems led naturally to his becoming a frequent contributor to the *New Europe*. Pseudonyms were the order of the day; and while I wrote on Austria as "Rubicon," the Leeper brothers were "Belisarius" and "Rurik," and MM. Mantoux and Comert occasionally provided a composite article under the name of "Villehardouin." It was at this time that Allen Leeper published an admirable brochure entitled *The Justice of Roumania's Cause*, in connection with the newly-founded Anglo-Roumanian Society, and also contributed the Balkan sections to *The Times History of the War*. Early in 1918, however, the new Department was incorporated in the Foreign Office, with the result that he was no longer free to write outside. Thus he and his brother ended by becoming regular members of the Diplomatic Service.

When the Peace Conference opened at Paris, he and his close friend and colleague Harold Nicolson became two of Sir Eyre Crowe's most valued and untiring assistants in mastering and marshalling the almost overwhelming material connected with racial and frontier disputes on the Danube and in the Balkans. As one who was for months on the fringes of the Conference (making it my business to convince myself that the Allied "experts" had full and accurate information, and on occasion to establish missing contacts in many directions), I can unhesitatingly testify that never was a more unjust and foolish mare's nest put forward than the allegation as to ignorant experts. For months Allen Leeper, Nicolson and a number of others, and the bevy of brilliant Americans with whom they were in contact (Coolidge, Seymour, Day, Lord, Douglas Johnson, Lybyer, Bowman, to mention only the more outstanding), were bombarded with

material of all kinds from the most opposite and conflicting sources, and steered a steady and unflinching course through them all. The diaries of David Hunter Miller, published by a deliberate indiscretion, have lifted a corner of the veil, and contain summaries of plenary meetings and subsidiary committees at which the name of Leeper figures. Of the endless consultations and memoranda and parleyings no full record will ever be forthcoming; but it is right to insist that he and his colleagues struggled manfully to achieve a reasonable compromise along frontiers where a "Clean cut" on lines of nationality is absolutely impossible. It must suffice to allude to the Committee for drawing the Banat frontier between Yugoslavia and Roumania, where the line established mainly by Leeper's efforts was modified at the very last moment by orders from above, for purely political reasons.

During the summer of 1919 Leeper was attached to General Smuts on his abortive mission to the Bolshevik Government in Budapest, thereby probably averting some dangerous improvisations; and later in the year he accompanied Sir George Clerk on his much more serious mission to Bucarest and Budapest, to prepare the way for a reconciliation between Roumania and the Peace Conference, and for elections inside Hungary. On both occasions Leeper's close knowledge of events and of men proved invaluable; and those who knew him were in no way surprised when Lord Curzon made him and Nicolson Assistant Private Secretaries and took them with him to Lausanne in connection with the Turko-Greek peace negotiations.

In 1924 his skill and efficiency were recognised when he was sent to his native Australia to organise the first germ of a separate diplomatic service; and most of his recommendations eventually took effect. Then for five years he was First Secretary at the Vienna Legation, spending all his spare time in extending his practical knowledge of Central European affairs. In 1928 he returned to the Foreign Office and for the last few years of his life was first assistant in, then head of, the Western Department, charged especially with the vast complex of questions known as the League and Disarmament. A generation may pass before his work there sees the light of day, but when at last it is fully revealed, his niche in history will be assured, and the much-abused Foreign Office will be vindicated. Sir John Simon, in his generous little tribute in *The Times*, told the barest truth: "Leeper was complete master of every detail, both in Whitehall and at Geneva, of this complicated and all-important subject, and gave his whole heart and mind to it; no setback discouraged him and no opportunity escaped him." As one who knew

him well wrote, "at the time of his death he was only getting into his stride: he would have gone very far." To the cause of disarmament he gave himself body and soul, and it killed him; but he never for a moment lost the sure faith in its ultimate triumph. Its source was in an inner sanctuary of religious faith—very definite, yet never exclusive, full of broad charity and steadfast vision, an inspiration and an example to his friends.

Allen Leeper was a man of most versatile nature. He was a walking cyclopædia of every kind of language, from Aramaic to Lettish or Romansch. In the Highlands he would find time for Norse place-names or the rudiments of Gaelic; in Central Europe he tramped medieval battlefields and kept abreast of poetry, drama and music. His historical interests ranged over a very wide field and encroached upon theology, art and folklore. He has left, almost completed, a history of medieval Austria, of which one chapter appeared in the *Slavonic Review* in 1933. To his friends Leeper will remain one of the most loyal, unselfish and steadfast of men, combining the tradition of the British Civil Service—always high, but never higher than in these post-war years—with a charm, a freshness, a persuasive originality that were all his own.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XII)

(Selection of Decrees and Documents)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the seed loan to kolhozy.

Aiming at the necessity of the further economic strengthening of the kolhozy, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decree:—

1. To grant, from State reserves, a seed, food and forage loan amounting to 69 million 197 thousand puds to kolhozy which have suffered from elemental disasters.

2. To distribute the seed, food and forage loan granted to the kolhozy in the following manner:—

To the kolhozy of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

Republic 38,550,000 puds

Including :—

Dnepropetrovsk province	.. ..	12,200,000 puds
Odessa	" .	10,900,000 "
Donetsk	" ..	6,400,000 "
Harkov	" ..	5,450,000 "
Vinnitsk	" ...	2,450,000 "
Kiev	" .	950,000 "
Chernigov	" .	200,000 "

To the kolhozy of :—

Azov and Black Sea Area	.	4,000,000 "
North Caucasus	" .	1,100,000 "
Stalingrad	" ..	7,000,000 "
Saratov	" .	7,000,000 "
Middle Volga	" .	5,000,000 "
Voronezh province	.. .	1,370,000 "
Western Siberian Area	... ..	5,000,000 "
Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic	..	177,000 "

3. To grant a seed, food and forage loan without interest but on the condition that the loan should be returned in kind in the autumn of 1935, and that 10 puds should be added for every 100 puds of the loan, when it is returned, to compensate administrative and transport expenses borne by the State.

4. The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) call the attention of all party and soviet organisations and of the kolhozy to the necessity of completing the collection and cleansing of seed everywhere in the shortest time possible, in order to ensure the early termination of sowing by timely preparation for the spring sowing campaign and to ensure a better crop.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki),

J. STALIN.

26 December, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 27 December, 1934, No. 302-5550.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the responsibility for loss of passport owing to negligence.

In view of the necessity of combating the frequent cases of losses of passports owing to negligence, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree :—

To supplement the Passport Regulations issued by the Central Execu-

tive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR with the article 9 (1), the contents of which are as follows -

"9 (1). In case of loss or theft of passport as a result of negligent keeping, the owner of the passport is liable to a fine of 100 roubles, and he is to receive a temporary certificate instead of a new passport."

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 27 December, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 1 January, 1935, No. 1-5554)

VIIIth All-Union Congress of Soviets.

Speech by Comrade Tukhachevsky, Assistant People's Commissary for Defence.

Comrades, the strength of our workers' and peasants' Red Army, above all, rests on the fact that it follows vigorously, like one man, the guidance of the Communist Party, the guidance of our great leader, Comrade Stalin.

The decisions of the XVIIth Party Congress and the report by Comrade Stalin have, during the last year, been the basic directions for the Red Army, its party organisations, the non-party mass of soldiers and the commanding contingent, which directions have been carried out and realised.

Workers represent 45.5 per cent. of the total contingent of the Red Army. Its peasant portion is represented by members of the kolhozy to the extent of 90 per cent. Therefore the sensitiveness and attention which the Red Army pays to all the decisions of the Party, its Congresses and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee, are quite readily understood. The soldiers of the Red Army are the first in the rank when the carrying out of these decisions is required. We must say quite definitely that the politics and morale of the Red Army are as firm as never before.

This is expressed not only in political and class consciousness of the Red Army soldiers, but also in the fact that the Red Army, literally day and night, works at the task of strengthening the defence of the country, at the task of mastering the splendid technique which has been given to the Red Army by our country. The task, comrades, is very difficult and complicated. Military science is now entirely new. Tactical rules and forms are changing. Methods of training and instruction are also getting more complicated every year, and only thanks to the great enthusiasm as to military preparedness which we have in the Red Army are we able to solve these problems. It must be realised that the main motive which makes our commanders and Red Army soldiers study military science,

to create and strengthen new methods of war is, above all, class solidarity, understanding of class aims, understanding of the problems with which our Soviet Union is faced.

The number of Party members and of Young Communists in the Army is considerable, i.e. it equals 49.3 per cent. This number among the officers' corps is even more considerable, 68.3 per cent. If we analyse the figures further, according to the ranks of the officers, we shall see that nearly 72 per cent. of the regimental commanders, about 90 per cent. of the divisional commanders, and 100 per cent. of the corps commanders are members of the Party. The proletarian layer among all ranks of the officers' corps is also on the increase. But our commanders work day and night not only in order to augment the store of military knowledge, but also to bring the general cultural preparedness to a higher level.

We have already considerable achievements in this respect. More than 15 per cent. of our regimental commanders and more than 50 per cent. of the divisional and corps commanders have graduated from various military academies. Thus we have in the Red Army all the conditions to create a first-class army, an army which is not only well armed, but is able to make use of its arms intelligently and properly.

The social and economic conditions of our soldiers and of the political and commanding officers are also improving constantly. Of course, there is much to be desired in this respect; but during these years the wages of the soldiers and of the commanders have constantly increased, and the amount of money spent each year per man has been also on the increase. The housing conditions of the Red Army are also improving in every respect. But, I repeat, much is yet to be desired.

When speaking of the military training of the soldiers, one must mention the work which is being carried out by the Osoaviokhim. Here millions of workers and peasants are prepared for the Red Army, are trained in such manner as to be able, during a war, to renew their military knowledge. The re-training is a problem of exceptional importance, and this re-training is being carried out by the Osoaviokhim, year after year, with greater efficiency. The Osoaviokhim and the Red Army are working together, hand in hand, in the matter of physical training. This task is a very important one. Technical appliances, though they seem to replace physical labour, nevertheless, as practice and experience show, demand a high standard of physical fitness. In order to be a good tankist, in order to be a good flyer, one must be able to stand much tension, to be physically fit, and in this respect the Red Army and the Osoaviokhim are doing good work.

The problem of chemical defence is extremely important, but it is outside the scope of the Red Army and of the work of Osoaviokhim. The whole country must work at this problem.

The menace of future war which capitalist States would make on us seems to us inevitable, and we must, therefore, work very hard to strengthen the efficiency of anti-gas defence.

You know that during the last few years our technique has improved very considerably; our Party and, first of all, Comrade Stalin who has personally directed the development of our military technique, insisted upon the creation of an aviation not only strong numerically, but also powerful in quality; they insisted upon the strengthening of our army with numerous tanks and with powerful up-to-date artillery. Much has been done in this respect. A good deal has also been done to create a powerful navy for defensive purposes.

What are the main indices showing the growth of the technical army units?

Aviation, the development of which, during the last few years, has been the object of special effort, has increased since the VIth Congress of Soviets by 330 per cent. This shows only a quantitative growth. But the power of modern aviation rests not only on the number of airplanes. Considering the great dimensions of our country, the questions of flying distances, of capacity to carry large loads, of speed of airplanes are of the utmost importance. During the last few years, or to be more exact, especially during the last year or the last two years, we undoubtedly have great achievements in that respect. Our aviation was up to the general standard of up-to-date aviation technique, but during the last years, I repeat, it has made great strides. We have now, for instance, an increase of speed of our destroyers and bombers to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ times or twice. As to flying distance and carrying capacity, the increase is nearly three times as great.

Comrades, it is difficult to say what great importance these qualitative indices have. The greater the speed of an airplane, the less is it vulnerable for anti-aircraft artillery, the less is it liable to suffer from enemy destroyers. Therefore, these indices are of not less, but perhaps of more importance than the quantitative indices.

The Red Army is strenuously at work in mastering the new aviation technique. We can boast of a considerable decrease in the number of accidents. We can say that the fighting efficiency of various types of machines is much better, our aviation is trained tactically for collaboration with other kinds of arms—of land and water—as well as for independent action, which will be of specially great importance in the next war.

The number of tanks has increased very considerably. Since the VIth Congress of the Soviets we have the following increase in percentage: tankettes, 2,475 per cent.; light tanks, 760 per cent.; medium-size tanks 792 per cent. This would tell you that our army, as far as its technical equipment is concerned, has now become entirely different. If I add that the qualitative indices have considerably increased, that the speed of our tanks has increased from three to six times, then you will better understand the importance of these figures.

We have attained considerable successes also in artillery equipment. Since the VIth Congress of the Soviets the number of machine-guns for infantry and cavalry units has increased by more than twice, the number

of machine-guns for aviation and for the tanks by seven times, the number of tank and anti-tank guns has increased by $4\frac{1}{2}$ times, the number of heavy guns by over twice.

But the technical strength of our artillery is measured not only by these quantitative indices. The quality is also rapidly improving. We have a number of new excellent up-to-date guns which are absorbed by the Red Army. Apart from guns, we have now much better shell, detonators, fuses, etc. All this is of very great importance.

We have made considerable progress in the radiofication of our army. The technical re-equipment of our army demanded the employment of the most elaborate methods of liaison. The mobility of armies is increasing. It is impossible to make use of the advantages of aviation, it is impossible to utilise the advantages of tanks, the rapid fire and great range of modern guns without increasing the mobility. And the increase of mobility demands the greatest skill in the management of troops, which it is impossible to achieve without the best means of liaison. Therefore the question of radiofication of the Red Army is engaging special attention. Since the VIth Congress the total number of radio stations has increased by 1,750 per cent., and the number of aviation radio stations by 1,900 per cent.

Thus, we have considerable achievements as regards aviation, tanks, and our military equipment on land. Our Party has done good work here, Sergo Ordzhonikidze and Comrade Voroshilov, who have each year demanded more and more technical improvements, have done good work, too; but most of all did Comrade Stalin, who personally and daily directed these matters.

The navy has also increased considerably since the VIth Congress. If we take as 100 per cent. what we had at the time of the VIth Congress, then we find that now we have 535 per cent. of submarines, 1,100 per cent. of cruisers, 470 per cent. of torpedo boats, etc. In a word, in this direction, in respect of the defence of our shores we have achieved considerable successes during the past period.

Comrade Molotov said in his speech that we had to increase the numerical strength of the Red Army. Where have occurred the changes which have necessitated the numerical increase of the Red Army?

Firstly, as Comrade Molotov pointed out, we have constructed during recent years a number of fortified areas on our western and eastern frontiers, supplied with the necessary equipment. Comrade Voroshilov reported to the XVIIth Party Congress that we have covered our western frontier from Lake Ladoga to the Black Sea and also the most vulnerable routes in the Far East and Eastern Siberia with fortified areas. The construction and fortification of the majority of these areas was completed in 1934. The known intentions of imperialists who are preparing, especially in the Far East, for a sudden occupation of our territory and of the Maritime Province in particular, made us seriously consider the question of forming garrisons to defend the fortified areas. What can ferro-

concrete fortifications and powerful weapons do, if there were no soldiers to handle the weapons and defend the fortifications? The fortifications are situated near the frontier. We had to form numerous garrisons in order to prevent our enemies from seizing these fortifications, and to quarter these garrisons in the fortified areas, to build barracks and to provide for elementary cultural comfort. It must be noted that these fortifications had to be built in wild localities, deprived of human habitation. It is evident that the creation of garrisons along the enormous ranges of our frontiers demanded, firstly, a considerable increase in the numerical strength of the army, and, secondly, a vast expenditure of money. Unfortunately, circumstances did not allow us to postpone the completion of our defensive constructions till a later date.

Secondly, the completion in 1934 of a number of points of shore defence on the Baltic and Black Sea, near Murmansk, and, especially, in the Far East, as Comrade Voroshilov reported to the XVIIth Party Congress, required a considerable increase in personnel and in the outlay of money.

Thirdly, our navy is increasing, but it is increasing on account of defensive types of vessels, such as submarines, as Comrade Molotov has said. The greater number of submarines were built in 1934, and this resulted not only in the forming of crews, but also in the construction of developed bases for them, this, again, demanded an increase of numerical strength and of expenditure.

Finally, the development of aviation, tanks and artillery—and as Comrade Molotov pointed out, we have in this respect worked especially hard—also demanded an increase in the numerical strength of the army.

Could we have rested satisfied with the former dislocation of the newest technical means of war, which existed before the developments of the Far Eastern situation? Of course not. We cannot, because of the great dimensions of our territory, manœuvre in the same way as Germany manœuvred in 1914-1918 between her western and eastern frontiers. In 1914 the German high command transported six infantry divisions from the French front to Eastern Prussia in six or seven days. Later the German command was able to transport whole armies from one front to another in some ten or fifteen days.

We are placed in a different position. If, for instance, only some 15 million tons-kilometers were necessary in order to concentrate an infantry division on the railway between Berlin and Liège, we should require 200 million tons-kilometers to transport the same division from Moscow to Vladivostok. Thus we must be very careful not to rely on a speedy transportation of large masses of troops along the so-called "inner lines of operations." Strong and self-dependent ensuring of the safety of our western and eastern frontiers is necessary.

Even aviation, this most mobile and independently moving arm, cannot allow us the luxury of moving it from east to west as necessity arises either on the eastern or on the western front. I will quote a most characteristic example of the moving of airplanes for great distances, an

example that took place in 1934. I refer to the famous London-Melbourne flight in which twenty most up-to-date machines took part. Of these twenty machines only six reached Melbourne, and during the contest there were two accidents and one catastrophe.

Thus the situation has forced us to create a whole system of independent units of aviation, tanks, artillery, etc. in the Far East. The training of the complements of new units is a very difficult and tiresome task. We have put a good deal of work into it, and in 1934 we were able to form a number of new units. We have met with enormous difficulties while quartering these new units in the Far East. We have had to construct a number of new barrack-towns and to organise their supplies on a huge scale.

It is evident that the numerical strength of the Red Army, which, during the last few years did not exceed a figure under 600,000, could not any longer be sufficient to meet the new conditions of the defence of our frontiers. In connection with these circumstances, the Government decided to increase the strength of the army to 940,000 men, and by the end of 1934 this figure has been reached. Only thanks to the development of technical equipment and to the mechanisation of a number of functions could we limit our requirements to this figure. The Tsarist army before the war of 1914 had, approximately, 1,458,762 men.

There is no doubt that it is only thanks to the wonderful sagacity of Comrade Stalin and to the measures he has taken for the strengthening of our Far Eastern frontiers that we enjoy peace and can attain our great achievements of Socialism, achievements of which we and the proletarians of all countries are so proud.

The increase of the numerical strength of the Red Army, the construction of new submarines and other ships, the completion of the fortified areas, etc., have resulted in a considerable increase of military expenditure in comparison with the sum which was voted for the budget of 1934. The increase in expenditure was also due to many economic factors which tended to augment the cost of munition production. I shall not discuss these matters, as Comrade Grinko will analyse them in detail. Instead of 1,665 million roubles voted for 1934, the expenditure of the People's Commissariat for Defence was about 5,000 million roubles. The proposed expenditure for 1935 will reach the figure of 6,500 million roubles. Although this figure is very large, still we spend on defence a considerably smaller proportion of the State budget than any big capitalist country. Our military expenditure represents only 10 per cent. of the total State Budget, while in Japan they are spending 46.5 per cent., in Poland 40 per cent., etc.

Comrades, all these measures which ensure a considerable growth of the technical strength of the Red Army, set to all the workers of the Army the task of mastering this technique and the task of training the men who will be able to master the technique, and, I repeat once again, we are working at the solution of these problems day and night.

During the last few years we have had considerable achievements in matters of military preparedness. The standard of marksmanship of our troops has very much improved. We have now a large number of snipers, that is, exceptionally good shots. We have attained a good standard of discipline in marching and manœuvring, we have attained better mobility and rapidity in marching of troops. Even a few years ago we could not imagine that marches could be made with such speed as that with which our troops make them now.

We are working at matters concerning reconnaissance, which is of primary importance, especially under the rapid development of operations in modern battle. We are working at matters concerning the development of mobility, courage, initiative, "cheek", if I am allowed to use such an expression. Everything now depends on that.

The question of the management of troops is also of great importance. It is not enough to have mobile technical equipment, to have men who have mastered the technique, we must have men and machinery for directing military operations which, owing to the new technique, will develop more speedily than ever before, with lightning speed. The problem is not so simple. During the civil war we regarded the cavalry as the speediest arm, and many of us are accustomed only to infantry operations, it is not so simple a matter to reform ourselves and to make skilful use of the mobility of aviation, of our mechanised troops, of our tanks. This problem is very great, and we are working especially hard at questions of the direction of battle, at questions of close and constant collaboration of various arms, because no arm, if taken separately, can produce full effect.

Our main efforts in 1935 will be directed towards the mastering of technique and art of management of armies in the conditions of modern warfare. Today we have nothing in common with the slow, cumbersome Tsarist army. Our army has left that incompetent body far behind.

But our achievements are still insufficient, and we have put before us the aim to attain in 1935 such results that the technique we possess can be utilised to the extent of 100 per cent. and give us all the power which it could possibly give. Our victory rests on that.

Our workers' and peasants' Red Army is strong. Its political strength, its revolutionary fervour are invincible, and we must learn to direct battle, to make use of the technique, so as to make the Red Army better than any other army in the world.

Comrades, war is being prepared against us with ever increasing rapidity. We in the Red Army realise that; we are watchful; we are making ourselves ready to repulse the attack.

Let our enemies test the strength of our frontiers! As one man, our country of peasants and workers will stand for the defence of our land, and the mighty Red Army, imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, under the iron command of Comrade Voroshilov, under the banner of the

Communist Party, having at its head our great Stalin, will crush interventionists and will ensure the victory over the enemies of the October Revolution.

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Decree of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the delivery of seed to kolhozy and sovhozy and on the testing of seed.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) have established that the delivery of seed loan and of seed out of the storages belonging to Zagotzerno and Gossortfond to kolhozy and sovhozy, and also the testing of seed in kolhozy and sovhozy for capacity of germination, cleanliness, humidity and infection is going on absolutely unsatisfactorily.

Especially unsatisfactory is the delivery of seed in the Voronezh, Harkov, Chernigov provinces, in Stalingrad, Saratov, the Azov and Black Sea areas and in the Crimean republic.

A number of areas and provinces (especially Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Voronezh, Kursk provinces, Western-Siberian and Stalingrad areas) have not yet begun the exchange of seed of poor quality for seed fit for sowing from the stores of Zagotzerno and Gossortfond.

The People's Commissariat for Agriculture and its local organs did not ensure the timely execution of such elementary preparations for the sowing campaign as the testing of seed for capacity of germination, cleanliness, humidity and infection.

The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee have instructed provincial and area committees and central committees of national Communist parties, area and provincial executive committees and the councils of people's commissaries of allied republics to complete the delivery of seed loan to kolhozy and sovhozy of North Caucasus, Azov and Black Sea, Stalingrad, Saratov areas, the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Ukraine, Voronezh and Kursk provinces not later than 10 or 15 February, the Western-Siberian, Krasnoyarsk, Eastern-Siberian, Far Eastern areas and Omsk province, not later than 10 March; all other provinces, areas and republics, not later than 1 March.

The exchange of seed out of the storages of Zagotzerno and Gossortfond and inter-kolhoz exchange must be completed in North-Caucasus, Azov and Black Sea, Stalingrad areas, Crimean Republic, Ukraine: Voronezh and Kursk provinces by 15 February; in all other provinces, areas and republics, by 15 March.

Area and provincial committees and central committees of national Communist parties, area and provincial executive committees and the councils of people's commissaries of allied republics must send their

representatives to the districts where the deliveries of seed are especially delayed.

The local party and soviet organisations must, first of all, commandeered horses belonging to kolhozy and sovhozy, and also lorries of the Machine-Tractor Stations and of the sovhozy for transportation of seed from the storages of Zagotzerno, Gossortfond and kolhozy.

Directors of the sovhozy are allowed to make use of the caterpillar tractors for making roads in those localities where there are snowdrifts and also for transportation of seed in those localities where the state of the roads is unsatisfactory.

The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee have instructed the People's Commissariat for Transport to load and move 13,129 trucks of seed corn in such manner as to finish the loading for Ukraine, Azov and Black Sea and North-Caucasus areas and the Crimean Republic by 10 February; for Voronezh and Kursk provinces, Stalingrad and Saratov areas, not later than 12 February; for the Western-Siberian, Eastern-Siberian, Krasnoyarsk and Far Eastern areas and Omsk province, not later than 1 March, for all other provinces, areas and republics, not later than 15 February.

Apart from that, the People's Commissariat for Transport, together with the Purchasing Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries, are instructed, in case of need, to increase the programme of loading of seed corn during February to the extent of 3,000 trucks.

The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee have instructed the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and its local organs, the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy and directors of sovhozy, and also provincial, area and republican soviet organisations and party committees to complete the wholesale testing of seed for capacity of germination, cleanliness, humidity and infection in North-Caucasus, Azov and Black Sea areas, Ukrainian, Crimean, Uzbek, Turkoman, Tadzhik, Kirgiz, Kara-Kolpak, Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaidzhan republics, South-Kazakstan and Alma-Ata areas of the Kazak Republic, by 15 February; in Voronezh, Kursk, Orenburg provinces, Stalingrad, Saratov, Kuibyshev areas, by 25 February; in all other areas, provinces and republics, by 5 March.

If there is found in kolhozy and sovhozy seed with capacity of germination below 90 per cent., then the seed must be put through the sorting machine. If it is found impossible to bring the capacity of germination to the required standard, then the seed must be exchanged for seed with capacity of germination of 90 per cent. from the storages of Zagotzerno and Gossortfond, and also for seed which is stored in neighbouring kolhozy.

The whole work in connection with the exchange of seed of low germination must be completed in Northern-Caucasus, Azov and Black Sea areas, Ukrainian, Crimean, Uzbek, Turkoman, Tadzhik, Kirgiz, Kara-Kalpak, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaidzhan republics, South-Kazakstan and Alma-Ata provinces of the Kazak Republic, by 20 February; in

Voronezh, Kursk, Orenburg provinces, Stalingrad, Saratov, and Kuibyshev areas, not later than 1 March; and in all other provinces, areas and republics, not later than 10 March.

The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee have instructed the People's Commissariat for Agriculture to send agronomists attached to provincial institutions to the assistance of district organisations, and, in the districts, to attach agronomists and other experts to kolhozy and to make them personally responsible for the testing of seeds in those kolhozy. The People's Commissariat of Sovkhozy must send experts from provincial trusts to the aid of the sovkhozy. The agents of the inter-district commissions for ascertaining crops must also be employed in testing the seeds.

The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee have instructed all secretaries of provincial and area party committees and the central committees of national Communist parties, chairmen of provincial and area executive committees and of councils of people's commissaries of allied republics to watch especially over the preparation of seeds for the spring sowing and to ensure the completion of the whole-sale testing of seed within the time limits stated in this decree.

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Decree of the VIIth Congress of Soviets of the USSR.

On the introduction of some amendments into the Constitution of the USSR.

After hearing the report of Comrade V. M. Molotov on the resolution passed by the February (1935) Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the necessity of introducing some amendments into the Constitution of the USSR and considering the suggestion made by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party to be quite correct and timely, the VIIth Congress of Soviets of the USSR decrees:—

1. To amend the Constitution of the USSR in the following directions:—

(a) Further democratisation of the system of elections and the replacement of a not quite equal vote by equal vote, indirect elections by direct vote, and open ballot by secret ballot.

(b) bringing the social and economic basis of the Constitution into strict correlation with the present state of classes in the USSR (the creation of a new Socialist industry, the extermination of kulaks, the victory of the kolhozy, the establishment of Socialist property as the foundation of the soviet community, etc.).

2. To instruct the Central Executive Committee of the USSR to appoint a Constitutional Commission, which is to draft a corrected text

of the Constitution on the basis of the considerations enumerated in paragraph 1, and to present the text for confirmation at the next Session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

3. The next elections of the governing soviet bodies in the USSR are to be carried out in conformity with the new system of elections.

Chairman of the VIIth Congress of Soviets of the USSR,
M. KALININ.

Secretary of the VIIth Congress of Soviets of the USSR,
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 6 February, 1935.

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CHRONICLE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Foreign Affairs

USSR and France.—The rapprochement with France has made further progress. A political agreement was signed in Geneva on 5 December between M. Litvinov and M. Laval as the result of their exchange of views concerning the negotiations for an East European Pact, of which the Soviet and French governments were the initiators. In the Protocol signed by the two Ministers they undertake the obligation for their respective governments not to enter into separate negotiations with other Powers invited to participate in the Pact or to conclude any bilateral arrangements which might interfere with it. Both governments, moreover, agreed to keep one another informed of any proposals to that effect from third parties and to take no steps without preliminary mutual consultation. A sensation was created earlier in December by a report circulated in some sections of the foreign press that France and the USSR had concluded a military agreement. The rumour, which was denied by the French Government and ignored by the Soviet, was based on a passage in a speech of M. Archimbaud, rapporteur of the Army Committee of the French Chamber. France and Russia, he said, wished to guarantee their security, as peace appeared to be threatened. It was not for him to say whether the understanding which existed were an alliance. There was, however, a definite entente between the two countries to stabilise Europe and assure peace. To guarantee its security Russia had a large army, well equipped and well trained, to offer to France in case of conflict with Germany.

Early in December, M. Marchandeau, French Minister of Commerce, visited Moscow, where he signed a preliminary Protocol paving the way to the conclusion of a Trade Agreement. Negotiations for this were

started in Paris on his return, and it was announced that France would open credit for the Soviet, the money to be spent on orders placed in France.

USSR and the United States.—The negotiations between the Soviet and United States governments concerning debts and claims and credits, begun more than a year ago, have broken down. On 31 January, Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, announced to the Soviet Ambassador, M. Troyanovsky, that in view of the Soviet Government's attitude he did not think that any agreement on the question of Russian debts could be arrived at, and greatly to his regret considered any further negotiations on that point as having come to an end. The American Government had gone to the limit of possible concessions compatible with the interests of the creditors by proposing to accept in final settlement of all debts and claims of the United States and their citizens from Russia a considerably reduced sum which was to be paid out during many years, these payments being considered as supplementary interest on the usual rate accorded to foreign credits which were to be opened to the Soviets with the financial support of the American Government. M. Litvinov's version of the case was that the breakdown of the negotiations was due to the American Government's change of attitude on the question of a loan to the Soviets, the granting of which, together with the recognition of Soviet counterclaims, was a condition *sine qua non* laid down by M. Litvinov in Washington, to the recognition of the Russian debts to America. The Soviet Government, M. Litvinov alleged, had gone to the limit of concessions and now refused to enter on a course which would annul all the principles arrived at in Washington. He saw no reason, however, why the cessation of negotiations on debts and claims should affect the political or trade relations between the two countries, which could continue to co-operate in the cause of peace. Following the breakdown of the negotiations, the American Consulate-General in Moscow is to be closed, and a number of American officials, including the Naval and Air Attachés, withdrawn. Mr. Bullitt, the American Ambassador, who at the time of writing is in America on sick leave, is to return to Moscow as soon as his health permits.

Internal Affairs

Abolition of Rations.—By a decree of 7 December the rationing system for bread, flour and groats, which had existed for nearly five years, was abolished from January, 1935, and replaced by the unrestricted sale of these commodities at fixed prices for all citizens alike from the State and co-operative stores. The reform aimed at abolishing the discrepancy which existed between the "ration prices" for the four categories of card-holders entitled to buy their bread from the "closed supply stores" to which they were "attached," and the fantastically exorbitant so-called "commercial" prices in State "commercial stores," where card-holders could buy additional, and the "deprived" categories of citizens their

only supplies of bread, etc. The new prices for all alike are fixed at a mean rate between the former two. The country is divided into eight zones, and prices fixed based on conditions of production, transport and other considerations. According to an official statement, the government had accumulated 25,000,000 tons of grain, which would be sufficient until the next harvest. To meet the increased cost of bread for the hitherto rationed workers, wages, pensions and stipends have been increased all round, with preferential treatment of privileged categories of workers, the total sum amounting to 5,100,000,000 roubles, but it is doubtful whether in many cases this increase will cover the difference. It is also too early to judge whether the reform has brought improvement to the food supply of the town population. The peasants naturally are unaffected by it, except in so far as that the price of grain compulsorily levied from them next year is to be increased by 10 per cent. and that of grain purchased on the so-called voluntary basis, by 20 per cent.

With regard to last year's harvest the official statements continue to affirm that "on the whole" it was no worse than the "record" one of 1933, and the amount of grain collected from the peasants greater still. On the other hand, it was likewise officially admitted that in Ukraine the crop has been below the average for four years, and equally so in the Moscow territory (which covers an area much larger than the former province of Moscow). A government decree also provides for seed loans for the coming season for Ukraine, the Azov-Black Sea territory, Northern Caucasus, Crimea, parts of the Middle and Lower Volga territories, Voronezh and Kursk territories, parts of Western and Eastern Siberia, and the Far Eastern territory, which in itself is an indication of at least a partial failure of the crops. A joint statement on the danger of a new famine in Russia by three relief organisations—the International Relief Committee of Cardinal Innitzer in Vienna, the International Russian Relief Committee of the European Central Office for Church Assistance in Geneva, and the Jewish Relief Committee for Russia under the Chief Rabbi in Vienna—was published in the beginning of February with an appeal on behalf of the population in Russia and a demand that light should be thrown on the actual position in that country.

M. Kirov's Assassination and Renewal of the Red Terror.—On 1 December M. Sergey Kirov, member of the Political Bureau and of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Executive Committee (TSIK), Secretary of the Central and Leningrad Committees of the Communist Party and M. Stalin's right-hand man, was shot in the Smolny Palace by Nikolayev, a Communist and former official of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate. The assassin, who was arrested, declared that he had "settled scores" with Kirov for the latter's ruthless dealings with all dissenters and for his own dismissal (Nikolayev had been expelled from the Party for belonging to the "Opposition" and afterwards reinstated, but had lost his post). This murder gave the signal for a renewal of the Red terror on a large scale. A batch of 103 persons, accused vaguely of

"preparing to organise terrorist acts" and alleged to have crossed the frontier for that purpose, were shot in Moscow, Leningrad, and other towns. Two decrees were published and the Criminal Code correspondingly amended, providing that all cases dealing with terrorist activities should be examined without delay, persons implicated in them tried without counsel for the defence or right of appeal against the death sentence, and the latter carried out within 24 hours of the verdict.¹ The next version of Kirov's case spoke of the existence of a Communist group inspired by Zinovyev, Kamenev, and other members of the old "Zinovyev-Trotsky opposition," which was alleged to have worked in connection with a foreign Power and received money from "a consul." The alleged aim of this organisation was to create confusion in the Soviet system by murdering the leaders and thus pave the way for foreign intervention. Zinovyev, Kamenev, and other members of the "old Bolshevik guard," were arrested, as well as the chief and a number of the Leningrad police officials (former OGPU), and sent for trial. Nikolayev and thirteen other members of the alleged "Leningrad terrorist centre" were tried behind closed doors, and according to the usual precedent in similar trials, "confessed" to the charges of conspiring to overthrow the Soviet Government and organising attempts on the lives of Soviet leaders. All were shot. The trial of Zinovyev, Kamenev, and seventeen others, took place later. As one of their group, Safarov, turned evidence against them and declared them to have been actively engaged in conspiring against the present régime, they were charged with being at the head of an anti-Stalin group in Moscow, known as the "Moscow centre," and were tried by the same tribunal which had sentenced Nikolayev. However, no death sentences were pronounced. Zinovyev and three others were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, Kamenev to five, others from eight to three years, all with hard labour and confiscation of property. The clemency of the verdict is probably due to the so far established tradition that no death sentence should be passed on members of Lenin's "old guard." Seventy-six other Communists, alleged to be tainted with "Zinovievist" mentality, were banished on the same day without trial. A general "heresy hunt" was conducted throughout the country, and numerous arrests, dismissals and banishments of dissidents ensued, mainly, it would appear, among the teaching staffs and students, many members of the "Komsomol" being found infected with the "Trotskyist and anti-Stalin" virus. The police officials arrested after Kirov's murder were tried in secret, as officers of the Red Army who had failed in their duty, and as such came under the death penalty. They all "acknowledged full guilt" and were sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for terms varying from ten to two years. The "foreign consul" was withdrawn by his government.

The Congress of Soviets.—The VIIth All-Union Congress of Soviets

¹ The text of the decree of 1 December was published in the *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 38, p. 453.—ED.

opened in the Kremlin on 28 January with nearly 2,000 delegates. M. Molotov, President of the Council of People's Commissaries, delivered a report on the political and industrial development of the USSR during the four years since the last Congress, held in March, 1931. Relations with foreign countries, said the speaker, were on the whole satisfactory. The international importance and prestige of the Soviet Union had grown enormously during this period and "at a time when the menace of war was becoming increasingly apparent, the political significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a bulwark of world peace was patent to all." Relations with Great Britain after "the incident when Sir Esmond Ovey had attempted to interfere in Soviet internal affairs and had been given a rebuff," had become normal again. France was working in friendly co-operation with the USSR for consolidating peace by the projected East European Pact, and the two countries were being more closely drawn together by this common policy. Nevertheless, "the direct menace of war against the USSR had augmented." The danger points were Germany and the Far East, where certain groups in Japan were still cherishing plans for an attack on the Soviets. Germany, too, needed close watching, and "there was no cause for self-relaxation." The outstanding international successes were the recognition of the USSR by the United States and the invitation to join the League of Nations. On the home front the industrial and collectivisation progress had been gigantic. Four-fifths of the peasants and nine-tenths of the arable land were now collectivised and the mechanisation of agriculture was proceeding rapidly.

Increase of the Red Army—M. Molotov announced that in view of the menacing world situation it had been found necessary to increase the expenditure on national defence. M. Tukhachevsky, Deputy Commissary of Defence, informed the Congress of the completion of frontier fortifications, particularly in the Far East and the Murmansk territory, the launching of many new submarines and the formation of mechanised army and air units. A whole system of independent war units quartered in newly-built "barrack towns" had been trained and established in the Far East. All these measures had necessitated the numerical increase of the Red Army from the 562,000 (formerly fixed by law) to 940,000 in 1934. The expenditure in 1934 had also exceeded threefold the figure of 1,665,000,000 r. allotted by the Budget, and had amounted to 5,000,000,000 r. The estimates for 1935 were fixed at 6,500,000,000 r.

Industry—A survey of the industrial progress was given by M. Ordzhonikidze, Commissary of Heavy Industry, and others. For the first time since the Five Year Plans, the output of heavy industries as a whole had in 1934 exceeded the plan, the increase being 26·7 per cent. over that of last year. This was particularly marked in the electric, machine and motor building, and heavy metallurgic industries. But the oil industry had fulfilled only 88·6 per cent. of the plan, the timber was also behindhand. Railway transport, though somewhat improved,

had not justified last year's huge investments and continued to be a grave impediment to the general progress. Capital investments in industry for 1935 were fixed at 10,500,000,000 r., and the increase in output at 15.8 per cent. for industries producing means of production and 16.1 per cent. for consumers' goods.

Amendment of the Constitution.—The Congress approved the decision made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party "on the initiative of Comrade Stalin" to introduce certain amendments in the Soviet Constitution and electoral law "in conformity with present-day social and economic conditions in the USSR."

By the existing law, representation was indirect, unequal for different classes of citizens (centres with a predominating industrial population electing one representative to every 25,000 of population and the peasants one to every 125,000), and voting was by open show of hands. The new law is to grant direct and equal representation to all citizens enjoying civic rights and the voting is to be by secret ballot.

The Budget—The Congress elected the new All-Union Central Executive Committee (TSIK), which at once went into session to examine the Budget for 1935. This was passed as follows:—

Total Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
roubles	roubles	roubles
65,900,551,000	65,400,551,000	500,000,000

The principal items of revenue were:—

Profits and taxes from socialised national economy, 57,090,251,000 r.; various State loans, 3,550,000,000 r.; agricultural and other taxes and levies on peasants, 1,352,750,000 r.; re-valuation of remaining raw materials and goods on 1 January, 1935, 2,300,000,000 r.

Expenditure:—

National Economy 35,156,891,000 r.; public education, health and culture, 4,804,312,000 r.; National defence, 6,500,000,000 r.; Commissariat of Interior (reformed OGPU), 1,652,500,000 r.; reserve fund of Council of People's Commissaries, 1,963,500,000 r.; increase of the credit resources of State Bank (by revaluation of remaining raw materials), 2,300,000,000 r.

The Council of People's Commissaries, with M. Molotov as President, was re-elected without change by the Central Executive Committee, which also appointed a special commission under M. Stalin's chairmanship for drawing up the new electoral law. The Central Committee of the Communist Party appointed MM. Mikoyan and Chubar to succeed MM. Kirov and Kuibyshev (who died in January) as members of the Political Bureau.

Agricultural "Artels."—A congress of collective farm "shock" members assembled in Moscow immediately after the closure of the Congress of Soviets. It was called upon to approve the new statute for the agricultural "artel" (association), into which every collective farm is to be organised. The statute was passed unanimously. It re-affirms the State possession of all land, but the boundaries of the land worked by

every collective farm are to be fixed by deed and cannot be altered. Each householder member of the collective farm, moreover, is entitled to a plot of land from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ acres near his house for private cultivation. He is also entitled to keep as private property, depending on the locality, from one to three cows, calves, from one to three sows with young, from 10 to twenty-five sheep, beehives, and an unlimited quantity of rabbits and poultry. In the territories of the former nomad tribes the quantity of cattle is increased. The collectivised land held by the "artel" is to be worked by its members and administered by a governing board elected by them. Accounts must be rendered to the State authorities, the rates and taxes paid, and the prescribed quotas of grain and other produce delivered at specified periods. All surplus is to be divided at the end of the year among the members, in proportion to the work done by each, on a basis of "working-days," standardised and graduated according to its kind.

REVIEWS

Russia's Iron Age. By William Henry Chamberlin. Boston. (Little, Brown and Company). Pp. 389.

MR. W. H. CHAMBERLIN was the Correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1934. In remarking that the present book contributes nothing fundamentally new, and that the chief interest of his book to serious students lies in the confirmation which it affords of all that they have been saying for years, I do not wish to belittle Mr. Chamberlin's work. He is a talented writer who has mastered the art of being serious without being dreary. His book is a model of what a comprehensive survey of contemporary Russia should be. It deals with life rather than theory, with achievement rather than plan. It is temperate in tone, judicial in opinion and mindful of historical continuity.

There is no occasion here to dwell upon the sombre details of every-day existence in Soviet Russia, so well described by Mr. Chamberlin, for these are only too familiar to readers of the *Slavonic Review*. Familiar, also, are the questions which he postulates, and the answers which he frames. These questions arise from the very core of the revolution. They naturally occur, and are constantly asked, especially by those who have little or no knowledge of Russia. Mr. Chamberlin does not shirk any one of them. The answers which he gives have been given before, but they cannot be repeated too often if an intelligent view of the revolution is to prevail. No better method of judging of the breadth and depth of his work is possible, within the space permissible here, than to cite a few crucial questions and the answers which he provides.

Has socialist economic planning so far proved successful? Mr.

Chamberlin leaves the reader in no doubt that its errors and follies have been quite as wasteful and as disastrous as those of capitalism. There has, he says, been substantial progress in industrialisation, but in the last three years not more than in the period immediately preceding the war.

How have Russian workers and employees fared? Mr. Chamberlin asserts that their standard of living is below the very modest level attained when the first Five Year Plan was inaugurated, and "immensely lower" than the standard of living of workers and employees in America and Western Europe.

Is it a fact that unemployment has been abolished? Yes, it is. But Mr. Chamberlin makes haste to add that the abolition of unemployment might be just as plausibly, though less pleasantly, described as "mass conscription of labour."

What is the truth concerning forced labour? Employment of forced labour at practically no wages and at very minimum subsistence rations, Mr. Chamberlin declares, has been practised at almost all the large new Soviet factories. Later he remarks: "Forced labour has been a most important element in industrial expansion under the Five Year Plan. Its use adds one more note of vivid contrast in the effort to rear a modern industry, based on European and American models, on a foundation of Asiatic serfdom."

What are the results of the collectivisation of agriculture? Mr. Chamberlin believes that organisation and discipline in the collective farms have improved. But his final conclusion on this subject is that: "Collectivisation is a grim caricature of the Utopian dream of free, voluntary co-operation and mutual aid which was cherished by a whole school of pre-war Russian radicals. It is a gigantic system of state landlordism clamped down on the peasants with the same methods of terroristic repression with which the Tsarist State gradually forged the chains of serfdom for the peasants in the 17th and 18th centuries."

Is the Soviet Government to be believed when it says that there was no famine in 1932-33? After careful investigation, Mr. Chamberlin was convinced that a great famine occurred in that year, and that the number of deaths from it could scarcely have been less than three or four millions. "Famine," he concludes, "was quite deliberately employed as an instrument of national policy, as the last means of breaking the resistance of the peasantry."

Is the *per capita* consumption of grain less under the Soviet régime than in Tsarist times? Mr. Chamberlin proves statistically that it is less under the Soviet régime. "The comparative food situation," he continues, "becomes still less favourable to the Soviet régime when one considers the immense diminution in the supply of meat, milk and dairy produce."

Is there exploitation of the worker in Soviet Russia? Mr. Chamberlin says that the Soviet worker is "more bamboozled than the worker in countries where the press is free, and less protected against exploitation than his fellow worker, who may belong to a trade union of his own choosing in a democratic country." At the same time he insists that

"the young Soviet worker has far greater educational opportunity, far more chance of entering a profession than he would have enjoyed twenty years ago," and that the proletariat, as a whole, "obtains greater special consideration than the corresponding class in other countries."

What does the Soviet system offer as a stimulus to men? Not wealth but power—the prospect as Mr. Chamberlin observes, "of a standard of living which, while it is modest in comparison with what a wealthy man of luxurious taste might choose to enjoy in America or Western Europe, is still far above the bleak Soviet average." "A high post in the Soviet Union," he adds, "carries with it a comfortable apartment, the use of an automobile, the right to eat in a good restaurant at a nominal charge, admission to the best rest homes and sanatoria in vacation times, a private car for travel on railroads, and so forth."

Is there equality in the Soviet Union? This question is frequently asked by people who lack understanding of the theories of Bolshevism. The answer, in Mr. Chamberlin's words, is, briefly, that the whole tendency is not to diminish material inequality, but to increase it by insisting that the more skilled and industrious worker shall receive more than his fellows, because, to quote Stalin, "Marxism proceeds from the assumption that tastes and needs are not and cannot be the same as regards equality or quantity, either in the period of Socialism or in the period of Communism."

Is terrorism still practised in the Soviet Union? Mr. Chamberlin states that since 1929 executions, admitted and secret, have greatly increased in number. He also makes these remarks. "Compared with the puny efforts at terrorism instituted in European countries, there is something majestically Asiatic about the Soviet system with its millions of victims . . ."

What is the truth about religious persecution? According to Mr. Chamberlin it has been intensified; no priest or minister is secure against arrest. Has the anti-religious campaign proved effectual? Mr. Chamberlin says it has; the majority of the Soviet younger generation are indifferent, if not actually hostile, to every form of religion.

Mr. Chamberlin's final verdict is that the Soviet system "will stand in its main features." But he belongs to that school of thought which holds that Bolshevism is a purely Russian phenomenon. This belief he bases, as do others who share this view, upon the supposition that the afflictions of history have produced a certain brutalisation in the Russian character, and with it contempt for human personality. Whether and to what extent the peculiarities of the Russian character are responsible for the calamity which has overtaken the country may be arguable; but it cannot be disputed that, no matter how much other nations wish for improvement, it would be folly for them to exchange their systems for one under which the standard of living is lower. As an economic system the Soviet system has, so far, failed; that is the outstanding fact of Mr. Chamberlin's book. Yet I have no doubts that Soviet spokesmen will

continue to insist that it is otherwise. Was it not the *Pravda* of 28 July, 1933, which asserted during the period of the great famine: "The Soviet Union is the only country which does not know poverty"?

LANCELOT LAWTON.

The Bolshevik Revolution. Documents and Materials. (Hoover War Library Publications, No. 3.) By James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, Associate Professor of History, Stanford University. Stanford University (California), 1934, pp. xii + 735. \$6.00.

THE first volume of the Hoover War Library Publications which deals with Russia is a history in documents, a many-sided collection of decrees, manifestos, and other contemporary records of different kinds covering the first six months of Bolshevik rule. In a certain sense the volume represents a continuation of the *Documents of Russian History*, 1914-1917, published by the late Professor Frank Golder (New York, 1927). The editors approach the subject chiefly from the Russian point of view. Their main purpose is to select and translate, and so make available in English, Russian materials relating to the events of the period of the rise of the Bolsheviks to power. Therefore the book gives principally translations from Russian newspapers and Russian books. Only a few materials from the Hoover War Library, hitherto unprinted, are published or quoted: a portion of the Belevsky Papers (p. 24), a narrative of the Civil War in the province of Saratov and in the region of the Volga (p. 181), a manuscript of Chernov (p. 209), and a leaflet of the Cadets (p. 345). Both the introduction and the narrative which precede the various chapters and connect the selections are excellent and marked by strict impartiality and by the fullness and correctness of the unfamiliar detail. Numerous footnotes supply references to documents not reprinted in the present volume.

Although there are innumerable books on the first months of the Bolshevik rule, this publication fills a gap. For instance, people who cannot read Russian will find nowhere else such long extracts from the stenographic protocols of the conferences, published by the Soviet Government, relating to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, which was a turning point in the Great War. Territorially, the volume comprehends Russia in Europe, Russia in the Near East, and Turkestan. For the events in Siberia and the Far East during this period a special volume of documents is announced.

The introduction (pp. 1-22) deals clearly and accurately with the rise of the Bolshevik movement under the rule of the Provisional Government in 1917. The whole documentary material is systematically arranged. All the revolutionary decrees of the first months of Bolshevik rule are quoted either in full or in extracts. The revolution of the whole political

system and the development of the programme of the Communist party are illustrated by impressive and well-chosen documents. Special groups of documents follow the changes in the governmental sphere and social life. Two chapters ("The Armistice" and "Brest-Litovsk") present the documents and declarations essential for an analysis of the foreign policy of the Soviets.

A few corrections and supplementary remarks may be suggested. Prince Leopold of Bavaria was not "Crown" Prince (p. 269); the Crown Prince of Bavaria was Prince Rupprecht, the commander of a group of armies on the Western front. The 19th of December, 1917, here correctly given as the date of Trotsky's call on the French Ambassador Noulens (p. 274) is confirmed also, against Noulens' own testimony, by Sir George Buchanan's *My Mission to Russia* (1923), Vol. II, p. 241. (Apparently by mistake P. Milyukov, in *La politique extérieure des Soviets*, p. 39, gives as date the 2nd of December.) The Treaty of Adrianople (p. 457) was concluded not in 1827 but on 14 September, 1829. In the treatment of the western nationalities (p. 459 *et seq.*) are to be found exact dates for the claims of independence of the Finns, the Estonians, the Letts, the White Russians, and the Bessarabians. Nothing is said about the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian Taryba on 11 December, 1917, and 16 February, 1918, proclaimed the liberty and independence of Lithuania. In the chapter on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty the authors might well have mentioned the attitude of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Executive, as opposed to a separate peace, shown in the telegram of Arthur Henderson to Camille Huysmans, 28 December, 1917, or such a typical restatement of war aims as the "Message to the Russian people," telegraphed to "the heads of the government" in Russia, issued 15 January, 1918, by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and of the National Executive of the Labour Party. The exact date of the signing of the Ukrainian peace (p. 509) was not 8 February, 1918, but 9 February, at 2 o'clock a.m. The conference on the East on 13 February, 1918 (p. 511), was held at Bad Homburg, where the Emperor then resided, not at Hamburg. There are considerable differences in the estimates of the resources which Russia lost by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The figures, given on pp. 523-524, should be compared with other estimates, such as those of K. Strupp's *Die Ostfrieden*, or A. Manes, *Staatsbankrotte*. The same may be said in regard to the amount of the Russian foreign obligations, which has been a subject of lively discussion among historians and economists in Soviet Russia. We limit ourselves to the remark that the estimates (quoted on p. 603) of Bronsky (1918) and Pasvolsky and Moulton (1924) should be compared with the calculations of several authors quoted most recently by Anton Criha in his *Le capital étranger en Russie* (Paris, 1934). In the reference to the London Conference of March, 1918 (p. 539), held by the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Entente (Supreme War Council) mention might have been made of the vigorous statement against the

Brest-Litovsk Treaty. This statement was issued by the British Foreign Office on 18 March, and it is the authoritative and typical formulation of the verdict of the western democracies, Russia's former allies, on the German-Russian separate peace. No examples are given of the curious German-Russian diplomatic correspondence by radio after the signing of the peace. Such documents are probably to be expected in another volume of the series, where the relations between the Allies and the anti-German and anti-Bolshevik movements in Russia after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty will be dealt with (p. 540). Further volumes are in preparation, which will relate to the civil war, intervention, and war communism in European Russia, the revolution, civil war, and intervention in Siberia and the Russian Far East; the origins of the Third International; the revolution and the Communist régime in Hungary (p. v). The explanation for giving 10 February, 1918, as the date of the decree annulling the State loans is very welcome, because there has been much controversy on this subject.

The excellent index, compiled by Miss von Damm, often gives very useful help on biographical and bibliographical questions. There are a few small errors. Such mistakes are: The "Arkhir Russkoi Revolyutsii" was started in 1921; Coleredo should be Colloredo; General Hoffmann was, like Ludendorff, Bauer, Bruchmüller, Gröner, Heye, and other well-known persons of Hindenburg's staff, not of aristocratic descent; von Kühlmann was not a "Minister," but Secretary of State; General Niessel appears as "Neissel." So many names of persons mentioned in the volume are strangely omitted in the index that we can only suppose that this was done deliberately. The names of some of the principal representatives of the Powers negotiating the armistice and the peace of Brest-Litovsk, quoted on pp. 268-9 and 476-7, are not to be found in the index; the same may be said of certain names in the lists for the election of the Constituent Assembly (p. 346-9) and the list of members of the Ukrainian General Secretariat (p. 438).

It would have been more convenient if references to the corresponding documents had been added to the chronological table of events.

Anybody interested in finding trustworthy information at first hand on the early months of Bolshevism in Russia will highly appreciate this collection. The volume gives an excellent idea of the kind of work carried out by the Committee on Russian Research at Stanford University. The adequacy and usefulness of this volume devoted to Russia in the Hoover War Library Series justifies high hopes as to the succeeding volumes.

F. EPSTEIN.

Pod Listnatým Stromem. By F. Chudoba, Prague (Melantrich).

THIS volume of twelve essays is distinguished by the taste and scholarship with which Professor Chudoba is so richly endowed. The title of the book, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, forms at the same time the title of two of the

essays contained in it, which deal with the legend of Robin Hood and Thomas Hardy's novel of the same name, respectively, but in a wider sense it may be taken as indicating Professor Chudoba's attachment to the literature of England, an attachment of which his book forms so valuable a record. What is particularly striking is the wide range of his English studies. He is equally at home with early English ballads as he is with the by-ways of Elizabethan literature, the poetry of Shelley, and the writings of Lytton Strachey. Two of the essays in the book, "The Poet's Birthplace" and "The Poet's Town," which together cover more than 70 pages, are devoted to a close study of Shakespeare's biography. They comprise an extract from a lengthier work on which Professor Chudoba is still engaged, and the publication of which will be awaited with interest.

The essays are expository and, for the greater part, appreciative. The only English author to whom Professor Chudoba does not do altogether ample justice is Swinburne, of whom he says.—

"Those who are fond of sonorous verses will not find among the English poets during the second half of the 19th century anyone to excel Swinburne in this particular feature. But those who are not satisfied merely with sound will soon realise in what respect Shakespeare, Milton and Shelley are his superiors. . . . Apart from the feeble creative imagery they will perceive that in spite of the occasional fervour of his poetical expression, he does not attain a depth of feeling which could enthrall the reader in later years when the atmosphere is no longer filled with the loves and hates of bygone times. . . ."

And on the same page he expresses the view that the poetry of Swinburne leaves as a lasting record in the memory or heart of the reader only—

" . . . words which in themselves are beautiful, pure, pleasing to the ear, but in the last resort are often empty and hollow, because they do not cause any ripple upon the surface of the soul, and vanish without a trace."

In all other instances the opinions which Professor Chudoba so ably expresses will meet with the cordial agreement of all who share his admiration for English literature. The copious bibliographical notes with which the volume concludes show from how deep a knowledge that admiration springs.

PAUL SELVER.

A History of the Roumanians, from Roman Times to the Completion of Unity. By R. W. Seton-Watson. Pp. xii+596, map and 16 plates. Cambridge University Press. 25s. net.

PROFESSOR SETON-WATSON has laid not only Roumania and the Roumanians, but all who are in any way interested in East European

history under a great obligation by this splendid book, the first full-dress work on the subject in English. A glance at the excellent bibliography shows at once how few English-speaking students have done any first-hand research on the problems of Roumanian history, which have more than once been of vital importance in the cross-currents of European politics and diplomacy. There is no one better equipped for the task than the author, and his long personal studies in Roumanian lands and his intimate knowledge of recent events and of the neighbouring countries make this history at once complete and authoritative. It will long remain a standard work of the highest value.

The obscurity of Roumanian origins and of the early history of the three great provinces now at last firmly united as Roumania, is well illustrated by the fact that of the seventeen chapters the first seven carry the story down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the remaining ten chapters deal with the events, momentous and epoch-making, of the last century and a half. This is no reflection on the author, but merely serves to emphasise the lack of material for the earlier periods. It is indeed not surprising, when the wars and invasions which have for centuries devastated the Roumanian provinces are taken into account, that the course of history is confused and that documentary evidence is so fragmentary or even entirely wanting. The peculiar circumstances under which they lived have made the Daco-Roumanians, like the Macedo-Roumanians, somewhat self-effacing in the past, for it is indeed only with the last two centuries that Roumanians have become vocal and self-assertive. This is well shown in the story of Michael the Brave in Transylvania. Many fascinating events and many circumstances far from well known are here set out in their right contexts with proper documentation and with well-balanced criticism. Stephen the Great was one of the Champions of Christendom against the Turk of whom Christendom has hardly ever heard. The period of Turkish domination, when the Sultan governed the Danubian principalities, as they were called, through a civil service from another of his subject races, is a peculiar phenomenon, marked throughout by ineptitude, cruelty, rapacity, and corruption. The Phanariot régime does little or no credit to anyone concerned, but it does explain why some of the opening scenes of the Greek Revolution took place in Roumania. The fate of Todor Vladimirescu is a blot on the story of Greek regeneration. Again the heroic struggle of Hungary against Austria in the '48 is marred by the intransigence of Kossuth and others against non-Magyars. Here "Scotus Viator" is well qualified to speak.

As one reads the pitiless survey, often seasoned with dry irony from the author, of European diplomacy and of the ignorance, folly, and selfishness of the Great Powers, one can only blush for western civilisation. The callous treatment of Bessarabia by all parties, the reward given to the Roumanian nation for its timely help at Plevna, the shameless auction conducted by the belligerents of the Great War among the nations of

Eastern Europe, the double dealing of monarchs and statesmen would make a theocrat wonder how they escaped the fate of Korah. The two most striking instances of the helplessness of the Powers when faced with a *fait accompli* are the double election of Cuza to the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia, after the union of the principalities had been forbidden, and the consternation of the "chancelleries of Europe" at the triumphant success of the Balkan allies in 1912 when diplomatic opinion had predicted a very different result. The author's impartiality is illustrated by his critical comments on British policies and politicians and by his fairness to Napoleon III. The student of the Crimean War will read with added interest how it was that the Roumanian question brought about the invasion of Crimea. Believers in nationality will reflect that the Roumanians, often apparently crushed beyond recovery, have always shown a marvellous resilience, as instanced by their quick reaction after the Armistice, when from defeat they achieved unity. Courage in adversity has always been characteristic of the race from the days of Burebista and Decebalus, and the heroic troops of Marășești were worthy successors of the victors of Rîmnic.

The author is naturally concerned with political history, but he does rightly emphasise the importance of the peasant rising of 1907, the serious nature of which was hardly appreciated by contemporary Europe. The partial reforms which came from it left the seeds of future trouble, and under the stress of the War Roumania might have become the prey of Bolshevism. This was averted by the historic declaration of King Ferdinand in April, 1917, which marked the beginning of a new epoch fraught with fundamental changes in Roumanian social economy. It is a pity that the causes of the peasant revolt in the system of landholding are not more fully explained. The evils of the chiftlik system became very apparent in any province under direct or indirect Turkish rule, when the power of the Turks began to decline after the close of the 16th century. This same system was the underlying cause of agrarian unrest in Thessaly, and readers of Leake will realise that the treatment accorded by Ali Pasha to Christian villages forms an excellent parallel to the behaviour of the Phanariots in Roumania. The boiars were the counterparts of the beys of other provinces of Turkey in Europe.

Art and literature might perhaps have received more attention. History and poetry are well represented in Roumania, the country is a stronghold of folk art and folk songs, and the architecture and frescoes of her churches are famous. There are a few errors, but this is almost inevitable in a book of almost six hundred pages covering so large a field and so much complicated material. Misprints are Panayataki, medecine, Aromânii, and Borocea. "Eugene of Saxony" p. 93, and "superior Russian forces" p. 337 are *lapsus calami*.

A. J. B. WACE.

The Emperor Charles IV. By Bede Jarrett, O.P. Biographical note by Ernest Barker. London (Eyre & Spottiswoode), 1935. 10s. 6d. net. 3 illustrations.

THIS is a book of originality and no little charm, but it is difficult to "place" among historical writings, for its author's interest was clearly not so much historical as moral or theological. Moreover, no references are given, there is only the briefest note as to authorities used, and the errors in the names of places and persons are so numerous as to suggest an unexpected unfamiliarity.

As Dr. Barker points out in a sympathetic introduction, Father Bede Jarrett had the double tradition of scholarship and preaching which his Order has always upheld, and he was torn between many practical duties and a love of medieval studies. There is no concealment (and why should there be?) of the fact that Charles IV first appealed to him as "a pupil of Dominican scholasticism"; and he boldly, and successfully, vindicates his hero against the spiteful criticism implied in the nickname of "Pfaffenkaiser." He shows Charles as a consistent and devoted friend of the Church, and is perfectly entitled to believe that Charles would have put a stop to the Great Schism if he had not died within a few months of its outbreak. Incidentally, Charles is portrayed as more tolerant than his contemporaries in his attitude to such early Bohemian preachers as Conrad Waldhauser, Milič and Matthew of Janov. His devotion to the Church rested not only on personal feeling, but on a realist outlook very different either from the romanticism of his father John, the knight-errant of Crécy, or from the calculated rationalism of his predecessor Louis of Bavaria. Father Jarrett draws a perhaps exaggerated comparison between Charles and St. Louis: "There is in both the same mixture of piety and common sense, the same patronage of art, the same interest in religious life, the same love of relics, the same devotion to liturgy, the same legalism, the same local patriotism, the same devotion to wider interests, the same hatred of heresy, the same passionate devotion to purity, the same quest for the medieval transcendence of nationality which should yet see in variety of life and ideals and dreams the divine purpose of the world" (p. 92).

Father Jarrett is certainly right in treating Charles as "a new type of ruler," less addicted to fighting than any of the great medieval rulers, and contracting alliances with France, England, Denmark, the Italian cities, and the Swabian League. Thus "Henry IV was nearer to the ideals of Charles IV" than Edward III or Richard II, whom Charles did not live to see as his son-in-law.

The chapter on Bohemia is somewhat slight; it rests on the universally accepted view that Charles made his hereditary kingdom the cornerstone of Imperial policy and recognised the diminished power of the Emperor in the changing world of his day. But it is fairer than some historians to the new order of which the Golden Bull was the central fact, and which after all marked the end of the interminable quarrels as to the

right of election, and so of disputed elections in the old sense. Father Jarrett assigns to Pope Pius II the famous saying that Charles was the stepfather of the Empire; but this was surely coined by the Emperor Maximilian. Charles's love of building and his many-sided literary and artistic tastes are duly recorded, but justice is scarcely done to the epoch-making character of his foundation of Prague University for the whole of Central Europe, German no less than Slav.

Among the misprints may be mentioned Lusat for Lausitz or Lusatia, Dneiper, Kuffstein, Wittenburg, Bamburg, Speir, Grecz, Ultava (for Vltava), Lneburg and Wolf-bruttel (for Luneburg and Wolfenbüttel), Ottingen (for Oettingen), Ada for Adda, Legnitz for Liegnitz. Surely, too, there is something wrong with Tinglam, Zumelles, Penede, Bysignami, and is there a Fréjus near Aquileia? St. Ludmila of Bohemia, referred to as Limila, was not Charles's greatgrandmother, but a remote ancestress in the fourteenth degree (p. 56). The statement that Bohemia was "more properly Czech than Slavonic" (p. 71) is meaningless. It is very inaccurate to suggest that in the 14th century "Croatia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, Servia preferred financial subservience to the Turks to political subservience to Hungary" (p. 23).

These are, however, minor blemishes upon a stimulating book, painting in the main with a broad brush.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Die Adriafrage. By Josef März. Introduction by Karl Haushofer. Berlin-Grünwald (Vowinkel), 1933. Rm. 6.80.

THIS book is written with true German thoroughness and accuracy, the most minute attention to detail and a genuine sympathy for the Adriatic peoples, as opposed to the policies of which they have so long been the prey. Its author is an adept of the new school of "Geopolitik," and gives clear evidence of the new interest displayed by German opinion in the development of the Yugoslavs, both in the past and the present. Having in 1912-13 spent the best part of a year in rewriting and publishing a *German* edition of my own book on the Southern Slav question, in the hope of arousing German opinion (then still indifferent) to a sense of danger, I can only welcome with open arms this learned and timely publication.

In passing, I would emphasise a significant phrase snatched from its context. "There is a great dispute as to the importance of the Italian element on the Yugoslav coast. Abroad many quite false ideas prevail on this matter, but the German learned world knows the facts and does not doubt them. The dispute becomes meaningless, as soon as a close enquiry is made, free from national catchwords" (p. 164).

The book falls into eight sections—geographical, economic, racial and political, and is packed with information. The contrast between the two coasts of the Adriatic is very clearly brought out—the west with no good harbour save Ancona, the east (*selbst bei scharfer Auslese*) "with 360 harbours and landing-places (167 for steamers)" (p. 52). Yet we are

reminded that for 2,000 years there has been aggression from west to east, but never from east to west of the narrow sea. Herr März also points out that Dalmatia, though coveted in certain quarters, is entirely unsuited for colonisation and offers no solution for the over-population of Apulia.

Among the many interesting and little-known facts which he brings out it is only possible to mention some of the more salient. Though the Adriatic has admittedly lost in importance since the war, owing to the disruption of the Danubian unit, and though the situation in Fiume and Sušak is a handicap to Yugoslavia, the fact remains that Yugoslavia, with only one-quarter of the population of the former Habsburg Monarchy, has already outdistanced the total pre-war sea trade of Austria-Hungary. He is quite right in affirming that Fiume was only acquired by Italy "in order to make it more difficult for the Yugoslavs to establish a well-equipped Adriatic port. For Italy's Balkan aims Trieste and Fiume lie too far out of the way" (p. 89). It would be possible to work out a connection between this and the fact that Istria never played a marked rôle in history (p. 41).

Herr März goes very fully into the controversy regarding the Italian population of Yugoslavia, and his estimate of 10,000 (pp. 170-82) is generous. Incidentally, it is worth mentioning his argument that a true title to the soil can be based on the peasant alone (*Bauerntum, das allein durch die Arbeit, die zur Verwurzelung mit dem Boden führt, echtes Besitzrecht verleiht*—p. 182), and that among this tiny Italian minority there are, and always have been, practically no peasants. He reminds us that Venice herself never regarded Dalmatia as Slav, and he, of course, does full justice to the rôle of Dubrovnik as the "Slav Athens." He draws an interesting parallel between the Italian minority of Dalmatia and the far more numerous Italians settled in Munich and in Vorarlberg for some generations back. He draws a still more telling contrast between the treaty rights assigned to the Italians of Yugoslavia and the absolute denial of all rights, human and divine, to the Yugoslavs of Italy, who are not less than 400,000, and are probably nearer 600,000. His summary of this denial of rights is effective and damnably true.

These are only a few of the many points scattered about the book, which should assist the discerning reader to understand the growing community of interests between Yugoslavia and Germany.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem. By Vladimir P. Timoshenko. *Grain Economics Series*, No. 1. Stanford University, California, published jointly by the Food Research Institute and the Committee on Russian Research of the Hoover War Library, 1932. Pp. xi+571. \$4.00.

AGRICULTURE is the basic activity of the Russian people, and this volume offers by all odds the best account yet published in English of this activity in the period of revolution and recovery. The book is a combination of

history and prophecy; it centres chiefly upon the production and the marketing of the bread grains, and particularly of wheat, from the later pre-revolutionary period down to the time of writing, and it makes a deliberate attempt to project the curve of this history into the future. The reader will learn very little here about the actual course of the Revolution of 1917; and in a footnote (p. 60) which might much better have been incorporated in the preface, Mr. Timoshenko forswears any attempt at a general and inclusive appraisal of the effect of the Revolution upon the welfare of the peasantry, but the book, of course, contains a great deal of information, and some misinformation, that bears directly upon this point. On the side of prophecy, the author's chief contention (rather convincingly defended) is that the Soviet Union is hardly likely to recapture in the near future the position once occupied by the old Empire in the wheat markets of Europe.

The major divisions of the volume are logical, rather than chronological, but within most of these divisions the treatment follows, in the main, a chronological order. The chapter on landholding is quite naturally built upon this plan; but all things considered, it is the least satisfactory in the book. For the total area, in 1916, of the "small peasant holdings" in fifty provinces of European Russia, the author quotes from the writings of the Russian economist Oganovsky an estimate which is subject to several objections (p. 54). This estimate excludes from the total of "small peasant holdings" all individual non-allotment properties of more than 50 desyatines (135 acres) held by the peasants in 1905, but makes no attempt to exclude the substantial number of such properties purchased by peasants between 1905 and 1916; and again, the estimated total appears to include, for the period 1911-16, not simply the *net* increase made in peasant holdings, but the entire area purchased by peasants from non-peasants during this period, with no deduction for the considerable acreage sold *by* peasants *to* non-peasants.

The estimate given for the total area of the "large estates" on the eve of the Revolution is about 202 million acres (p. 54). Individual non-allotment peasant properties of more than 50 desyatines owned by the peasants in 1905 are included here, simply because of their size, but for the private holdings of non-peasants the category is made all-inclusive. Should the author not have told his readers that he classifies as "large estates" *all* the private holdings of non-peasants, regardless of their size, and that, in 1905 at least, more than half of these "large estates" were less than 50 desyatines in extent?

These and other like matters that might be mentioned in the field of pre-revolutionary landholding are of secondary consequence, but in this same field there is one question of major importance that cannot be passed by, and that is, why did the author fail to discuss the special character of peasant allotment tenure before the Revolution, and the collective activities and interests which this tenure then involved? An understanding of this subject is fundamental to a grasp of most of the

major problems treated in the book; the omission of the subject must certainly have been deliberate, but the reviewer does not know of any other competent writer in this field, whether a Russian or a foreigner, who makes this omission or would agree that it is justified.

In a discussion of the effect of the Revolution upon the distribution of land, and with his eye upon the statistics of 1924-5, the author says: "... after the Revolution the peasantry was not better provided with land than it had been before" (p. 66). But it is difficult to see how Mr. Timoshenko could bring himself to make this statement, in the face of the obvious fact that in the period between 1916 and 1925 the total amount of land in the hands of the rural working population increased much more, proportionately, than did the size of that population-group itself; and as the author shows, the distribution of land among the members of this group was much more nearly uniform after the Revolution than before. The author emphasises and re-emphasises the point that the number and proportion of very small holdings was greater after the Revolution (pp. 65, 66, 70), but he lays very little stress upon the fact that there had been a marked decrease in the average size of the peasant households (p. 91, footnote 2); in other words, there were fewer persons dependent upon the holding for a living. It is quite true that, as the author says, the transfer of land to the peasants "did not solve the agrarian problem" (p. 65); no one who knew the crudity and unproductiveness of peasant cultivation could have expected that it would do so—but this does not mean that it did not contribute very substantially to a solution.

Certainly the Communists did not believe that the solution was complete and final; their programme called for a second revolution in agriculture—a new double revolution that would collectivise and mechanise the cultivation of the soil. From the beginning, the problem of collectivisation has had its technical side and its human side: What were the technical possibilities of collectivised agriculture? And to what extent would the Russian peasantry permit these possibilities to be realised? Aside from comparative cost-accounts, which can hardly be obtained, the soundest basis for any generalisation as to the past performance and the future possibilities of collective agriculture is to be found in the comparative data for yields per acre, on individual farms, on collective farms, and on State farms (the comparisons to be made within limited areas, in order that variations in soil and climate may be eliminated so far as possible). The present volume offers some account of the progress of collectivisation, but the question of comparative yields is only touched upon in passing (i.e. pp. 275, 292).

Landholding and collectivisation are disposed of fairly early in the volume, and from this point onward the discussion is for the most part decidedly more competent and more convincing. The physical setting and the movement of population having been disposed of at the very beginning of the book, the author now enters upon a detailed discussion of pre-

revolutionary development, revolutionary decline, and post-revolutionary recovery in crop acreage, equipment, output, handling, milling, distribution (including export), and consumption. Mr. Timoshenko believes that the diversification of agriculture and the partial replacement of wheat acreage with, say, maize will tend to decrease the national surplus of wheat (p. 194); but here he disregards entirely the question of human nutrition. There are several crops, such, for example, as maize and potatoes, which produce a much greater food-value per acre than wheat, and it is at least conceivable that if the Russians would plant a part of their present wheat acreage with these crops and would consume the product in place of wheat, the reduction in the wheat area might be accompanied by an *increase* in the amount of grain available for export. In a country where both production and consumption are so largely controlled from the centre, enforced substitution on a considerable scale is a possibility that should perhaps be taken into account.

In the author's discussion of the handling and distribution of the grain crop, there is a large blank space near the centre of the picture. That is, the book offers no substantial comparative treatment of the prices of agricultural products and manufactured goods; instead, there are a few generalisations, such as the statement that under the Soviet régime "the ratio of agricultural to industrial prices was persistently disadvantageous to agriculture" (p. 92; cf. pp. 418, 451). Yet one cannot help but wish for something better on this vital subject.

As has been said, the author makes a strong case against the idea that the Soviet Union will soon figure prominently in the international grain market; and yet an equally strong case could perhaps have been made a few years ago for the idea that the Soviet power could not build and operate the large industrial plants which it has since built and is now operating. In the fiery intensity of this Revolution, there are possibilities that are difficult to compass within the terms of any reasoned formula.

In the matter of sources, the author depends for his statistical material very largely upon official publications, though at rare intervals he leans rather heavily upon some secondary work. When he discusses the actions of the Government or of the Communist Party, he hardly ever gives a specific citation to a primary source. The organisation of the book is excellent, and the text is usually, though not invariably, clear and easy to follow, but the reader who wants something more than competent English—the reader who demands the fascinations of good literature—will certainly meet with disappointment here. The author deals in dissection and abstraction; in this book about farms and farmers, there is never a whiff of manure or a glimpse of a thatched roof.

But it is high time to come back to the main point, and that main point is this: Here is a solid and substantial book that really extends the bounds of knowledge, a book that must be a satisfaction and a delight to students of Russian affairs who have been made a little ill by the shelves-full of nonsense that they have been asked to swallow. It is true that most

of the space in this present review has been devoted to the shortcomings of this volume—but why not? In the case of a really important book, this reviewer considers it his function to point out a fault or two, and then to send the reader to the volume itself for the enjoyment of its virtues, which are surely much more effectively displayed in the author's own work than they can be in any casual summary. And there is no doubt that this is an important work; among all the books written in the English language that deal chiefly or wholly with revolutionary and post-revolutionary Russia, the reviewer can name only one, perhaps two, that deserve to stand beside it.

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